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1874.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1874.

ART. I.—LIFE OF BISHOP CLARK.

Life-Story of Rev. Davis Wasgatt Clark, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Compiled from Original Sources. By Rev. DANIEL CURRY, D.D. 12mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

THE remarkable good fortune, as a heathen would express it, or divine favor, as a Christian would regard it, which superintended the career of Davis W. Clark through his whole life, followed him after death, and selected for him a competent biographer.

Dr. Curry understands the difficult art of portraying the life and character of a man, as all who have read his admirable Review of Boswell's Life of Johnson, published in the "National Magazine" more than twenty years ago, will acknowledge, and in the subject committed to him here he has found a congenial theme. Of nearly all the great enterprises in which Bishop Clark participated as leader or associate, Dr. Curry could say "*magna pars fui*;" and while generally he was so fully in accord with him as now, in reviewing them, to feel the inner thrill of personal memory, so as to give the work much of the freshness of an autobiography, he is at the same time so individualistic in his nature as not to be in danger of laying aside the criticism and analysis of a genuine biographer.

The space allotted to us in this article will not allow an attempt to produce a substitute for the biography—every intelligent person interested in that marvelous development of ecclesiastical and Christian history, American Methodism, ought

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to read the book for himself—but we desire to present some thoughts suggested by the panorama which is here made to pass before us, with Clark as the most conspicuous figure.

He lived in a fortunate time. (All successful men do. They make it fortunate.) Methodism had already achieved its first victory. It had measured up to the demand in one epoch. It had survived the honest and violent discussions of its origin. As the nation had its unorganized union in a struggle for existence, and its confederation, which was only a rope of sand, till the Constitution was adopted, so Methodism for a long time was but a bursting out of Christian life in disconnected individuals and societies, rising and falling, spreading and receding; and when it first incorporated itself, like the nation, into a federal union, it was subjected to fearful opposition and rivalries and disasters, which made its success far less steady and more capricious than in any subsequent period. Its dangers were greater than that of the nation, for men cannot desert the soil they live on; but for many years the Methodist Societies served only as a temporary home for a large host of its converts who relapsed into irreligion, and a half-way house for many others who passed through them to the ministry and membership of other Churches, leaving a selected and heroic remnant who stood by the standard after the first excitement of enlistment was followed by the laborious campaign. It is too late now to gather the statistics, nor, indeed, would any good purpose perhaps be served by them; but it is well known that the first impression produced on the Christian world was one that we even yet sometimes hear repeated by a few who, like the Bourbons, never learn and never forget any thing, that Methodism is but a temporary excitement, a useful movement, indeed, in a pioneer country, but destined soon to pass away.

But Asbury and his compeers were certainly equal in organizing power to Wesley and his assistants. An instinct, or vitality, in harmony with the laws of God and the spirit of Christ, taught them to aim continually at improvement, and to seek to do the new work called for by every new danger and new opportunity. Asbury and his most enterprising associates were impressed with the necessity of promoting the higher education of the ministers and people. No subject, apart from

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experimental piety, received so much attention and was so persisted in, in spite of so many failures. Our biographer on this subject corrects the too common opinion, that the early Methodists neglected education during that interval which occurred between the burning of Cokesbury College and Baltimore Academy and the founding of Conference Seminaries and the Wesleyan University. He says, "Through all this time the subject was not lost sight of by the best minds of the Church." Had it been, Methodism would have followed all other Christian bodies that have neglected education—to rapid extinction. He might have added that Asbury and others, with his approval, founded several academies even in those years when all the educational enterprises of the Church seemed to fail. But before Clark appeared the battles had been fought and the victory won. Wilbur Fisk, the leader of the second great epoch in Methodism, had entered into and crystallized a sentiment which always existed. He established not the first, nor even the tenth, but the first *permanent* Methodist school in this country. Seminaries then received General Conference approval, and grew rapidly in number and power. A university in name and germ, a college, in fact, was founded. A regular course of literary and theological study was prescribed for all the ministers. This was originally an American Methodist institution. The road was projected, the rails for a short distance were laid; it was only a question of time when the last spike should be driven, and the wilderness should be opened to civilization and beauty.

A student of Methodism will also see the germs of all its subsequent great enterprises—such as the Missionary Society, Bible Society, (shared with others,) Church Extension, Publishing and Sunday-school enterprises, and others yet to be developed—all in the first discussions and first utterances of the Fathers.

The childhood of the Church was past, the first matured energy and changes of youth appeared, when Clark, with many others, stepped upon the arena. We say "with many others," for the days of one-man power in the Methodist Episcopal Church passed away with Asbury. Fisk, perhaps, marked a transition. Subsequently there has appeared no epoch when the intellect and heart of one person have dominated; but there

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has been that larger and fuller life which arises from an immense and growing variety of genius, talents, and attainment, harmonized, we would fain believe, by the love of Christ and true evangelical zeal. But it is time that Clark should more prominently appear.

Of the interesting description of his boyhood, and of his conversion at sixteen; of the impulse to mental culture which his spiritual life gave him; of his almost accidentally, if there are any accidents, finding himself in the Maine Wesleyan Seminary at Kent's Hill; of his mental struggle about going to college—an ambition never dreamed of till he became associated with others of like mind in the academy; of his teaching school; of his severe study at Middletown, where he nearly broke down his strong constitution in an effort to do four years' work in two—the biographer must tell the story.

Graduating at the age of twenty-four, he engaged at once in teaching and preaching at Amenia Seminary. Nor was this a mistake. During the seven years spent there—five as principal—he saw two hundred students converted, and he strengthened himself by probably the severest and best discipline of his life. He was then, as ever after, excessive in labor—too excessive for a model. In addition to personal instruction, which required more time than the average duties of a college professorship, he preached once, and often twice, on every Sabbath, and found time to publish a creditable Elementary Algebra, to collect the material of a book called "Mental Discipline," and to write many valuable articles for the *Christian Advocate* and the METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

His first literary work was a series of articles in the *Christian Advocate* in favor of aiding needy young students called of God to the ministry. On this subject Bishop Clark deserves the honor of speaking earnestly and heartily from strong convictions when his Church was silent, and he always maintained these convictions. In this view he agreed with Wesley and the earliest Methodists. Of course his sentiments were opposed. What good enterprise has not been compelled to break down opposition? Education itself has been opposed. The missionary enterprise, the temperance cause, Sunday-schools—every thing has been opposed, and that, too, by honest men in the Church. But a vital organization founded on a genuine

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idea thrives the better from honest criticism. Bishop Clark had that too rare quality of being able easily to emancipate himself from the belittling tendency to found a universal conclusion upon one's own personal experience. He did not worship "the idols of the tribe." Some men who have succeeded passably well without formal education can see no necessity for colleges. Others who have enjoyed only the advantage of a college think theological schools superfluous, if not an evil. Others who were fortunate enough to earn their living and pay for their own education, by perhaps a providential favor that one in ten could not without presumption hope for, immediately conclude that to aid needy young men even by way of loan will only encourage softness and indolence. Bishop Clark did not make his own history the narrow foundation of his creed.

It is worthy of notice that his prime opposer in this his first enterprise as a writer yielded the real point at issue by declaring his approval of the English practice of providing education for "the list of reserves," the young preachers not immediately employed. This, of course, was all Clark or any man ever asked for. It matters not whether you call them "junior preachers," "reserves," "beneficiaries," or by any other name—they should be educated; and if necessary, aided to obtain an education, till the authorities of the Church see fit to introduce them into the pastorate. And if the American Church will only follow out Bishop Clark's early and life-long advice, we shall have, not the English system merely, but the true common-sense system, which, well worked, with all our other agencies, will spread scriptural holiness through all the lands of the earth. We confess to a little surprise that the biographer, after stating fully Clark's position and zeal on this subject, should add, "That the Education Society method is open to many very serious objections cannot be denied!" True enough, there are, or have been, objections to all things. But if the alternative is between that and "the British method," which possibly may yet be adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the true friends of helping needy young ministers obtain an education will be indifferent to the result. Call it by any name you choose. The only real difference is that the British method is more sweeping and comprehensive, and would accomplish far

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more than the advocates of the "Education Society" method have yet dared to hope for in the near future.

Clark soon left the Seminary for the itinerant work. There is a charm about the genuine pastoral employment which few preaching professors can resist; and we have yet to find the first successful preacher who has also had experience as a teacher who does not, on the whole, give preference to the pastorate, so far as personal enjoyment is concerned, unless it is the habit of the professor to spend the most of his time in purely literary or scientific pursuits. There is less of irksomeness, more of immediate fruit, in the pastorate. But we are glad that finally our Church has reached, or is rapidly approaching, a correct sentiment on this subject. When Clark abandoned his very useful post as Principal of Amenia Seminary it was actually necessary to do so to obtain admission, even as a probationer, into the New York Conference. How much this fact influenced him, and also others who succeeded him in that honorable place, who can conjecture?

No longer do men called of God to preach, and actually preaching every Sabbath, and indeed every day, in the class-room, to young and strong and impressible minds, and leading many to Christ every year, find it necessary to abandon their places to obtain ordination and association on equal terms with their brethren. We hazard the conjecture that had Clark remained at the head of that seminary a few years more, with his extraordinary industry and constructive ability, it would have become a large and powerful institution, on an endowment that would have made its permanent usefulness as secure as any thing future can well be. Schools of this character have been the means of the conversion and education of a large proportion of our ministers and members. Though he had already been preaching seven years and was well known as an author, he was ordained deacon and joined the conference on probation in 1843, and was stationed at what was then a comparatively feeble society, and distracted by discussions on the slavery controversy, in Winsted, Connecticut.

While connected with the seminary he had, according to the custom of many in like positions, traveled as a volunteer preacher, unpaid, through the whole section of country within fifty miles of his residence, supplying vacant Churches and

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helping in times of special demand. And, judging from some years' experience, we may add, all this without any pecuniary remuneration. In this way he had visited Winsted—far in the outskirts of his unorganized circuit—and the faithful few who were resolved to abide by the Church were undoubtedly delighted at his appointment. We need not repeat the story of his mastery of the situation in this his first Church. He continued for ten years in what some thoughtlessly call "the regular work," though it should be understood that the Church provides for no irregular work. As a pastor he was fully as successful as he had been as a teacher. Perhaps, with one exception, he left every Society stronger than he found it; and while in that Church he was compelled by a sense of duty to take a decided position in the slavery controversy, which, though it led to temporary inconvenience, contributed largely to the promotion of righteousness and true peace. Many gracious revivals of religion were enjoyed, and he was soon recognized as one of the most successful members of the Conference.

He achieved his success in the pastorate not as a brilliant orator. In extemporaneous speech he was deliberate and correct, but sometimes hesitating and laborious. Nor was he usually impassioned or imaginative. His illustrations were not infrequent, but were almost always facts drawn from history or his own observation. He made many excursions into parallel fields of thought, but they were always pertinent to the subject. He was not a preacher of strange doctrines, and never arrested attention by startling assertions and paradoxes. His discourses were always thoughtfully prepared—nearly if not quite written out—though he often preached without manuscript, and also often with the manuscript. His discourses were scriptural and logical, and arranged in luminous order, and in such style as to interest particularly the thoughtful and well-informed. The people soon learned to expect something new and something honestly prepared. On extra occasions he would always be ready with a carefully wrought-out discourse. There was a natural vein of pathos in the man, which was a great element of power. His profound sincerity and his sympathy with sufferers, and his strong feelings, kept under subjection and yet revealing themselves in countenance and the tones of his voice, made him often truly eloquent. He was eminently

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successful in preaching genuine repentance and faith in Christ. He usually produced the greatest effect when the sermon was read from the manuscript. He seemed to have the power of reviving and increasing all the emotion he must have had when writing the discourse, and of awakening in his hearers similar emotion. As "Father Taylor" of Boston exclaimed, "The leaves were on fire," or, rather, he was on fire. When pressed with Episcopal duties, hurrying from conference to conference, and compelled to preach without immediate premeditation, he often used the manuscript discourse; and though no congregation could be found more unfavorable to this kind of speaking than conferences of Methodist preachers, the effect produced was usually not only profound, but thrilling. It was not merely thought, but deep emotion and earnest resolve.

It would be rash to infer from such facts that the use of manuscript does not detract from full power, or is generally commendable; or that free, spontaneous speech is not the highest eloquence; still none should be so enslaved to theory as to be blind to facts.

It was impossible for a man of the temperament of Dr. Clark to stand entirely aloof from the fierce discussions on slavery which occupied statesmen and moralists in all parts of America, and to some extent throughout the world. A member of a conference which embraced the great commercial emporium of America, where self-interest created defenders of slavery as resolute and sophistical as any south of Mason and Dixon's line, and where a majority of the most-eulogized clergymen of all denominations were either cowardly silent, or skillful trimmers, or open defenders of the system, it would not have been singular if he, young in the ministry, and rapidly growing in popularity and influence, had floated in the current. He was not indeed violent in his action, nor extremely radical in his views; but a review of his history on this subject, as given by Dr. Curry, confirms our impression that he was thoroughly honest and almost impassively fearless in the expression of his convictions. Slavery in the abstract and concrete he believed to be wrong. He could not and would not utter an apology for it. He desired that the Church should declare unequivocal opposition to it.

These sentiments he uttered not only in the New England

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country village, but in the pulpits of the city of New York and in the Preachers' Meeting, in Conference and with the pen; nor did he ever qualify or dilute his sentiment. At the same time his utterances were not remarkably frequent; he showed that other subjects occupied his mind, and he had no sympathy with those who imagined they could not be faithful in opposition to slavery without separating themselves ecclesiastically and politically from all who did not fully agree with them in belief. Nor was he sufficiently persistent and active on this subject to entitle him to the highest place among the leaders in the great Methodist antislavery struggle.

It is worthy of note that notwithstanding the Churches which he served required so much labor—involving not only regular Sabbath work and daily duty, but usually a protracted meeting of several weeks every winter—and notwithstanding he was not a ready speaker, but made special and severe preparation for nearly every sermon, and notwithstanding also an unusual attention to the demands of the general Church, he still found time to correspond regularly with some religious periodicals, and even to continue his labors as an author of books. Young clergymen will see that Bishop Clark earned his reputation and power. During his pastorate he prepared for the press his "Mental Discipline," "The Methodist Episcopal Pulpit," a compilation of sermons by others, and a large work of nearly six hundred pages entitled "Death-Bed Scenes." He continued to write also occasionally for the QUARTERLY REVIEW, and rapidly won the reputation of being one of the leading scholars of the Church.

In 1851 he received an invitation to take editorial charge of the *Ladies' Repository*, published at Cincinnati, which office would also carry with it the duty of being editor of the books published by the Western Methodist Book Concern. This post had been manned by the ablest men who could be secured. Dr. Elliott, Bishop Hamline, Dr. Tefft, and Prof. Larrabee had successively held it. The vacancy occurred by Prof. Larrabee accepting another situation, and Dr. Clark was at first appointed by the Book Committee, and not by the General Conference. He was, however, subsequently elected to the office twice, and held it for about twelve years. Under his charge the *Repository* was enlarged and improved, as indeed the in-

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crease of its circulation demanded. The articles that bear his name and the editorials believed to be his are of a character that would be as appropriate in a Quarterly Review as in a Ladies' Repository.

This position seemed to make him rather a man of the whole Church than of one conference, and it would have been singular if he had not been elected a member of the ensuing General Conference, which met in 1856. The New York Conference recognized his commanding ability and solid merit, and no man had more faithful friends and admirers than he found ever thereafter among both the ministry and laymen of this conference.

Both as a specimen of the style of the biography, and to show the esteem in which Dr. Clark was held at this time, we give an extract from the book, (pp. 141–143):

At the session of that body for 1852 he had been appointed to preach the "Conference Sermon," which service he accordingly rendered at the session for 1853, at Kingston. It was probably altogether the most felicitous effort of his whole public life. Its subject was, "The Cross of Christ the one theme of the Christian Minister's Glorying;" the text, Galatians vi, 14. As it now appears in print it is a thoroughly elaborated discourse, presenting in well-arranged and forcible order, and with effective illustrations, the great truths of Christianity that cluster around the doctrines of the cross of Christ, with a special application of its lessons to ministers of the Gospel. It was delivered from the manuscript; and though it occupied more than an hour in the reading, it was heard with constantly increasing interest. The next day the Conference asked for its publication, and so well was it received in that form that it experienced the almost unparalleled good fortune of passing to a second edition. In a letter to his wife he thus states his own impression of the occasion of its delivery: "By a vote of the Conference the sermon—about which I know you will have not a little solicitude—came off last evening. It was very stormy, but the house was full—the Conference all there. The cabinet adjourned. I was somewhat startled by the unexpected entrance of the bishop and presiding elders. The sermon was read in just one and a half hours. A peculiar unction attended its very beginning, and the brethren sent up very hearty *amens*. The most intense stillness prevailed, and the utmost attention was manifested throughout, and it closed amid a perfect tornado of shouts. I never read with so much ease, power, and unction before." His own estimate of the impression made by that sermon entirely agreed with the general verdict. A correspondent of the *Western Christian Advocate* wrote respecting it:

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"On Thursday evening the annual sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Clark, the able editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, to a large and attentive audience. This discourse was very profound and eloquent, and nothing could be better adapted to the occasion or to the times. It was very happily delivered, and so deep were the emotions kindled in every breast that loud and frequent bursts of praise rolled through and completely filled the temple."

Of the excellence of the discourse as a happy and forcible presentation of evangelical truth, it is its own witness; but probably its delivery was that which gave it its chief reputation. The speaker was evidently just then in his very best mood, and every man that has been used to address popular assemblies very well knows the influence of the speaker's mood over both himself and his audience. It is said that one of our bishops won his high place by a single speech, and another made his election sure by a somewhat remarkable prayer. But, though no doubt Dr. Clark was destined to rise to his high position in the Church even had no happy incident aided him, yet it is very certain that that sermon added very much to his reputation and subsequent advancement.

It would seem that in this new office he might have regarded his time all bespoken, but "to him that hath shall be given," and new duties accumulated upon him. At Poughkeepsie, where he was pastor when called to his present office, he had witnessed the last days of the venerable Bishop Hedding. From an intimacy contracted during the last years of his life, Hedding had requested Clark to take his papers and prepare his biography, if one should be demanded. This was no easy task. Bishop Hedding left comparatively few papers, and he had lived and participated in the most exciting discussions of the Church, to describe which fairly would require a man of rare discrimination and unflinching integrity. We must leave Dr. Curry to relate how well Bishop Clark accomplished this labor of love, at the same time expressing our own conviction that he exhibited his peculiar character here as every-where. He calmly stated the great facts, steered clear off all extremes, and disarmed all opposers by his candor.

If some doubt might be entertained whether the Church did not lose by his abandonment of educational work for the pastorate, still graver doubts might well have arisen upon his retirement from the pastorate for editorial work. Polite literature certainly had not been his forte. His reading had not been extensive, and was mostly professional; he was never a remark-

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ably versatile or ready man; and his influence, already great, was continually growing as a preacher and in forming and executing comprehensive enterprises in the city of New York and vicinity. But it is a part of Methodist discipline to submit to the voice of the Church, whether expressed through the Bishops or the General Conference, and he obeyed. We are convinced that the office to which he was called was not well fitted to draw out and monopolize his peculiar power, and that had he confined himself strictly to the duties of editor of the *Ladies' Repository* he would not have accomplished his mission, nor would the Church have fully enjoyed the benefit of his ability. In addition to abundant editorial labor, he was largely employed in the dedication of houses of worship, and in advancing the benevolent interests of the Church by voice and pen. He was a superior business man. Both for his own personal benefit and for the Church he planned wisely and executed successfully. Could the full history of the twelve years spent in this office be given, it would remarkably verify this fact. He knew well the developments in real estate going on around him, and kept up a constant sympathy with both the business and the political and moral sentiment of city, State, and nation.

During his editorial life he was led, in defense of one of his own expressions, and also of an opinion attributed to Bishop Hedding, into a controversy on Sanctification, or Holiness, which the biographer has done well to describe. The result of it seems to have been a demonstration that the Editor of the "Repository" substantially agreed with Wesley on this fundamental doctrine. And yet this episode in his history illustrates the two diverse modes of viewing this subject which have always prevailed among men equally conversant by experience with "the deep things of God." Both parties agree in formulas of doctrine; but in the bent of thinking, in the semi-indefinite expressions which men employ when they forget logic and speak from the heart, two quite diverse habits of feeling and thinking show themselves. The one party look upon justification and sanctification as about equally accomplished facts. The other party think of sanctification as a frequently repeated act and a progressive growth, well begun, sure to proceed, but not yet complete. Which is the better constitution or habit

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must be decided by the fruit, and not theoretically; but it would be well to remember that among the apostles there was a Peter as well as a John, and there will be saints in the Church down to the end of time, who will not entertain the same thoughts, nor express their thoughts and feelings in the same style.

While in charge of the "Repository" Dr. Clark did much quiet editorial work, examining and revising manuscripts, and selecting and preparing books for publication. Among the best books compiled by him are "The Fireside Library," "Celebrated Women," "Home Views," which, with many other works prepared by him, have been widely circulated, and have contributed largely to place the Western Book Concern in the front rank of the publishing houses of the country, and have exerted a refining influence that it would be difficult to over-estimate.

His election to the Episcopacy in 1864 was no surprise to the Church. For a long time it had been the opinion of his intimate friends that he possessed a remarkable adaptation to this responsible office. Soundly orthodox in belief; never, indeed, manifesting any disposition to call in question accepted doctrine, or to investigate, like one who is troubled by them, prevalent forms of heresy; conservative, and at the same time energetic, in enterprises to increase the efficiency of the Church; a man of commanding personal presence; genial in his disposition, and disposed to exercise authority kindly and unselfishly—it was natural that he should be often spoken of in connection with the Episcopacy. Besides, there was no other field that seemed to make a stronger demand for his services. His place as editor of the "Repository" and books could easily be supplied by men perhaps more versatile and of more varied acquirements; he had no disposition to re-enter the field of education, to which he had often been invited, and the habits which he had acquired of promoting the general interests of the Church fitted him for the general superintendency. He was elected by one hundred and twenty-four votes out of the two hundred and sixteen cast.

The prospect at this time was that he had many years to devote to the Church in this new office. Only fifty-two years of age, in a position where sound counsel and character, and a

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good healthful variety of work and travel, were much more in demand than consuming toil or remarkable application in any one direction, it was reasonably expected that something like twenty years of the most valuable service might be expected. But, unknown to himself and his friends, the rest of his life was to be crowded into less than seven years.

The office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church has no exact parallel in any other denomination, ancient or modern, except in some small offshoots from the same Church. With no local parish or diocese, and, except in a few minor particulars, wholly relieved from legislative responsibility or power, the great function of the office is to become thoroughly familiar with the requirements and opportunities of the various fields of labor, and with the capabilities of the ministers, and so to make the appointments as to produce harmony and the best possible result. In this work particularly, the authority of the Bishops is constrained within constitutional limits. Experience demonstrates the wisdom of this organization, which was not made but grew, and is believed to be the child of Providence, and as yet betrays no symptoms of senility. All criticisms upon it are tolerated, as any other eccentricities, but are understood to be void of practical influence. Presiding at the conferences, and, as representatives of the elders—not as a third order in the ministry—ordaining the preachers; deprived of legislative care and having so much the more influence in counsel, those who have held this office have invariably been highly esteemed on account of their official position. These considerations probably produced the peculiar emotion of Dr. Clark when elected to that office, and not, as Dr. Curry suspects, a "popular superstition about the 'separateness' of the episcopal character, justifying heartfelt leave-takings with other ministers, as if a transition was about to be made into the inner courts of the Church, where the mitred ones alone may come." Methodists have no "mitres" nor "inner courts," but they have various kinds of work to be done in the Church, and men strong in one office may be weak in others. Bishop Clark soon found that his new duties left no time for sentimentalism, if he had been so inclined. Bishops were then not numerous, and the field was large, and he felt a demand for all his strength.

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In this office as in others much depends on the man. Besides routine duty, which in some sense performs itself—for the train on a smooth track runs a long time from its own momentum—there are slumbering opportunities that need quick discernment, prompt action, and steady perseverance, to be worked into valuable results. Experiments like, for instance, the utilization of the first Methodist Church property in Chicago, and the purchase of the land for the foundation of the North-western University, if noted by the bishops in their travels through all parts of the country, and recommended at suitable times and places, are capable of frequent repetition and improvement. A "general superintendency," in the true sense of the word, is full of extraordinary responsibility. It was not long before Bishop Clark's talents in this direction had abundant scope for exercise. After a trip to the Pacific Coast conferences, where his work seems to have been mostly formal, it became his duty to make an episcopal visit to a large part of the southern country where the rebellion had been lately suppressed. Here arose new problems and new demands, which he met promptly and ably. His policy was to establish conferences, or to re-establish the old conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as they were before the unhappy division of 1840, wherever he could find a sufficient number of ministers—irrespective of color—to be thus united. We find that he even anticipated the question which led to such earnest and protracted discussion in the General Conference of 1868. In a letter of July 24, 1866, to Rev. A. A. Gee, then at Nashville, Tennessee, he says:

No part of our work will more need representation in the General Conference. In fact, we regard representation by delegates indispensable. It is true that a mission conference is not strictly entitled to delegates, but so pressing is the case that we determined to allow our mission conference in the South to elect delegates, subject to the approval of the General Conference, not doubting but that body would approve and admit the delegates at once.

What would not some of us have given for the above expression of opinion, when pleading in 1868 for an open door into the General Conference, in behalf of those delegates of "mission conferences!" It shows the faultless candor of the biographer that the above letter is among the few out of many

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selected for publication. And here we may remark, in passing, that when Dr. Curry's biography comes to be written—may the day be far distant—his argument on the majesty of law, given in the conference of 1868, though not on the winning side, will deserve to be set forth and described as one of the ablest specimens of forensic discussion in the history of the Church.

We must refer our readers to the book itself for the history of Bishop Clark's administration in this new field. It was fortunate that he was both fearless and cautious, and that he had established and correct ideas on the importance of education, leading him to provide at the very first equally for conferences and schools. The absence of either would have doomed the other to speedy decay.

In fact, Bishop Clark entered upon his episcopal work with that indomitability that had characterized him from boyhood. Though cheerful in conversation, and always ready for a pleasant word, yet he betrayed at all times at least a semi-consciousness of having some present care upon his mind. He never missed an appointment; never refused to make an engagement that could be crowded into his programme; always did every thing as thoroughly as his time for preparation would allow. He subjected the machinery of body and mind to constant labor. Not until within a few months of his death did he show signs of breaking down under this burden. Ministers observe the Sabbath religiously, but some of them—at least a few of them—have no Sabbath of rest. Of course in such a case the life is crowded into a shorter term of years. Great variety of labor, like that of Wesley, to some temperaments, will furnish all the recreation needed, but a steady strain will sooner or later overcome resistance.

We shall not follow out the various episcopal terms of Bishop Clark, nor particularly describe his episcopal labors. As a president of a conference he was prompt, and correct, and impartial. In the delicate work of fixing the appointments he had the reputation of being exceedingly anxious to secure the best result both for ministers and people. He was particularly desirous of hearing the wishes of all concerned, and was unusually communicative of his own opinion. He had no fetichistic respect for conference boundaries, but looked upon the whole

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Church as one field. He never attempted to cross a bridge till he reached it, puzzled himself with no abstract questions, but did the work of the hour vigorously. As the first president of the Freedman's Aid Society, to which he gave his heartiest attention, and by selecting and inducing competent men to enter upon its fields of labor, he accomplished a work for the South the results of which will be far-reaching and abiding.

Indeed, his great wisdom throughout his whole life consisted more in what may be called practical constructiveness than in abstract statesmanship. He was a quiet worker rather than a profuse thinker or talker. He was no metaphysician, except when it was a part of his business. He almost always had some special project in view, in which by determined perseverance he was sure to succeed, unless the frequent changes of residence demanded by the Methodist itinerancy detached him too soon from the locality. Had he remained in the educational field a little longer, he would certainly have embodied his views on the needed assistance of students for the ministry in some concrete shape. When in New York, he originated a plan for a Methodist Seminary in the city which almost succeeded, but his removal from New York allowed it to perish. In Cincinnati a General Theological Library and the Wesleyan Female College, and several local Church enterprises, were largely indebted to his unwearying constructive power. In the General Conference, though he spoke often, it was always on some practical question, never with a set speech or oration, and no man contributed more on the floor than he to the maintenance of order and the reaching of results. On most great questions, as slavery and lay delegation, he made no formal address. To him almost alone is the Church indebted for the revision and improvement of the Ritual. He it was who caused to be introduced into the Discipline the pledge of orthodoxy and the promise to contribute to the support of the Gospel and the various benevolent enterprises of the Church, now exacted of probationers when received into full membership. In this quiet way he exerted a lasting influence upon the Church, equaled by few, surpassed by none of his contemporaries.

It is a trite expression in biographies, long and short, that the subject had failures and infirmities, but it would be invidious to express them, and therefore biographies are mostly

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ephemeral productions, and deserve to be. The reader instinctively feels that they are eulogies or full of glittering generalities, and that the character is either loosely or partially portrayed. Hence all men who have achieved permanent places in history have repeated biographies written, till some one is found searching, daring, and analytic enough to present the exact facts and draw proper lessons from them. Tyerman has rendered all previous lives of Wesley obsolete. It is nearly impossible to produce a true and critical portraiture of a contemporary. Indeed, unless the man has changed the current of history, like some few leaders in State or Church, or the current of thought, like the leaders in philosophy, it will not pay to make the attempt. It arouses passions and controversy that might as well sleep. We doubt not there are many who would resent it if either the biographer or his reviewer should undertake to point out any errors in the subject of this memoir. But a thorough biography embraces mistakes as well as evidences of wisdom, failures as well as successes. It cannot be denied that the last twenty years in American history have been full of grand opportunities. Have they been seized and improved? If ever American ecclesiastical history is written—which, judging from the past and the inherent difficulties of the subject, we doubt—it will appear that the great civil war was as largely religious as political, and that obstacles to a speedy and thorough reconstruction after the war was over were more social and—not religious, but—ecclesiastical than they were political. Had the great religious organizations of the country been more mobile and elastic, and had leaders appeared equal to the occasion, what might have happened? But the field of unaccomplished history is infinite. It is well, however, to remember that success does not always settle the right, nor is the best that has been done always the best that might have been done. Successes are portrayed; failures have no historian.

French writers, it is claimed, excel in the piquancy and vitality of their memoirs. They are breathing photographs. Recklessness of public opinion produces sincerity, an illustration of the maxim that extremes meet. In the English language, biographies have been too often artificial and stilted. Especially in the lives of religious men we are compelled to

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"look through a glass darkly." All the errors and faults are invisible. Carlyle indignantly exclaims: "Nay, our very biographies, how stiff-starched, foisonless, hollow! They stand there respectable; and what more? Dumb idols, with a skin of delusively painted wax-work; inwardly empty, or full of rags and bran. Life-writing has dwindled into the sorrowfulest condition; it requires a man to be some disreputable, ridiculous Boswell, before he can write a tolerable life."

We do not subscribe to this jeremiad, but acknowledge that much of so-called religious biography, especially that prepared for juvenile literature, is a kind of water-color portraiture that suggests neither soul nor even good flesh and blood.

But it is a difficult task to present on paper the merit of such a life as that of Bishop Clark. It was not like a soldier's—full of physical adventure. It was not like a politician's—attended by noise and pretense. He was not a combatant. He was a man who sought the largest results with the least possible commotion. Those who knew him best recognized in him a man of clearly-defined convictions, unhesitating confidence in his opinions, and unconquerable will. The times and circumstances in which he lived did not call upon him to invent a new system, so much as to work skillfully one already constructed, and adapt it to new exigencies. He had the most thorough confidence in the doctrines and polity of the Church. He sought, in a very limited degree, to perfect its machinery and to enlarge its influence, and through it to secure the salvation of men. In many respects the biographies of the most useful men are the least thrilling, on the sublime principle that he that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it.

It was a severe shock to the Church that the three bishops elected together in 1864, Clark, Thomson, and Kingsley, should all be so soon and so suddenly called away. In many respects they were dissimilar, in some respects strikingly alike. Alike in industry, in earnestness, in unselfishness, in piety, each had his own peculiar elements of power. Kingsley was the embodiment of good sense. Healthy and hearty and full of kind feeling, hating sin but loving the sinner, he won his way to the hearts of preachers and people by his unaffected simplicity and genuine goodness. Thomson, intellectual, polished, keen; a man

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of original thought and expression, not unmixed with some eccentricities and weakness; shrinking from controversy, and never aspiring, nor indeed fitted, to lead; a superb rhetorician and orator wholly consecrated to Christ. Clark, the most massive of all. Deliberate, comprehensive, and, when a decision was reached, immovable. All were fitted for their work. Neither would abuse or betray a trust. In their hands the character of the Church, so far as it was committed to them, was safe. Clark and Kingsley were about equally active in the origination of policy.

We have spoken above of the uniqueness of the office of Methodist Episcopacy. Bishops in the primitive Church seem to have been generally pastors, each of one society, and the superintending of others was limited and subordinate. They lost nothing, and gained little, by the addition of episcopal duties. Bishops in other branches of the Church in modern times are diocesan. But the Methodist Episcopacy is a general superintendency. Each is bishop of the whole Church. Divisions of territory, or allotments of specific duty, are temporary, as agreed upon by the whole body. The only limit to it is that their residences shall be in certain specified places, so as to secure their distribution throughout the territories of the Church, as well when at home as when engaged in official labor. On this account it has been claimed by some that bishops should not be men of marked idiosyncracies. They should be conservative, deliberate, well balanced; men of talent rather than genius; of whose sound judgment, as well as of whose piety, there should be no well-founded suspicion.

But it should be remembered that so long as the "superintendence" is truly "general," every conference and every part of the field will enjoy the supervision of every bishop. The harmony of the system demands an itinerant episcopacy. When that ceases—as we trust it never will—a fatal blow will be struck to all itinerancy. If episcopal districts are ever made, it will be necessary to provide that no incumbent shall have charge of a district more than one quadrennium at a time. Otherwise, the whole fabric of itinerancy will be likely to disappear. Marked individualities in the bishops, under the system of a general superintendency, will be of great advantage, even as they are in an itinerant pastorate. Heavy blows of

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different kinds, succeeding each other, with one object in view, produce the best result. We are much inclined to think that Bishop Clark's administration in the South, in the earliest days of reconstruction, was the best possible then, as it certainly was remarkably successful; but, perhaps, it would not have been well that he with his strong convictions should have been made permanent bishop of that region. In all this we see the wonderful elasticity and strength—all strong systems are elastic—of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Orthodoxy is better secured in a ministry by itinerancy than by the strongest written creed imaginable. So itinerancy in the episcopacy is the best preservation of vitality and spiritual power.

Fortunate has the Church been hitherto in its bishops. As the roll-call is repeated there come out before us a succession of men, not yet large in numbers, not all remarkably brilliant in genius or eminent for erudition, but yet having among them men unsurpassed in their day in sound and various thought, all strong in faith, in good works, in powerful influence upon their times. The apostolic Asbury has never been surpassed in travel and toil, and in the permanent result of his labors; others have equaled him in zeal, and if they have fallen short it has been only in opportunity.

We care not to show how the Church may languish and decline, or to inquire whether, if the world should suffer such a calamity, the disease would begin in the head, or heart, or extremities. The whole body and soul will be strong or weak together. We do not fear a decline. The sources of its strength are infinite. It can and will bear the temptations of numbers and wealth. It will not falsely seek purity by voluntary poverty or voluntary ignorance. It will seize upon all elements of power and consecrate them to the Master. It will avoid the errors of the past, and, we trust, boldly resist and overcome the new temptations of its own day. History repeats itself; history never repeats itself. Both maxims are true. Principles abide; illustrations vary. Laws are permanent; phenomena are ever new. The modern Church will not revive the dead or dying errors of the ancient days. There will never be other Dark Ages. The papacy may declare itself infallible, but its past follies will be explained away and denied by its successors,

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and there will never be a second papacy. The great sins of the future—if, unhappily, "offenses must come"—will not be the sins of the past. Our trust is in the great Head of the Church. Certainly, we read nothing but encouragement in the life and death of such a man as Bishop Clark.

The close of the Bishop's life was in perfect harmony with all that had preceded. Not merely for an hour or a day, but for several weeks, after having toiled till his physical strength was exhausted, he was permitted to linger with his family and show what support and comfort, in the severest physical pain, Christ gives to his disciples. When reluctantly compelled to leave a conference room and cease his labors, after a short time of meditation he said, "I have been down close to the shore, and looked out upon the GREAT HEREAFTER." In answer to the inquiry how it looked, he said: "My feelings are best expressed by some lines of poetry that appeared in the *Ladies' Repository* a good many years ago." He then repeated, with a good deal of feeling, some eloquent stanzas which have now become associated with his name.

For several weeks the chamber where he met his fate seemed, indeed, "close on the verge of heaven." He betrayed no fear, no anxiety, and his peace and joy were eminently rational and Christian. His counsel to his children was full of affection and wisdom. How fitting it was that he who had written "DEATH-BED SCENES" should utter as his last words: "Tireless company! Tireless song! The song of the angels is a glorious song. It thrills my ears even now. I am going to join the angels' song. Glorious God! Blessed Saviour! Bless the Lord, O my soul! Bless the Lord, O my soul!" Thus the good man fell asleep.

Dr. Curry closes his work by an admirable portraiture of the character of Bishop Clark. As we have examined the work only in proof-sheets, our observations on the same subject have been made independent of this description of the Bishop's "personal characteristics," and we are gratified to find that on the subjects spoken of in common there is substantial agreement. The concluding chapter of the book is, perhaps, the most valuable. It sums up the chief parts, and leaves a vivid picture in the mind not easily forgotten.

We cannot forbear to quote the following brief summary of

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his elements of character, which corresponds with our opinions as given above:

He was mentally a hard worker, accomplishing his successes by diligent study rather than by rapid advances. He was just the opposite of the confessed genius, for he made only a steady and measured progress in his studies, but more than compensated by persistent industry for any lack of the peculiar aptitudes of more brilliant but erratic minds. His acquisitions, whether of learning or culture, were all elaborated—wrought out by steady and earnest blows rather than seized by sudden efforts. His mind was characterized by robust vigor, much more than by either quickness to seize its point of pursuit, or fineness of touch to appreciate its more delicate properties. In his school studies, he excelled in the pure mathematics and in metaphysical investigations more than in the pursuits that required especially the æsthetical qualities. As a preacher, he inclined to clearness of doctrinal statements, and earnest argumentations where the logical faculty was especially called into exercise. Even his most forceful exhortations consisted chiefly in the presentation of reasons to induce those addressed to accept the offers of salvation.

His intellectual aptitude to apprehend truth was united with a very large measure of conscientiousness. He clearly apprehended what were the ethical aspects of every subject submitted to his decisions, and whatever his moral perceptions sanctioned as right the authority of his conscience at once dictated should be done. His piety could not, by any normal process, have taken upon itself the sentimental type. Duty, not feeling, was his governing impulse; to do, rather than to contemplate, was his worship; and in all things to reduce to practice the principles of truth and righteousness, rather than to follow out his emotional impulses, was according to the habit of his whole moral being. This character of his heart, while it gave great clearness to his convictions of right and duty, pretty certainly secured him from misjudgments. He saw the right too clearly to be misled by the popular opinions of his times, and was uniformly in advance of his generation in detecting the moral relations of almost every mooted question; and whatever his judgment decided to be the right, to that he was compelled to adhere by all the force of his moral intuitions. He was, therefore, at once courageous and cautious in declaring the truth, and inflexible in maintaining the right, agreeable to his honest and sincere convictions.—Pp. 313, 314.

The Church still demands workers like Bishop Clark. The record of his life is full of encouragement to our young ministers. It was not needful that the *imprimatur* of Bishop should have been put upon him to crown his life with success. He was as great and as useful when principal of a seminary, (according to his ability at the time,) when pastor of several Churches, when

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a quiet deviser and enforcer of plans for the benefit of his fellow-men, when the writer and compiler of books, when the editor of the "Repository," as he was when presiding over Conferences and giving shape to one of the general enterprises of the Church. Had he pursued either one of his earlier lines of activity with unbroken continuity to the end of his days, he would probably have accomplished as much for God and humanity as he did by his more varied work and in his more conspicuous position. He was never, perhaps, more useful than when pastor in the New York Conference, and his success always arose from his fidelity to duty and steady toil.

The work of Dr. Curry in faithfully and sympathizingly recording the labors of his friend, and we might almost say his elder brother, deserves the thanks of the Church. It is a valuable contribution to American ecclesiastical history. It will take its place with Clark's "Life of Hedding," Ridgaway's "Life of Cookman," and others of the kind, from which many will receive encouragement and inspiration. It shows us Bishop Clark as he was, and makes no effort to present him as he was not. It does not hold him up as a genius, unless industry is genius; nor as an orator, unless the power to speak so as to produce conviction and action is all there is of genuine oratory; nor as a profound scholar, unless the mastery of what applies immediately to the subject under consideration in its practical requirements is erudition; but it does present him as a man of well-disciplined mind, a man of action, master of himself, a man of pure motives, faithful to his convictions, and of great administrative power. He wasted few words. He was always employed, never triflingly employed. He deserves the monument, more lasting than marble, erected in his biography by his appreciative fellow-worker and friend.

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Art. II.—OUR WORK AT THE SOUTH.

At the close of the Rebellion the religious condition of the South was one of destitution. Of the white population, a large portion of those who had assumed to be its ministers were either slain in battle or had returned to a secular life. The colored population had been accustomed to look to those ministers for all the consolation they could hope for in this life, and though their minds were a blank to some of the sublimest teachings of Christianity, they had often heard of Christ's sympathy with the afflicted, and of recompense and joy beyond the toils and crushing burden of their sad lot. When the voices of the Southern pulpits were hushed as they were for them, they felt that hopeless darkness and bitterest death were all about them. In this, the most mysterious and embarrassing hour of their life's experience, they listened, O how intently! for any voice that might give them, by its gentleness and wisdom, the promise of guidance and cheer. This wail of want was too loud and imploring to fail in reaching the listening ear of Christians at the North. The various philanthropic bodies in and clustering around the Churches in the conquering States consulted, purposed, acted. An army of Christian laborers was equipped and dispatched to the field.

It were easy to fill the space allotted to this article in enumerating the agencies and commending the sacrifices and successes of our colaborers in this new arena of heroic endeavor. Our brethren of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational orders have displayed a liberality in founding missions among the freedmen, and a perseverance and wisdom in their maintenance, worthy of the great success with which their labors have been crowned. The Congregationalists, working chiefly through the American Missionary Association, have expended at the South, since the commencement of the war, and exclusively among the freedmen, no less than two million six hundred and forty-two thousand four hundred and thirty-eight dollars—nearly three millions of dollars! Taking the average of the twelve years from the time they began their work, which was as soon as the first foot of South Carolina territory was re-shadowed and re-protected by the Union flag, they have

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munificently expended over two hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year. Among the colored people themselves we have the efficient assistance of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America, the latter being under the especial tutelage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. So far as these Churches confine themselves to the work of educating, elevating, and regenerating the people, their efforts are to be hailed with gladness, and we are bound by every Christian consideration to aid and encourage them in their work. It is only a narrow prejudice that would wish for a diminution of laborers, or that would have those already in the field labor under other leaders than those to whom they have already become allied by ties which to them at least are precious. There is work for all, and more work than all can ever thoroughly accomplish. But some of these well-intended agencies would do well to ask themselves if it is their legitimate work that engrosses their talents and furnishes the outlet for their means; for, so far as they devote themselves to creating animosities, or catering to the prejudices growing out of either doctrine, discipline, or, worse than all, color, they are a surplusage and a curse.

It is to be feared that those who sympathized with the South in its great but unsuccessful struggle, and many of those who, at the present day, are attached to it by ties of family or commerce, regard our presence there as a breach of Christian courtesy and pledged faith. For such, the only vindication our labors can demand is the simple recital of facts found in the sequence of this article. It will be seen that the work was thrust upon us by an imperious Providence. If we are "intruders"—the old cry with which all who have worked nobly for God and humanity have ever been greeted—we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are working in company with the most excellent and evidently God-approved men of most, if not all, our sister Churches. With the exception of the Episcopal Church, which has never, to say the least, been very enthusiastic in any kind of aggressive labor, there is not an evangelical Church in the land that has not with us entered this invitingly open door. The ministers and laborers of every denomination in Christendom stand side by side with us from the Potomac to the Gulf. In our case, as in numberless other

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instances in the history of apostolic Churches and apostolic men, what is looked upon as an intrusion, and hated and treated accordingly, ought to be hailed as an advent and applauded as a mission of mercy and love. There can be no valid reason alleged why we should not preach our Gospel, open our churches, and establish our schools in South Carolina, Virginia, and Florida, as well as in Massachusetts and Maine. Reasons have been advanced and stoutly maintained, based upon alleged stipulations, which stipulations the Methodist Episcopal Church, in her authoritative councils, has never recognized, and the invalidity of which has been demonstrated again and again. It may not be known to all, nor even to those supposed to be best informed in such matters, though the fact is unquestionable, that the war left at the South a large number of Methodist ministers who had served in the army as post and regimental chaplains; and that to these very men, rather than to the ministers born on their own soil, the colored people turned, recognizing in them their natural protectors and friends. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had she been willing, was utterly unable to provide for the newly-enfranchised millions who lay at her gates. In addition to those who fell on the field of battle, great numbers of her ministry, shortly after the cessation of hostilities, died of those diseases which disappointment and privation engender. If the Church claiming to be the Methodist Church at the South had been able to grant that for which her now outcast colored members clamored, she was not willing to give it to them. They asked that they might have the Gospel preached, and that the sacraments might be administered to them, under such conditions as their altered circumstances and the issues of the war entitled them to expect and demand. This Church said to them through her official boards, through her pastors and chief ministers, We will preach to you, on the condition that you will, as heretofore, sit apart from your white brethren in a high gallery, and stipulate only to enter that gallery by the separate door which we have carefully provided for you in a convenient but obscure corner. We will preach to you, if you will allow us to do it, at an hour when we are not engaged with the whites, if you will be satisfied with the basement or a separate building of any kind. We will administer

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the sacraments to you of course, only subject to the condition that you present yourselves for that holy ordinance after the whites have all communed, or if you will come to us at an hour which we will specially designate, so as to avoid any mingling with those of Christ's flock who have a light skin, and whose right, in this matter of color, we would rather die than abridge or invade. Is it a marvel that the Gospel which these black and brown Christians had so long heard should have quickened something of their manhood into outspeaking life? Is it strange that, being offered the Gospel thus turned to stone, and proffered the sacraments thus made a mockery, they turned to other and, in this regard at least, more Christ-like men, and said to them, We must not, cannot, will not starve; feed us with the bread of life; open your churches and we will fill them; send your preachers and we will support them; the time for the anti-Christian distinctions, which the Southern Church would impose upon us, has passed; we will now only hear those who recognize our manhood, and who in Church boards and Church councils, in the pulpit, and at the table of our common Lord, treat us as brethren indeed, beloved and cared for, partners of a like precious faith with themselves? The ex-chaplains and local preachers (and of the latter there were many among the officers and subalterns of the army) did as men situated as they were could not hesitate to do. Hearing this clamorous cry for the Gospel and for the ordinances, they preached to the people; they baptized their children; they married them; they administered the communion to them; they read the solemn burial service of the Church over thousands of them; and regarding them, as they really were, sheep whom the shepherd had deserted, or for whom the shepherd did not care, organized them into classes; and these classes became, by natural accretions and consolidations, the Churches of the land. Who does not see that the foundation of our Church at the South was laid by God's own hand?

If ever God's providence spake imperatively, it so spake to the departed Lewis and his immediate coadjutors. T. W. Lewis entered the city of Charleston with the conquering Union army only to find in it empty churches, deserted school-houses, scattered and abandoned flocks. For weeks, if not for months,

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neither white nor black could have had a pastor's prayer, a minister's blessing, a sacrament, or even a Christian burial, if he had not been there to supply them all. God, and the people of God, said, Occupy these empty churches; fill these deserted pulpits; gather and feed this scattered flock of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the blessed Trinity he took possession, set up amid "war's wild alarum" the standard of the "old John Wesley Church," and invited men, women, and children of every race and color to rally around it. The trust thus imposed upon the Methodism of the North can never be betrayed. The position thus gained by it can never be surrendered. Those on whom devolves the task of continuing, and completing if they may, the work so heroically and providentially begun, have caught a descending mantle, and listen only to the God who says to them, as he said to the first evangelists of their faith, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The enthusiasm with which the re-establishment of our Church was greeted on the coast soon spread inland, crossing broad rivers and uttering its hosannas on mountain tops. The men on whom now rested the responsibility of furnishing the newly liberated millions of the South with the means of grace soon found the work growing beyond their means and ability of management. Large plantations, villages, country towns, cities, asked service at their hands. They soon found that they must have help. Naturally, they made their first appeal to the authorities of their Church at home. The episcopacy and the Church boards were compelled to consult together. Some few in authority—and, thank God! it was but few—said, Send preachers South! What right have we there? Have we not surrendered that territory? Why, it would be a breach of our most solemn pledges! Others, wiser, better versed in ecclesiastical law, more familiar with the true history of the "great secession," and, above all, more deeply imbued with the zeal of the fathers and more thoroughly baptized with the true apostolic spirit, declared by word, by pen, and by executive action, that the neglected flocks at the South must be cared for. Said they, Let us first of all send these suffering servants of our common Lord food and clothing; then let us help them to establish and maintain schools; let us build them churches, and

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endow them with a Gospel ministry. So far as the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned, the immediate outwork of this demand, and of the spirit with which it was hailed, was the establishment of a department of missionary labor awkwardly entitled the "third class" of missions; that is, a class of missions neither foreign (first-class) nor domestic (second-class.) After numberless consultations and much prayer, a goodly number of judicious men were selected from those already on the ground, who, after receiving personal instruction from some one of our general superintendents, three of whom at least went through large portions of the South, undertook the work of general organization. Circuits were laid out, institutions of learning founded, conferences were organized, and a great work was begun, having a large, bold outline, stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the mountains at the West, encompassing the Gulf, touching Mexico, embracing Texas, (an empire in itself,) and sweeping up the valley of the Mississippi to the great prairies of the West. Let us look at our

Success.

In the territory thus outlined let it be remembered that what we now have is, to a very great extent, so far as the Church of Christ is concerned, a net gain. Prior to the war we had church buildings and other material property, but no membership, no ministry. It does not detract from the value of what we now have that we have it in territory over which other Churches claim jurisdiction, for what we have acquired has not to any noticeable extent been withdrawn from those Churches, but gained from the circles of indifference and impiety by the aggressive and self-denying labors of men doing real pioneer work.

It is not claimed that the information now presented to the Church and to the Christian philosopher for profound consideration is absolutely free from all minor inaccuracies; it may be that one or more conferences are omitted that ought to have been embraced. The tables, however, are honestly compiled from authentic and official documents, and cannot in any essential particular mislead.

Our Membership.—The relative importance of each depart-

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ment of the work will be best determined by giving each conference separately:*

Conferences.	Members.	Probationers.
Alabama	9,052	1,536
Florida	1,670	537
Georgia	13,636	3,248
Holston	20,233	2,859
Kentucky	15,636	2,828
Louisiana	8,760	2,009
North Carolina	7,255	1,008
South Carolina	21,344	4,679
Tennessee	10,166	1,602
Texas	11,882	2,264
Virginia	4,799	924
Mississippi	26,446	3,897
Washington	22,136	2,698
Lexington	6,830	1,243
Delaware	12,223	954
Members		192,068
Probationers		32,286
Total		224,354

It will be seen from the above table that there has been gained for the Methodist Episcopal Church by its laborers in the South in about seven years nearly a quarter of a million of members. We know of no growth recorded in the history of the Church that anything like equals it. It is a most marvelous second pentecost.† Of the fifteen conferences enumerated the Mississippi and the South Carolina are the largest, the former having an aggregate of over thirty thousand, and the latter of more than twenty-six thousand members. These are startling figures. If possible, the proportion of probationers to the full membership of the respective conferences is more extraordinary still, the South Carolina Conference having nearly five thousand probationers and the Mississippi Conference nearly four thousand. The Church at the South is evidently in its formative state. What a noble harvest! not filched from other Churches, but gathered out of the kingdom of Satan. Thirty thousand souls! and these are mostly the converts of a single year. If the fact was not beyond all gainsaying, the temptation to doubt it would be sore.

*General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872–73. Of the latter (1873) the writer has been favored with proof-sheets.

† Before the division of the Church we had only 118,904 colored members.

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Our Ministry.

Conferences.	Traveling.	Local.
Alabama	67	165
Florida	....	....
Georgia	77	177
Holston	92	234
Kentucky	92	176
Louisiana	65	186
North Carolina	38	53
South Carolina	106	211
Tennessee	75	176
Texas	98	143
Virginia	53	62
Mississippi	123	339
Washington	109	177
Lexington	43	44
Delaware	53	163
Total	1,091	2,306

There are in all 3,397 ministers—more than some of the oldest Churches on the continent can claim. And yet this babe is but seven years old. What may we not expect the manhood of such infancy to be!

The writer has no means of determining how many of these thirty-three hundred ministers belong to the South, that is, were born and cultured there. Strike off the three hundred for transfers from the conferences of the North—that, without doubt, far exceeds the actual number—and it still leaves three thousand ministers as the full ripe fruit of this rich soil. Most, if not all, the local preachers are plain, unlettered men, whom our Methodism, as is its wont, has lifted up from the most humble walks of life. Not a few are from the mechanic's bench or the blacksmith's anvil, and multitudes of them have been common plantation hands. These are men of hard common-sense and genuine piety. They are natural orators and sweet singers, whom common people love to trust and implicitly follow.

Our Property.—This table is exclusive of universities, colleges, schools, and lands belonging to educational institutions:

Conferences.	Churches.	Property.
Alabama	131	$27,630
Florida	33	17,085
Georgia	159	80,00?

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Conferences.	Churches.	Property.
Holston	183	$148,175
Kentucky	148	408,550
Louisiana	61	207,403
North Carolina	81	29,825
South Carolina	160	111,932
Tennessee	151	158,538
Texas	60	72,650
Virginia	105	115,550
Mississippi	157	138,305
Washington	164	408,790
Lexington	50	132,850
Delaware	157	141,013

This gives the Southern work eighteen hundred churches, with $2,198,297 worth of Church property. This is, of course, inclusive of parsonages, the number of which is not enumerated, but does not include cemetery and burial-ground property, which as yet no conference has included in its statistics. Much of this property is in our large cities, and at the centers of trade and influence. It has all been purchased in a depreciated market. Some of it has been sold to us at far less than its market value. It is fair to presume that it will greatly increase in value from year to year.

Annual Contributions to Missions.—In this table we arrange the conferences according to the measure of their giving:

Conferences.	Amounts.	Conferences.	Amounts.
Kentucky	$2,712 75	Florida	$286 25
South Carolina	2,650 19	Mississippi	278 28
Washington	1,729 74	Georgia	269 38
Tennessee	836 84	North Carolina	201 95
Virginia	722 14	Lexington	54 70
Texas	597 55	Alabama	2 50
Louisiana	573 80	Holston	....
Delaware	375 55		

This gives an aggregate missionary collection for one year of $11,291 82, a larger amount than the entire income of the Missionary Society for several of the first years of its history. Why the contributions should be so small in some of the largest conferences, while they are so generous in Kentucky and South Carolina, is worthy the special thought of the three able secretaries now in charge of the Missionary Department. Perhaps a personal reconnoissance of the ground in detail would solve and remedy all that is anomalous. The Church will soon

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be convinced that, though she has increased her corps of missionary secretaries, there is an imperative necessity for adding yet another who shall reside at the South and have especial supervision of her interests there.

It will be seen from the foregoing tables that we have at the South fifteen annual conferences, 1,091 traveling preachers, 2,306 local preachers, 1,800 churches, over two millions of church property, and nearly a quarter of a million of Church members. In this article no note has been taken of our great educational work, which has assumed too great a magnitude to be incorporated with Church work proper. In that department there are almost as great wonders of achievement and pecuniary growth as in the higher one now under review. The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has done a work that will make its name forever precious among the colored population of the South, but it must write its own history and tell to the world its own story.

The Cost.

The only way to approximate the expenditure of the Church in achieving this noble result is to take the sum of the appropriations of the Mission Board to this department from the year 1864, when the first appropriation was made, to the year 1873, inclusive. In 1864 the appropriation for the third class of missions was $30,000; in 1865, $35,000; in 1866, $40,300; in 1867, $155,000; in 1868, $139,000; in 1869, $75,000; in 1870, $104,400; in 1871, $108,900; in 1872, $164,000; in 1873, $118,000. It will be seen that the last appropriation is $46,000 less than that of the previous year. To these appropriations must be added $20,000 appropriated by the Missionary Society in 1866 for the education of ministers, a work now assumed by the Freedmen's Aid and other educational societies; also $70,000 granted to the South in 1867 for the building of churches, a department now exclusively belonging to the Church Extension Society. From these generous appropriations made by the Mission Board of the Church must be deducted all unexpended appropriations and the collections for missions made in the fifteen Southern conferences. It will be found, after these additions and deductions are made, that the

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Mission Board has expended in this great work about nine hundred thousand dollars. To this we must add, as being within the department of Church-work proper, the grants of the Church Extension Society. We purposely leave out its loans, which will be paid to the last dollar. We also purposely leave out the expenditure of the Freedman's Aid Society, because, in our summing up of results, we take no note of the value of our educational property, largely purchased for us by that society and its friends. It is proper to note, however, that this society has expended, in the six years of its existence, $370,243, of which $160,000 have been permanently invested in academical and collegiate property. It appears from the sixth annual report of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church that that board has devoted to this work up to January 1, 1872, $100,000; in 1873, $30,700. To this add the amounts expended by the Sunday-School Union and Tract Society, $14,000 and $7,500 respectively, and the grand aggregate of the cost of our Southern work, since its inception to the present time, is a little over one million of dollars; in figures, $1,052,200. This is a munificent sum, truly; still the American Missionary Association has done better by a million and a half of dollars. The last fact, which is a most inspiring one, is mentioned, lest we should glory above measure. The great Methodist Church has done well, but she has by no means reached up to her true altitude of generous giving. If she had fostered this work, and made sacrifices for it, after the fashion of some less noted neighbors, great as are her harvested results, they might have been fourfold greater.

Needs.

1. *A cessation of all hostilities and a suspension of all controversies.* The former we ask of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which persists in misunderstanding and misrepresenting our work. The latter we must impose upon ourselves. Our work is not the mere building up of a denomination; it is something higher and nobler. Antagonizing other established and orthodox branches of the Church of Christ belittles us, and is an evident prostitution of our functions as true ministers of Jesus Christ. Our missionaries have no right to re-

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gard themselves as sent to "disintegrate" or "absorb;" and it is cheering to the writer to know that he has not come in contact with a single man in all the South who regards his work as embracing so dishonorable a task. There is room for every existing Church. The field is wider and whiter than all united can encompass, much less reap. The need of the South is not controversialists to rasp, irritate, and sever; of such she has had too many already. She needs men set on fire by the "enthusiasm of humanity," or, what is a thousand times better, men glowing with a radiance which the baptism of the Holy Ghost imparts. The union, organic or otherwise, of the various Methodist bodies at the South, is so seemingly a Christian duty, essential to the silencing of a blatant infidelity, and, at the same time, in view of the spirit and temper of the body most nearly equaling our own in number and culture, so seemingly *not* a Christian duty, that it involves too wide an area for discussion to be entered upon here.

The angry and vapid discussion of questions growing out of the extraordinary character of the work is an evil of no small magnitude. Controversies as to separate conferences, promiscuous sittings, and all kindred issues, only serve to complicate our relations with the people, and thus embarrass us in our work. What our ministers have to do at the South, one and all, is to carry out in good faith, and firmly, the clearly pronounced policy of the Church as to caste. All minor questions may be safely left to settle themselves, or be relegated to the limbus of dead issues. If a preacher objects to sitting in a conference with colored brethren, he can seek a transfer to one where he will not be so annoyed. No impediment will be thrown in the way of his going. And if, on the other hand, a colored brother has objections, as he may have, and that very innocently, to seeing the white men in the ascendant in his annual conference, he can easily find one where those of his own complexion have all but the exclusive control. The true wisdom is that which the Church has formulated in her Discipline and recorded General Conference action. As in the Discipline, and elsewhere, the question of color is ignored altogether, so let it be ignored in all our annual conferences and every-where. Let our relations to Churches and conferences be fixed by reference to other and more important

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standards. It is maintained in favor of mixed conferences, and the argument is an unanswerable one, that they are a standing, unmistakable testimony against caste in the Church. On what ground can we make "separate" conferences, except as an overruling Providence may make them? If they are made "separate," on what principle can we keep them so? If a colored man should seek admission into any of our conferences, North, East, West or South, having the required moral, Christian, and educational qualifications, could he be refused admittance because of his complexion? Bodily infirmity, and a score of other things, might be a valid plea for holding up a forbidding hand; color, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, thank God! can never be such a plea. So long as the fundamental law of the Church remains in force, and we believe it will remain unchanged in this regard until the dawn of the millennium, no one can shut the door of a single conference in a black man's face.

Again, if, in that part of our work where colored men constitute the majority, a white man believing that he is especially called of God to labor among people of color—and many white men have such a belief—should ask for admission to one of these separate conferences, could the black man say, or would he say, No; we will not have you; you are a white man; we cannot use you? Or, if he did say so, would he not be disloyal to his Church, his conscience, and his God?

Methodism is flexible enough in any locality to adjust itself to any and to all emergencies growing out of an altered and altering state of society, and it can meet with a becoming Christian deportment every social change that is made in accordance with the morality of the New Testament.

2. *More thorough and constant Episcopal and Secretarian Supervision.* Our true Christian workers at the South have no bitter complaints to make, nor do they indulge in anything like crimination. They do breathe out occasionally, however, a luxurious, "uncomplaining moan." The territory covered by our Southern conferences more than doubles that covered by all the other conferences east of the Mississippi. The question growing out of this extent of territory is not a question of episcopal *residence*, but rather of episcopal *labor*. The residence of one bishop in the heart or on the border of this territory,

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though it amounted to a perpetual presence, would not meet the wants of the Church. For each of the past four years the episcopacy has given the South, say an average of two weeks to each conference, or an aggregate of ninety-six weeks of episcopal labor for twelve conferences during that time. But as we have had at least four different bishops, the average would be twenty-four weeks for each of them in four years. Nearly the whole of this time, small as it is, was spent in traveling to and fro, in presiding at the conferences and consulting with presiding elders. As to the secretaries of our various Church boards, the venerable secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society is the only one known to any extent at the South. Even the book agents fail to collect their bills by presenting them in person as in all other sections of the work.

The Church cannot long be carried on successfully in this section in this way. No blame can attach to the officers in question for this paucity of presence, least of all to the bishops. Previous to the re-enforcement of the Episcopal Board it was impossible that it should be otherwise, and since that time the new members of the board have had work assigned them in regions so remote, and embracing interests so important, that the South has had to endure her privations with what patience she could command. A remedy must be forthcoming, however, and that at once. Precisely what that remedy shall be, and how it shall be applied, the writer is not wise enough to determine. Something must be done or our interests are put in jeopardy to an extent too perilous to be looked at with equanimity. As an illustration of the pressure of this need, let the Church take her general minutes and look at what is called the Charleston District in the South Carolina Conference. This district includes the Sea Islands, and embraces all that territory from the Atlantic on the south to the junction of the Broad and Saluda Rivers at the north, and from the North Carolina line on the east to the Georgia line on the west. It has a membership of 15,698, or nearly sixteen thousand souls in one district! Supposing the presiding elder to be superhuman, he may reach the more prominent appointments on this wide territory three or four times a year, traveling innumerable miles, and hastily calling together official boards to be as hastily dismissed. As for meeting the more

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minute and important obligations of his office, it were folly to ask or require any such impossibility.

A glance at the generai minutes, as far as published, will show the striking anomaly of one district larger, as to membership, than any one of twenty annual conferences, twice as large as any one of twelve others, three times as large as either the Nebraska, North Wisconsin, Iowa, or Oregon Conferences, four times as large as the East Maine Conference, and *ten* times as large as the Colorado Conference. To secure the proper division of this (Charleston) district alone into six, or at least four, new districts, and to adjust equitably the various church-property questions that are springing up all over it, the personal presence of one of the bishops and an attendant secretary is needed for many continuous weeks. And as it is with this district and the South Carolina Conference, so it is with other conferences and districts in the South more remote. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

3. *A continuance, if not a great enlargement, of the Church's liberality as dispensed through the Church boards.* The Missionary Board, at its meeting in 1872, inaugurated toward the South a "cutting down" policy, which some of the bishops have not only adopted, but greatly aggravated at each Southern annual conference, by making further reserves on their own responsibility. This policy may have given its advocates a temporary reputation for stern economy, but it was nevertheless unwise and ill-timed. All the investments made by the Church at the South have *paid* beyond all previous experience, and they will continue to pay. In the face of such a showing as the South has made and can make, he who counsels a continued generous outlay will reap the true honor. Those on whom the labor and responsibility of organizing the work at the South have devolved are the men on whom the Church must continue to rely for many years to come for conducting all her aggressive movements. These men cannot live as plantation hands have been accustomed to live; they must at least have a moderate livelihood insured them. They have surrendered comforts to which for years they have been accustomed in Northern or Western homes. They are shut out to a great extent from white society, save that of those who are engaged in a like work with themselves. The Church has no

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right to ask the class of men who are fitted by education and talent for this work to add to semi-apostolic labors and social ostracism the bitter pangs of an avoidable penury. An inability to raise the necessary funds could be the only ground on which the Church could ask such self-immolation; and the Methodist Episcopal Church would blush to mention such a plea. Scores of the best pastors, disciplinarians, theologians, and teachers of the Church ought to be thrown into the Southern conferences at once. This would beget a godly jealousy, a holy emulation. But the curtailing policy of the Church, by depriving these men of any hope of a decent maintenance, compels them to decline the field, and seek spheres of exertion where they could at least get bread and educate their children. If the work is left to fall into the hands of the inexperienced and inefficient, complications and disasters will inevitably follow, demanding a much greater outlay in the end than that which is necessary to comfortably support those already in the field, who with small reinforcements would meet every want.

4. *More men of apostolic spirit.* This is the greatest need. No man that despises the poor, or that is afraid to mingle with them, need turn his face southward. No scholarly precisionist, afraid of old-fashioned Methodist noise, or who would be shocked out of his propriety by an occasional shout, or even a sporadic outburst of extravagance, is fitted for this work. Such a one's nerves would be rasped at every class-meeting, and he would die writhing in agony at the very first camp-meeting he might attend. Let men having in them the old heroic spirit of Methodism come—come, if they please, by hundreds—and the Church will reap a harvest in ten years such as there shall not be room to contain. Her achievements in other fields have been glorious, in none perhaps more so than among the Germans and Scandinavians, but her achievements in this field will throw even those into paleness and insignificance. The descendants of the African race, on the Southern portion of our continent—the black, the yellow, and especially the brown man—are the most reliable and hopeful element in the land. They are being educated, they are acquiring property, and creeping up into all our positions of honor and trust. Of the dangers to which they are exposed, that of their going over to the Church of Rome is not one.

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Roman Catholicism has no charms for descendants of African races. The Catholic Church has been established in Florida and South Carolina for two hundred years, and it is no larger to-day than it was thirty years ago. It takes no hold of the colored man. The great dangers are the seductions of vice, licentiousness, intemperance, and the fascinations and corruptions of the political arena. They are endangered by the gaudy displays of military and fire companies, by extravagance in dress, and by general carelessness in the use of money. The restraints thrown around them by a semi-ascetic religion, such a religion as the Methodist Church was raised up by Divine Providence to establish, conserve, and extend, is the instrumentality appointed of God to antagonize all these dangerous tendencies.

Nor are the whites to be forgotten. There is a work to be done among them, to the accomplishing of which we are called of God. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not doing this work; it has not enough enthusiasm; it confines its ministry chiefly to cities and a few larger villages; it imagines that its necessities compel it to this course. That immense multitude of poor people, scattered through the barren regions of the South, called "mean whites," "sand-hillers," "crackers," or "clay-eaters," than whom a more deplorably neglected class is not to be found in the United States, of whose existence the outside world has but recently become aware, and for whose souls no man seems to care, needs our poor man's religion. In our cities there are large bodies of mechanics and laborers who are not invited or welcomed to any Church, but are rather repulsed from all. These are asking for a home—a Church home. Let the Societies of the North and West send into our pine barrens, into the tents of our turpentine gatherers, into our rice and cotton fields, where plowmen and hoe hands swelter under a semi-tropical sun; into our cities, where stevedores, cartmen, and mechanics crowd wharf and street and church—let them send men who, like our fathers, counted not even their lives dear unto them. Let them send their young, heroic men to preach in our log-cabins, our bush-arbors, our cane-brakes and rice swamps, and, with a modicum of their father's unction, a fragment of their father's zeal, they will reap results tenfold greater than have ever been reaped before.

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Art. III.—THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

A UNIVERSAL instinct impels us to look wistfully into the future. We long to forecast the horoscope of nations as well as of men. And if these nations possess conspicuous advantages or exert important influence on the destiny of mankind, the study may be as instructive as it is interesting.

We are not without data of sublimest augury concerning the future of the American Union. The natural resources of the country are of exhaustless extent and of unparalleled richness. Its position is the most favorable in the world for national development. Stretching through twenty-five degrees of latitude, from the forty-ninth to the twenty-sixth parallel, if transferred to the Eastern continent it would reach from Germany to the middle of the Sahara, occupying the whole basin of the Mediterranean. Although the isothermal lines bend low down on the American sea coast, yet in the interior they sweep upward again, making the climate mild and salubrious. Its northern regions lie under the constellation of the Great Bear, while the inhabitants of its low latitudes behold in their sky the sacred sign of the Southern Cross. From the Great Falls of the Missouri one may sail, without a single break of navigation, to the mouth of the Mississippi, a distance of over three thousand miles; as far as from London to the Gulf of Guinea or to Samarcand. This vast stream is supplemented by twenty-three thousand miles of internal navigation of its great affluents, penetrating the very heart of the country on either side.

One sailing down this great life artery of the continent will pass through all the varieties of climate to be found in the Old World, from St. Petersburgh to Egyptian Thebes. He will pass from the giant firs of its upper waters, through deciduous forests of beech and maple, to the waving green and gold of the boundless wheat fields, and the countless flocks and herds of Minnesota and Illinois. He will glide past the spreading orchards of Missouri and Kentucky, glowing with golden fruit like that of the Hesperides. The broad leaves of the tobacco plant spread their rank luxuriance in Kentucky and Tennessee, and the snowy bolls of the cotton shrub whiten the

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fields of Arkansas and Mississippi. The fragrant blossoms of the magnolia scent the breeze, and the glossy leaves of the laurel and myrtle, of the plantain and palmetto, delight the eye. In the lowlands of Louisiana stretch in endless vista the canebrakes of the sugar plantation. The parasitic mosses of the Southern cypress wave like funereal plumes through the sultry air. The houses of the planters are embowered amid orange groves, and flowers of unimaginable loveliness and wildest luxuriance breathe perfume on the charmed atmosphere. Amid the fever-breeding swamps near the mouth of the mighty stream spread fertile rice-fields, through the neighboring marshes wade tall birds of gaudy plumage, and on the low sandbars of the coast stalks the scarlet flamingo, gaunt and ghostly, in the lurid Southern sunset.

No other country in the world can boast such an extent of fertile soil, such a range of climate, and such a variety of products. They must for ever insure an internal traffic as important as that between Great Britain and the Levant.

Nor are the other great elements of national prosperity less lavishly bestowed. Along the Atlantic seaboard numerous excellent harbors create an unequaled facility for commerce with Europe and South America; and on the Pacific coast the noble bay of San Francisco will become the "golden gate" of boundless wealth toward the East. The deep-sea fisheries at once nourish a hardy race of mariners for manning the navy, and enrich the country by the finny wealth and spoils of ocean. The unrivaled river system of its central basin and Atlantic slope, and the great Northern lakes, furnish such facilities for internal commerce as can find no parallel on earth. These facilities have been still further developed by an extensive system of canals, but especially by that wonderful network of railways which extends its meshes over the entire East, and is rapidly stretching across the vast continent. Electric nerves thrill with intelligence throughout the whole country, connecting its remotest extremities with the great commercial and political sensoria. The fluctuations of the Gold Room in Wall-street are daily noted in every counting-house from New Orleans to St. Paul, from Eastport to San Francisco. A change in the cabinet at Washington is discussed the same evening in almost every hamlet in the Union.

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The enormous hydraulic power of New England makes it the seat of vast manufacturing interests. The sails of American commerce whiten every sea, and her flag flouts the breeze under every sky, and is to the lonely wanderer in foreign climes

> "As a friendly hand
> Stretched out from his native land."

The mineral resources of the United States exceed in extent and richness those of all the world besides. This is sober truth and no rhetorical hyperbole. According to Sir Morton Peto, in his exhaustive work on the resources of America, the relative coal supply of all Europe and America is represented by the ratio of eight and three fourths to one hundred and eleven! The iron mountains of Missouri alone, according to the same eminent authority, are sufficient to furnish a million tons of manufactured iron per annum for two hundred years. The means for the development of this immense amount of unused wealth is found in the vast gold deposits of the Pacific coast and the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In sixteen years, from 1848, when gold was discovered, and when of course the yield was comparatively small, to 1864, California alone produced the enormous sum of $816,500,000. Since then it has been produced at an accelerated ratio, till it now amounts to about a hundred and fifty millions annually. The value of the silver, lead, quicksilver, and copper mines, and the astonishing yield of oil from the Pennsylvania wells, which pour out the precious fluid like water, swell the mineral wealth of the country to an enormous magnitude.

But the main sources of the national material prosperity are not beneath the earth, but are the products of its surface. The exuberant fertility of the virgin soil, enriched with the vegetable decay of ages, is such, that it needs only, in the language of Douglas Jerrold, "to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest." The wondrous chemical influences of the vast laboratory of nature transmutes the inorganic elements into the staple cereals of the world. The glorious wealth of unclouded sunshine produces that rapid fixation of carbon which so quickly ripens the grain.

The fertile territory of the United States, according to the official census, is about 2,000,000,000 acres, about one fourth of which, or 500,000,000 acres, is inclosed, and only one third of

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this, or one twelfth of the whole, is under cultivation. Yet on this comparatively limited area were produced in 1870, 174,000,000 bushels of wheat, and over 1,000,000,000 bushels of Indian corn. It was a saying of the first Napoleon that that man was a benefactor of his race who made two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before. If this be so, how great benefactors are those hardy pioneers who open up the great granary of the West, and thus cheapen bread for God's great family of the poor in all the markets of the world.

The most prolific cereal of America is its Indian corn, which should be the national emblem. It waves its graceful form, plumed and tasseled, like an Indian chief, from Superior to the Gulf. It is good for food, green or ripe, for man or beast. So abundantly is it produced, that it has been economically used for fuel! The immense pork crop of the West is but Indian corn in another form.

In the great staples of rice and sugar the contributions of the South are enormous. Of the former the yield in 1860 was 187,000,000 pounds. Of the latter Louisiana alone, where the sugar-cane is chiefly cultivated, produced over 230,000,000 pounds. Under the stimulus of free labor, the production of both these important staples will assuredly greatly increase.

But not only can America feed, she can also clothe, the world. The cotton crop of the South in 1860 was nearly 5,500,000 bales of 400 pounds each, and during the previous decade the yield had more than doubled. Notwithstanding the temporary depression of this industry during the war, such are the facilities for its cultivation in the South that cotton again is king, and the crop of the last year has almost equaled that of its palmiest days.

The true riches of the American Union, however, is its rapidly increasing population. The living energies of its people are required to develop its natural resources, to fell the forests, plow the glebe, and carry the blessings of civilization to the prairies of Nebraska and Dacota, to the mountains of Nevada and Colorado, and to those vast regions

> Where roll the waters of the Oregon,
> And hear no sound, save their own dashings.

The real sinews of a nation's prosperity are the human brawn of its inhabitants. The astonishing increase in the population

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is the surest augury of the future prosperity of the Union. Since the beginning of the century that population has increased nearly eight hundred per cent. Nor is there any diminution in this rate of increase. On the contrary, the increase of the last census-decade was relatively, as well as absolutely, the greatest of the entire century, being from thirty-one and a half millions in 1860 to thirty-eight and a half millions in 1870.*

Of course this enormous increase is largely due to immigration. In fifty years, or from 1820 to 1870, the actual immigration was over seven millions.† The official statisticians of the United States compute that these immigrants brought into the country an increase to its cash capital of $560,000,000, which is only the very moderate sum of eighty dollars each. But the greatest riches that they brought was their physical, intellectual, and moral powers. More than half of these immigrants were at the period of their greatest strength and vigor, namely, between fifteen and thirty years of age. Only ten per cent. were over forty.

This European immigration may be expected largely to increase. Hitherto three fifths of the whole has been from Great Britain. The present tendency indicates that other nations will largely swell the annual human tide that sets toward our shores.

The subjects of Continental despotism long for the liberty and manhood to be enjoyed under free institutions, and look with longing eyes to the great Republic, which stretches forth her arms of welcome to the oppressed of every clime, and will throw over the meanest that seek her protection the ægis of her power.

The increasing facilities for steam transit, and the numerous lines of travel opened up with Havre, Bremen, Hamburgh, and other continental ports, will flood these shores with the surplus population of the old world. Indeed, emigration offers the only apparent solution of the most perplexing social questions of Europe, and especially of Great Britain. In that wealthy island, notwithstanding the many noble and costly

* More accurately, 38,555,983.

† During the decade previous to 1870 the annual average was about 200,000 In 1870 it was 387,203. In 1871, 321,350.

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charities sustained by voluntary liberality, every twentieth man is a pauper, the work-houses are crowded, vagrant mendicancy throngs the streets, and the tide of poverty swells ever higher and higher. In the richest metropolis in the world squalid misery and wretchedness every-where confront the eye and harrow the soul. The problem of its relief is appalling in its magnitude and difficulty. But in America each new-comer is hailed as an addition to the wealth of the country, and may win on easiest terms a freehold homestead, and secure a plentiful provision for declining years.

These immigrants are intellectually quickened by the stimulus of remunerative industry, popular education, and free institutions. They disprove the old Horatian maxim, and change both mind and climate in crossing the sea. The admixture of Teuton and Celtic with the essentially Anglo-Saxon blood of the American people will tend to the development of a higher type of humanity, as the mingling of Dane, Saxon, and Norman in England resulted in a nobler nationality than any of the three. English travelers have observed the creation of a distinctively American type of face, with straight nose and forehead, small facial angle and a strongly marked intellectual expression, exceedingly like that of the ancient Greeks.

The material results of this immigration have been enormous. The impenetrable forests that stretched from the mountains of Maine to the everglades of Florida have fallen before the woodman's ax, save where preserved for timber or fuel. They have given place to stately cities, busy towns, and smiling villages; schools and colleges stand thick through all the land, and graceful spires on every side point evermore to heaven. And all this has been done within two hundred years, and most of it within fifty years. The pyramids of Egypt, the temples of Luxor and Karnak, are mere trifles compared with these herculean labors.

And the field for occupation is widening not only in the West, but in the South. The policy of the South has been averse to immigration. The genius of her peculiar institution required isolation, and made her exceedingly jealous of all foreign influence. Hence she became narrow, sectional, intensely bigoted in her antipathies, and extremely sensitive to any interference in her domestic polity. If foreign and North-

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ern immigration and travel had been freely permitted during the last half century, it is probable that the late war would never have occurred, and that slavery would gradually have given place to free labor. In the last decade of the United States census before the war, the fifteen Slaveholding States increased only 27.33 per cent.; while the population of the Free States increased 41.24 per cent., showing the diversion of the tide of immigration from the former.

Some fears have been entertained lest the negro element in the South should increase so rapidly as to swamp the entire white population. Those fears are idle. Latest returns show that in the South the increase of the slave population in ten years was 23.44 per cent., while that of the whites was 30 per cent.; and throughout the entire Union the white increase was 38 per cent., and that of the free blacks, of which class there is no immigration, was only 11 per cent. From these statistics it is computed that in the year 1900 the population of the entire Union will amount to 100,000,000, while only 9,000,000 will be of the colored race, 17 per cent. of whom will be of mixed blood and of superior intelligence. Thus the relative proportion of the blacks, now nearly one seventh of the entire population of the country, will be reduced in thirty years to less than one eleventh.

As we compute with mathematical accuracy the problem of the increasing population of this continent, we arrive at results the sober certainty of which leave behind the wildest flight of the imagination. The child is now living who will lay his hand upon the child's head who shall see, within a hundred years, a population of 250,000,000 of souls, a number equal to the entire population of Europe, dwelling beneath the broad free banner of the Republic. But no Malthusian fear of overpopulation need be felt. Upon the ordinary computation that every acre will support five persons, the fertile acreage of the United States would maintain 10,000,000,000, or ten times the present population of the planet. But long before the maximum population of any country is reached the increased difficulty of procuring a subsistence will bring the number of its inhabitants to a condition of statical equilibrium about which it will continue to oscillate.

In view of the unprecedented increase in wealth and popu-

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lation of the United States, and its exhaustless natural resources, the present national debt amounts only, as Mr. Disraeli jauntily said of that of Great Britain, to a mere flea-bite. That debt at the close of the war was about $3,000,000,000, or $100 for each man, woman, and child in the Union. In October, 1872, it amounted to $2,166,994,675, or only $57 per head. At the same time the value of real and personal estate had increased from $7,000,000,000 in 1850 to $16,000,000,000 in 1860, and to about $27,000,000,000 in 1870, or fourteen times the amount of the national debt. At a similar rate of increase the capital of the country in 1880 would be fifty times greater than the debt at that period, and in less than another decade that debt would disappear.

Such, then, being the resources and condition of the country, can any anticipations of its future be too glowing? It may be worth while to inquire, Are there any elements of danger or disaster in its prospects?

The tendency of large empires is toward disintegration. The variety of climate and productions creates different and frequently jarring interests, tastes, and feelings. One part of the country may engage exclusively in agriculture, another part may have especial facilities for manufactures, and the seaboard cities may be advantageously situated for commerce. The manufacturing interest may demand protection, while commerce and agriculture need free trade for their development. Thus an antagonism may arise between different sections, which may rend them asunder unless a comprehensive policy for the whole country is adopted.

Now agriculture is the chief industry of the United States. In it, according to the computation of Sir Morton Peto, based on the census returns, seven eighths of the population are engaged. Hence the impolicy, urges that distinguished political economist, of protecting the manufacturing interest, which is less than one eighth, at the cost of enhancing the expense of living to the entire population. Thus the price of labor is increased in the West, and the value of land and amount of its productions are lessened. Hence, too, the unwisdom of an export duty on cotton, any impediment to the growth and sale of which will materially retard the development of the South, which, as magnanimity would sug-

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gest, and as interest demands, should be fostered as carefully as possible.

The interlacing of the web of internal commerce in America will tend to knit the remotest parts of the country together by the ties of a common interest. The intimate intercourse and constant communication it demands will remove prejudice and exert a humanizing and affiliating influence which will be an antidote to disintegration. "America is a giant without bones," said Talleyrand to the first Napoleon. But since then the bones have been supplied in the wonderful railway system that stretches across the continent. Other inter-oceanic lines will be speedily carried into operation. Their influence on the future will be incalculable. A ceaseless stream of traffic will throb along those iron arteries of commerce, and Christian institutions will rejuvenate the effete old nations of China and Japan. Great cities, renowned as marts of trade throughout the world, will stand thick along this highway of the nations. "The gorgeous Inde" and far Cathay will be brought almost to our very doors. The rival names of the merchant princes of New York and San Francisco will become "familiar as household words" in the bazaars of Yokohama and Yedo, of Benares and Allahabad.

The common language and literature, the free schools and free press of America, give a community of character to the entire people. From Pembina to Galveston the English tongue is spoken with a purity astonishing to travelers from the mother country, where the inhabitants of neighboring shires often can hardly understand one another.

The cheap postal system, the facilities for travel by rail and river, and, above all, the great principle of indissoluble Federal Unity enfibred in the national heart—a principle baptized with the blood of the great army of martyrs of the Republic—will rivet the bonds which unite the whole country. But the chief safeguard against a repetition of the dread experience of the civil war, is the removal of that strange anomaly of the nineteenth century—the reproach of America and the bane of its welfare—the system of domestic slavery. This social gangrene, which was eating out the nation's heart, extirpated, the pulses of health again throb, and fresh vigor courses through its veins.

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It is a pseudo-philosophical opinion that small nations, such as the Greeks, the Swiss, the Dutch, are more patriotic than large ones; and that the migratory habits of Americans prevent the growth of those local affections which are necessary to strong love of country. But American patriotism is not a blind and unreasoning attachment to the mere soil of the country. It is an intelligent yet passionate devotion to its principles and institutions. Never did patriotism exhibit greater heroism, or make nobler sacrifices, than that manifested during the Great Rebellion.

The apprehension has been entertained by some philosophic writers that American civilization may be destined to a dire eclipse. It has been argued from a wide induction of facts that an inexorable law governs the fate of nations as of men; that decrepitude and decay terminate every national existence as certainly as death ends that of man. We think, however, that no induction from the past can be wide enough to arrive at such a universal law. The analogy between the life of nations and of men may furnish a beautiful simile, but we can hardly make it in the case of America a ground of prediction. There are causes of differentiation that here exert a potent influence. Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, all have passed away; but there were inherent weaknesses and vices in their political and ethical systems, subtle causes of disintegration and decay, which a wiser jurisprudence and a lofter ethical sentiment have eliminated from most modern societies. The great moral antiseptic of Christianity was wanting to keep those communities from corruption and dissolution.

The fear has also been expressed that America may outgrow her institutions; that those gentle restraints which suffice for the present may prove insufficient for the denser population and different condition of society of the future. The permanence of national institutions, however, does not depend on their rigidity, but on their flexibility and capability of self-adjustment to the necessities of the times. To this the genius of the American Government is eminently favorable. Most European countries seem to be cramped and fettered by institutions as inelastic and rigid as cast iron. The growing necessities of the nation are bound upon a Procrustean bed of ancient use and wont. The masses are kept in restraint by a

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strange mixture of political feudalism and medieval ecclesiasticism. Hence much of European civilization is like the beautiful villages on the slopes of Vesuvius—beneath the thin crust is a fiery flood, which may burst forth in desolating fury. Those despotic governments may develop in their higher classes a lofty type of civilization and of intellectual and esthetic culture; but they are floating upon a slumbering volcano, a seething mass of popular discontent and passionate aspiratious after liberty. And this volcano may burst forth in some terrific social earthquake, like that which in France, at the close of the last century, overturned both throne and altar in the dust, and which again has been recently exhibited in the Commune's carnival of blood.

In the American Union the government is but the instrument for carrying into effect the popular will. Hence the passionate enthusiasm with which, during the long years of the nation's agony and bloody sweat, the people rallied to its aid, blanching at no danger, flinching from no sacrifice. Republics, it has been remarked, are more self-conscious and more sensitive than monarchies. Foreign aggression or insult, therefore, is not regarded as a mere affair of state, to be settled by diplomats, but is made the private grievance of each individual. The shot fired at the honored flag that waved over Sumter was felt as a personal insult by every patriotic American. The murderous weapon that drank the blood of the martyred Tribune of the people pierced with an agony of grief each loyal heart. In republics each individual identifies his private interest with that of his country. The public acts of the nation, therefore, are not those of a small governing class, but of a whole people; and they thus possess an irresistible momentum.

The government of the United States is founded on reason, and not on physical constraint. The great work of the country is, therefore, the organization of its intellect by means of schools, colleges, scientific study, and all ennobling and liberalizing pursuits. It must educate all classes of society, or else the ignorant masses will act as a dead weight upon its progress. And the education imparted should be adapted to the existing state of knowledge, especially in the direction of modern science, and not founded upon the models of the me-

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dieval schoolmen. Not external coercion, but intelligent self-restraint, is the safeguard of American society. Most European nations are controlled by a rigid, all-embracing system of police, which prescribes every act and reduces the man to an automatic machine. This theory of government is adapted only to children, idiots, and criminals. It does not depend on the co-operation or consent of the human will. It is degrading to the intellect and debasing to the morals. To an American this system of perpetual espionage and intrusive tutelage is intolerable. The very air seems like that of a prison. Amid the gayeties of the French or Austrian capital, he seems to hear the clank of the fetter, and the ominous presence of the ubiquitous *gens d'armes* is the symbol of slavery.

There is no danger of American institutions giving way, as has been feared, before the strain of a growing nationality, like a vase in which a seedling oak has been planted, which has become too large for its narrow prison. On the contrary, they are like the tree itself, ever evolving in symmetrical beauty new branches and leaves, and developing new flowers and fruit. Springing from the heart of the people, they will throb with the impulses of the age. They are not a lifeless trunk, but a living tree, through which vital currents flow.

This feature of the American character is highly favorable to its recovery from the effects of the civil war. The close of that deadly strife saw marshaled in serried phalanx an army of war-worn veterans, disciplined by a hundred battles, invincible in their strength, and enthusiastic in their attachment to their idolized leaders. Yet in a few weeks these armed hosts, at the command of the country, melted away like snow before the summer's sun, and were quietly absorbed into the mass of the people.* Prophets of evil foretold the establishment of a military dictatorship, and doubting or unfriendly critics expected a marauding guerilla warfare of the disbanded soldiers—a reign of anarchy and misrule. But both have been disappointed. The thunder-cloud of war, awful with bolts of wrath, quietly dissolved and sank into the earth, like so much sweet and grateful rain, to irrigate and bless the soil. The great military leader of the war was borne into the highest office of

* At present the entire army of the Republic consists of only 24,000 white and 2,500 black soldiers.

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the country, not by the bayonets of the soldiers, but by the peaceful *plebiscitum* of the nation.

Thus, too, the deadly wound in the body politic, inflicted by the civil war, speedily healed—healed by first intention, as the surgeons say—without the long and painful process of suppuration and sloughing—of exile, confiscation, and retributive bloodshed. The dreadful trail of battle in the South was soon covered, by the gentle ministrations of Nature, with a wealth of herbage and of flowers. So the more dreadful effects of internecine strife on the human heart, let us hope, will soon be buried beneath a growth of gentle charities and sweet amenities of life. "Over blood shed upon the field of battle," says Froude, "the grass soon grows; but blood shed upon the scaffold is never forgotten." Let us thank God that the sublime magnanimity of the victorious Republic was sullied by no act of violence, by no blood spilt in revenge, not even that of the arch-traitor himself.

As with devout as well as philosophic eye we contemplate the changing drama of the age, we are compelled to discern the hand of Providence in the government of nations. Behind every secondary cause stands the great First Cause of all things. Infinite power and wisdom are guiding the world, as a skillful rider guides his steed, along the path of progress to a glorious goal.

> For I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

And "down the ringing grooves of change" the world is speeding to the golden age to be. We are indeed under the reign of law, not of a law of decay and death, but of growth and life. We are the subjects of a benign Government, the final causes of all whose decrees are the advancement and ennobling of the race. Americans, especially, should devoutly acknowledge Divine Providence in the history of their country; and now, if ever, should that acknowledgment be made.

> When was ever God's right hand,
> Over any time or land,
> Stretched as now beneath the sun?

He whose untimely martyrdom the world deplores was not ashamed in his official documents to declare his recognition of

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that Providence and his confidence in its awards. On the latest issue from the United States Mint is the formal confession of her Christian creed, in the pious legend, "We trust in God." No nobler motto could be blazoned on her crest. In so far as her policy is noble, Christian, and devout, God will set his love upon her to keep her, and no weapon formed against her shall prosper.

Plymouth Rock in the brilliant rhetoric of De Tocqueville is called the corner-stone of the American nation. The principles of which that rock is the symbol are certainly the foundations, broad, and deep, and firm, of her national greatness. They are the pledge of the stability of her institutions. In that nation are no signs of degeneracy or decay, of atrophy or lassitude. Not in her decrepitude, but in her early vigor does she seem. To her we may apply the sublime language of Milton's *Areopagitica:* "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle to discourse, and not beneath the reach of any point that human capacity can soar to. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance."

During the war many unfriendly eyes regarded the American Union as an agonized Laocoön in the writhing folds of a deadly serpent—a serpent she had cherished in her own bosom only to receive its envenomed sting at last. Rather the brawny Hercules has she proved, strangling the serpent-brood, and going forth to win new triumphs and achieve new labors for the welfare of mankind.

A future, glowing with brightest auguries of hope and promise, beckons onward. Before us lies a good land and a large; a land of oil, and corn, and wine; a land flowing with milk and honey; a land of boundless wealth and fairest loveliness; a land hallowed forever by the rich libation of the heart's blood of its martyred sons.

> Their graves, green and holy, around us are lying;
> Free were the sleepers all, living or dying.

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Reverently let us mention their names; lightly let us tread upon their ashes. It is ours to go up and possess this land, to develop its resources, to mold its institutions, to give tone and character to its future history, and to affect for loftiest weal its destiny. The voices of our country, of the future, of our children and our children's children, and the voice of God, call on us to discharge that duty wisely and well.

Let us adopt, in conclusion, the fine simile of Longfellow, and, regarding the Union as a fair and goodly ship, bearing her precious freightage of humanity across the deeps of time, exclaim:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel;
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope;
What anvils rang; what hammers beat;
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee:
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

ART. IV.—THE BAPTISM OF NAAMAN.

IT may be premised that in any inquiry as to the meaning of the baptismal terms, as, for example, *βαπτιζω*, a distinct and precise answer cannot be given until it is known from what point of view the inquiry is made. If the question contemplates mode only, then perhaps a sufficient and true answer is given when it is said that there is nothing in Scripture referring to this subject which warrants or demands for its explanation, or to fulfill its requirements, any other definition than that which is expressed by such words as "to sprinkle," "to pour," "to shed," "to descend;" while some cases absolutely require this meaning, and will be satisfied with no other.

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If the inquiry contemplates the effect either really or ceremonially accomplished as to the subject, or concerns the purpose, object, or intent of the *ordinance* in relation to the individual subject's personal moral state, we answer that it is properly defined by such words as "to purify or cleanse," with the connected, associated idea of consecration or devotedness to an object, purpose, or person; namely, to the object and purpose of a Christ-like life, and to the Persons of the Triune Godhead. If it is asked with reference to its effect upon the individual subject's own relation to the Church of Christ, then there is in it the idea of initiation; namely, either really or ceremonially to initiate into its covenant blessings, and "garner" into its fold. But if a general definition of baptism from every point of view is demanded, a thorough investigation will, it is thought, lead to the conclusion that baptism is that ordinance or sacrament of the Church of Christ, instituted or established by his authority, performed by the sprinkling, pouring, or shedding down of the baptismal element upon the subject, with the intent, object, or purpose and effect, of that subject's real or ceremonial purification or cleansing, and consecration to the Holy Trinity, whereby the recipient is initiated, really or symbolically, into the possession of the rights and privileges, the covenant blessings, of the aforesaid Church of Christ.

The baptismal act predicated by the Septuagint of the Syrian noble cannot, of course, come under the category of baptisms as thus defined, and yet may be found to have a close relationship with them—an important bearing and influence in determining matters needful to be settled for the better understanding of our Christian vocabulary.

Naaman was a leper. At the suggestion of an Israelitish servant, he journeyed with a princely retinue to Samaria, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha, from whom he received directions to "go and wash (Heb., רָחַצְתָּ; Greek, *λουσαι*) in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean," (Greek, *καθαρισθησε.*) 2 Kings v, 10. In three several places (verses 10, 12, and 13) the Greek words *λουω* and *καθαριζω* are used in this narrative as indicating respectively the command and promise of the prophet. In the fourteenth verse it is said that Naaman

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"went down and *dipped* (Heb. וַיִּטְבֹּל; Greek, *εβαπτισατο*) himself seven times in Jordan, . . . and he was clean."

Upon this it may be observed:

1. That this is the only passage in the Septuagint version in which the Hebrew טָבַל is translated by the Greek *βαπτιζω*.

2. That טָבַל is usually (not always, as we shall see) translated by the Greek *βαπτω*.

3. That, like the Greek *βαπτω*, it does not exclusively, invariably, and necessarily mean immersion, or dipping under, so that the person or thing concerning which it is spoken is completely covered by that into which it is dipped. To prove this, and thus establish an important fact, we may cite all the instances where it occurs. Thus, Gen. xxxvii, 31: "And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped (Heb., וַיִּטְבְּלוּ; Greek, *εμολυναν*) the coat in the blood," (Heb., בַּדָּם; Greek, *τῳ αιματι*.) Here it is evident that טָבַל ought not to be translated "dip" in the sense of a complete immersion under; for this would have defeated the purpose of the brothers, which was to imitate a coat spotted or stained with the blood of a person torn and killed by wild beasts. The quantity of blood—that of a kid—is also against the notion of a complete immersion. Nor does the Hebrew בַּדָּם necessarily require the translation, "in the blood;" for the preposition בְּ has many significations, such as *in*, *by*, *at*, *among*, *as*, *unto*, *upon*, *with*, etc. It is used of the *instrument* or *material* with which any thing is done, as in Gen. vi, 14: "Thou shalt pitch it *with* pitch," (בַּכֹּפֶר.) Exod. v, 3: "With the sword (Heb., בַּחֶרֶב) and with pestilence, (Heb., בַּדֶּבֶר.) (See also Exod. vii, 17; xvi, 5; Isa. xi, 4; Jer. xiv, 15.) So we may undoubtedly render בַּדָּם, "with the blood." This is clearly what the Septuagint *τῳ αιματι* means, since it is the dative of instrument, and is, without a preposition, to be translated, "*with* blood." But as absolute and positive proof that טָבַל in this passage did not, in the opinion of the Greek translators, mean "to dip," in any sense, we have this certain fact, that they translated it *not* by the word *βαπτω*, but by another word, *μολυνω*, which word, so far as we can find, never means "to dip" or "immerse." This word occurs but three times in the New Testament, and is in every case translated *defiled*—once of the conscience, once of garments, once of the saints who were not "defiled with

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women." 1 Cor. viii, 7; Rev. iii, 4; xiv, 4. The word is rendered in the lexicons, "To stain, to sully, defile, sprinkle with flour." This passage may then be rendered, "And *sprinkled* he coat *with* blood," or, "*stained* the coat *with* blood."

טָבַל also occurs in the following places, where it is rendered by *βαπτω* and "*dip*," (except in Job ix, 31,) namely: (*a*) Exod. xii, 23; (*b*) Lev. iv, 6, 17; (*c*) ix, 9; (*d*) xiv, 6; (*e*) xiv, 16, 51; (*f*) Num. xix, 18; (*g*) Deut. xxxiii, 24; (*h*) Josh. iii, 15; (*i*) Ruth ii, 14; (*k*) 1 Sam. xiv, 27; (*l*) 2 Kings v, 14; (*m*) viii, 15; (*n*) Job ix, 31. These are all the other places where this word occurs in the Hebrew Bible. In the passages marked (*b*), (*c*), (*e*), it is the "finger" which is "dipped" (moistened) in (with) blood or oil. In those marked (*a*) and (*f*) a "bunch of hyssop" is dipped (moistened) in (with) blood and water. In (*g*), "Asher shall dip (moisten or smear) his foot in (with) oil." In (*h*), the feet of the priests "that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water." And immediately "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon a heap, and those that came down toward the sea failed, and the priests stood firm upon dry ground." In none of these cases is there necessarily, or possibly, a complete immersion. In the case last cited, as soon as the feet of the priests touched or were wet by the water at the brim of the river, the water receded before their advancing footsteps, and their feet rested upon the ground. In (*i*), Ruth is "to dip (moisten, sop) her morsel (of bread) in the vinegar"—not necessarily, nor even probably, an immersion, since she would scarcely dip the fingers also in which she held the "morsel." In (*k*), Jonathan "dipped (moistened) the end of the rod in honey"—not a complete immersion. In (*m*), Hazael, it is said, "took a thick cloth and dipped (wet, moistened) it (with) in water." Here the essential idea conveyed is that of moistening or saturating the cloth with water so as to thicken it; and the mode of doing this may have been either by dipping into the water or by pouring the water upon it. In (*n*), Job ix, 31, our English version is: "Yet shalt thou plunge me into the ditch." (Heb., אָז בַּשַּׁחַת תִּטְבְּלֵנִי; Greek, *Ικανος ενρυποι με εβαπσας.*) Now the Greek of this passage may be rendered, "Fitly hast thou smeared me with filth." Ῥυπος occurs but once in the New

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Testament, and is there (1 Pet. iii, 21) translated filth; and in neither classic nor Hellenistic Greek is there adduced a single instance of its meaning "a ditch." The Hebrew word of which the Septuagint translators thought *ενύποι* to be a correct rendering occurs in Psalm xvi, 10, and Job xvii, 14, and is there translated "corruption." The passage in Psalms is quoted Acts ii, 27, and xiii, 35, and in both cases is translated by the word *διαφθορα*, "corruption." We do not mean to say that שַׁחַת never means a "pit" or "cistern," but simply that here that meaning is inapplicable. It is easily seen how it could come to mean filth, slime, corruption, since it was doubtless no unusual thing for a "cistern" or "pit" to have in it a filthy, slimy sediment, such as that which was in the cistern or pit into which Jeremiah was let down. The intention of the passage is clearly what we have given it, as may be seen by a simple reading of the verse preceding and the whole of this verse, merely changing the translation so as to accord with Luke and Peter and Paul and David: "If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt thou smear me with filth, and mine own clothes shall abhor me." It may be submitted that this is a more rational presentation of the author's meaning, and conveys a better sense than does our English version. One passage more, (*d*,) Lev. xiv, 6, demands our attention. Two birds, (the margin says sparrows,) and cedar-wood, and scarlet, and hyssop, were to be taken, and one of the birds was to be killed in an earthen vessel over running water. "As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood (בְּדַם) of the bird that was killed over the running water. And he shall *sprinkle* upon him that is to be cleansed from his leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean." It may now be confidently submitted that the idea of immersing a living bird in the blood of a bird of its own size—*a sparrow in the blood of a sparrow*—the thing contained in that which is contained—is simply absurd and impossible; and in this case the words טָבַל, *βαπτω*, and "dip," cannot and do not mean immersion under. In this case the words *must* mean to moisten, wet, smear, or convey equivalent ideas; and we must therefore translate, in order to secure the essential idea conveyed, thus: "shall moisten or

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smear them and the living bird with the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water," etc.

From these passages and this examination, we are authorized to conclude that טָבַל *does not necessarily imply an immersion, nor even always a dipping, but, like* βαπτω, *it may mean to moisten, smear, stain*, etc.

In this investigation, also, a fact of great significance as to the ritual use of the baptismal words arrests attention, namely: *That in none of the instances where* טָבַל *occurs, and where it is rendered by* βαπτω, *does the act described by* טָבַל, or βαπτω, *constitute the cleansing or purification.* What is meant is this: that, where the term used is טָבַל in the Hebrew and βαπτω in the Septuagint version, in no instance is that which is dipped *said to be cleansed or purified;* in every instance that which is dipped or smeared, in conjunction with that to which it clings, is simply the means made use of to cleanse or purify another object. Thus, it was the *administrator* or *instrument in the purification* which was dipped or smeared or moistened, and not the *subject* of that purification. For instance: Aaron *dipped* his *finger*, not *the horns of the altar*, into the blood, to purify or cleanse, not *the finger* which *was dipped*, but *the horns of the altar*, or *the altar itself, neither of which was dipped.* So the priest was to *dip* his right *finger* in the oil that was in his left hand, and *sprinkle* of the oil seven times before the Lord. "And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of *him that is to be cleansed*, and upon the thumb of *his* right hand, and upon the great toe of *his* right foot, upon the blood of the trespass-offering. And the remnant of the oil that is in the priest's hand shall he pour upon the head of *him that is to be cleansed.*" Lev. xiv, 16–18. It was not that which was dipped, but that which by dipping was obtained and conveyed to the subject, which was really the cleansing medium; nor was that which was dipped thereby cleansed, but thus the material was obtained to be applied to the cleansing of another. *Apropos* to this, it may be noted that precisely thus is it in the ordinance of baptism by sprinkling: the fingers are dipped and the water clings thereto, not to baptize, consecrate, or cleanse *the dipper*, or "*dipped finger*," but to be sprinkled upon another, who is thus ceremonially cleansed and devoted to the Trinity in unity.

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Thus, too, it was not the bird that was dipped that was thereby cleansed; for a preceding verse (4) declares that both birds were clean before. The living bird, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, were to be moistened with the blood of the dead bird; or (if the other phraseology is preferred) dipped into the blood of the dead bird, and then he "shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and he shall pronounce him clean." Lev. xiv, 4–7. *The cleansing was to be performed by sprinkling; the material to be sprinkled was to be obtained by dipping. The "dipping," then, when it is expressed in Hebrew by* טָבַל, *and translated by the Greek* βαπτω, *never indicates or accomplishes, nor intends to indicate or accomplish, either real or ceremonial cleansing or purification.* This, be it noted especially, was the rule as to the case of leprosy.

Carefully, then, keeping these facts and results before us, we return to Naaman. In accordance with Elisha's direction he went and (יִטְבֹּל, βαπτισατω) dipped (baptized) himself seven times in Jordan." His was a case of leprosy. According to Israelitish ritual, the leper was to be sprinkled seven times in order to his cleansing. An Israelitish prophet directs him to do something the same number of times and be cleansed, which something is indicated in Hebrew by the verb רָחַץ, in Greek by λουσαι, and in English by wash—when commanded—but when performed is indicated by טָבַל, and βαπτιζω, and in English by "dip." At once we are struck with the anomalous and unprecedented fact that, for the first and only time in the Scriptures, the Septuagint translators in rendering טָבַל use the word βαπτιζω, while in every other instance save one they use βαπτω, the other exceptional case being that of Joseph, where, as before stated, μολυνω, "to sprinkle," is used. In every other place they translate by βαπτω. Why now change in these two places only? Three chapters farther on the word again recurs, (viii, 15,) and, true to their former custom, they translate by βαπτω. Why now this change—these only exceptions? To account for them there must be some peculiarity in the cases themselves. Can such peculiarity—idiosyncracy—be found?

We have seen that in none of the other instances where טָבַל occurs in connection with ceremonial cleansing or purification, and where it is rendered by βαπτω—in no one of these

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instances is it the purification of that object, whether it be a finger, or hyssop, or bird, of which the idea expressed in טָבַל is predicated, that is accomplished by the action described therein, but the attention is directed to the purification of some other object or person, which or who is not dipped, or to whom this word is not applied. The purposed and intended results of the action are not affected with respect to that which is said to be "dipped," but upon something else. The same is true as to *βαπτω*. But in these exceptional occurrences the case is precisely the reverse. The purposed and intended result is effected upon that concerning which טָבַל is used. As to the case before us, the person of whom the action and purport of טָבַל is predicated is the person upon whom the result, cleansing and healing, is to be effected. This, then, constitutes a marked difference, which did not escape the Greek translators, but at once was indicated by a different rendering: in the one case by *μολυνω*, in the other by *βαπτιζω*, instead of the customary *βαπτω*.

Now the result, namely, cleansing or purification, and hence the cure which was effected, and which result, in this single instance alone, is indicated by the Hebrew טָבַל, was always effected by the application of the cleansing element to the subject, and the mode described by such expressions as "to sprinkle," "to pour upon," "to wash." In the "leprosy," as stated, purification was effected by sprinkling that into which the "dip" was made seven times upon the leper—the precise number of times that Naaman was commanded "to wash," and which command, it is said, he fulfilled by "baptizing" himself seven times. Remembering that the command emanated from an Israelitish prophet—himself thoroughly conversant with the Mosaic ritual and austerely obedient thereto—we have more than a rational presumption that this purification was effected after the manner of the ritual, though for special reasons the material might be different.

But we may go back a little to the circumstances which led to this act of Naaman, and therein find confirmation that this word is not here used in its ordinary signification. The act performed by Naaman was in fulfillment of a positive command, so definite and unbending in its terms that although one river may be supposed to be as good as another, and the

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mountain rivulets Abana and Pharpar were doubtless purer streams than the muddy and sluggish Jordan, yet no other water would do, and no other river would answer in accomplishing the object. Much less, then, would a variation in manner be allowable. Now the command (v. 10, 12, 13) of which טָבַל (v. 14) expresses the fulfillment is expressed by Heb., רָחַץ, Greek, *λουω*, English, "wash." Now, whatever may be the manner and idea expressed by טָבַל, it is indubitable that it is here the equivalent of רָחַץ, and that in the estimation of the Seventy *λουω* is the equivalent of the latter, and therefore also of the former, word; and since they translate the former by *βαπτιζω*, this also, for the purposes of this command, must be the equivalent of *λουω*—for this purpose indeed, the Seventy being judges, these four respective words are equivalents.

Now a careful examination of all the occurrences of רָחַץ in the Scriptures will justify the following statements, namely, that when the action which it designates is performed with reference to the hands, feet, or face, it is translated by the Greek *νιπτω*; when the action respects clothes, *πλυνω* is used; when the body, or any other part of the person, save the hands and feet and entire face is designated, the Greek rendering is *λουω*. Thus we have, (Sol. Song, v, 12,) "His eyes are... washed with milk, (רָחַץ and *λουω*.) So *λουω* is thus used in the New Testament, as Acts xvi, 33: "He washed their stripes." Of course, only a *part* of the body. Once רָחַץ is translated by *χεω*, "to flow or pour," namely, Job xxix, 6: "When I *washed* my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil." In this case the washing must of necessity have been a pouring or smearing of the steps with butter, that is, an application of the butter to "his steps." Accordingly, in the Septuagint it reads: "When my paths were flowed (*εχεοντο*) with butter, and my mountains poured forth milk." It is needless, perhaps, to point out the propriety of this translation by the Seventy of רָחַץ by a word meaning "to pour." For the custom is well known to have been almost universal in the East of performing both *washing* and *bathing* by pouring.*

* רָחַץ occurs seventy-two times in the Bible; thirty-eight times it is translated by *λουω*; twenty times by *νιπτω*; eight times by *πλυνω*; one time each by *απονιπτω*, *εκπλυνω*, *χεω*, *απολουω*; and twice (Exod. xl, 30, 31) the verses are wanting in the Septuagint.

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Another fact: In verse 11 Naaman says that he expected that the prophet would "strike his hand over the place and recover the leper," (Septuagint, *'επιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αυτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον*, put his hand upon the place or spot.) He, the Seventy being judges, expected him to come and invoke his God and touch the spot, that is, make a topical application, and thus heal him. The prophet, however, ordered him to go and "wash seven times in Jordan, and thy flesh (query, skin?) shall come unto thee, and thou shalt be clean." Now what was "to come unto" him? The whole of his flesh, or a part of it? We submit, the part, place, spot, greater or less, as the case might be, affected or made foul by this loathsome disease. And what was he to wash? What was the action expressed by רָחַץ and *λουω*? We submit now if he was not to wash the place, (*τον τοπον*,) the spot or part of the body affected by the disease, an action accurately expressed by *λουω* as to be performed simply on a part of the body other than the hands and feet and face. Accordingly he goes and dips into Jordan, and thereby obtains water, which he dashes, sprinkles, or pours upon the spot seven times, with the intent and purpose of being thereby cleansed. Now, since for this time טָבַל includes the whole of this complex idea, it is rendered for the first and only time in the Old Testament by *βαπτιζω*, since the action and effect was a *literal baptism. It was the application of water by affusion to the person, with the intent and purpose of cleansing or purifying that person*—which purification in the case of the sprinkled leper necessitated a cure—*and the result was effected upon the person to whom the application was made.*

So, also, in the case of Joseph's coat. A purposed or intended result was effected thereupon, which purposed result is included in the word טָבַל; and hence, in accordance with the general principle enunciated in the exceptional case of Naaman, *βαπτω* is not used as its rendering. And as in this case purification was not the object or intended result, but spotting, or staining, a word indicating the same mode, but a different result and purpose, is used, and for this only time טָבַל is rendered by *μολυνω*, "to sprinkle." Thus, then, these two exceptional cases mutually illuminate each other, and agree in demonstrating that טָבַל, *βαπτω*, *βαπτιζω*, one and all, are properly rendered by expressions other than those which indicate im-

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mersion. Thus also the baptism of this Syrian noble is taken out of the armory of the exclusive immersionist, and caused to do battle for that mode of baptism made visible in the day when the Holy Ghost *descended*, and the baptism of fire *fell upon* the disciples, when Jesus endowed them with power, in fulfillment of "the promise of the Father." From which FATHER, and HIS SON JESUS, and the HOLY GHOST, may there come a like copious baptism, for the unification of that Church visible which has been redeemed by the shed blood of the God-man, that, with unbroken ranks, it may go forth to the battle with the alien host—to the slaughter-fields of its last Armageddon—bearing aloft on its banner emblazoned, "ONE FAITH, ONE LORD, ONE BAPTISM."

ART. V.— THE UNITY OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD.

II. FACTS OF SUCCESSION.

IN a late number of this Journal, in an article on "The Unity of the Physical World," we grouped together the leading *Facts of Co-existence*, as revealed in the blended light of the modern sciences, for the purpose of illustrating the uniformities and mutual relationships which pervade the entire system of the visible universe. We remarked that there is another group of phenomena sustaining to each other the relations of antecedence and sequence, which bring to light the existence of a *historical* unity stretching back from the co-existent phenomena of to-day, across intervals of time which are utterly measureless and incomprehensible. While the revelations of such a web of co-existent relationships demonstrate the unity of the entire system of matter in reference to space, those which we now propose to bring to view are calculated to convince every intelligence of the unity of that system in reference to time.

I. *Primordial History of the Solar System.*

The common physical conditions under which subsist the various bodies which constitute the solar system could not but

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remind us, as we passed, of the probability that they have all had a common origin, and, to a great extent, a common history. This probability was recognized by physicists and philosophers long before our knowledge of these uniformities had become as complete and suggestive as it now is. The idea occurred to Leibnitz,* Kant,† and Lambert;‡ and Bode§ reproduced some of the conjectures of Kant. The subject was also pondered by Sir William Herschel‖ in the light of his stellar and nebular discoveries, and he propounded the theory of the gradual condensation of nebulæ into stars. This was at once taken up, if not independently originated, by Laplace, who was then fresh from his profound studies of the harmonies of the solar system, and was by him developed into the famous "Nebular Hypothesis."¶

The leading object of the hypothesis was to trace the action of known material forces, from an assumed beginning or state of existence, through the various stages of the formation of the solar system. The theory assumes the primordial condition of matter to be that of an incandescent vapor. This condition granted, and granted also the action of such physical forces as science has revealed, and all the astronomical phenomena of the solar system—at least, of the planetary bodies—are at once explicable on so-called natural grounds. Later developments of geological science have shown a large body of terrestrial phenomena which are most readily explained, as we shall see, by reference to such an antecedent state of things as the nebular hypothesis necessitates.

The publication of this sublime hypothesis precipitated a profound agitation in the thinking world. Among physicists it found, at first, a somewhat cordial welcome, but when more

* Leibnitz: *Protogæa, sive de prima facie Telluris*, etc., 1683. Buffon: *La Théorie de la Terre*, and *Epoques de la Nature.*

† Kant: *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*, 1751. Helmholz: "Interaction of Natural Forces," (Youmans' edition,) p. 230.

‡ Lambert: "Cosmological Letters."

§ Bode: *Kentniss des Himmels.*

Leucippus of Miletus held that the earth was disengaged from a chaos of matter which spontaneously assumed a vortical movement in a vast vacuum.—*Diog. Laër., Lives*, (Bohn's edition,) p. 389.

‖ Sir William Herschel: "Philosophical Transactions," 1811.

¶ Laplace: *Exposition du Système du Monde*, ad fin.

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powerful telescopes effected the resolution of nebula after nebula, it began to be believed that all nebulæ would eventually prove resolvable, and that thus the evidence would disappear that such matter exists in the universe as the nebular hypothesis begins by postulating. The hypothesis, therefore, for a third of a century, rested in a state of disrepute. There were always some, however, who could not divest themselves of the conviction that it represented real history. For our own part, we have not wavered in our confidence for nearly thirty years; and, since 1847, have publicly taught the principles of the hypothesis. Recently, the revelations of the spectroscope, establishing the vaporous condition of many of the nebulæ, have given a firm support to the theory; and these evidences, coupled with others, have secured the adhesion of probably a large majority of living astronomers, physicists, and geologists.

In the theological world the hypothesis has earned but a cautious reception. It seemed to many exactly adapted to forward the end for which it was assumed it had been framed. "Sire," said Laplace, when Napoleon expressed his surprise that the astronomers could refrain from mentioning the name of God, "Sire, we have no need of that hypothesis." And so the Nebular Hypothesis was understood to be a substitute for the theistic one. The patronage bestowed upon the hypothesis by the author of the "Vestiges of Creation," has also disparaged it in the estimation of the theologian, since it seemed the aim of that writer, as has been alleged, to dispense with a providence, if not with a Deity. Mr. Spencer's more recent adoption of the hypothesis as part of a scheme of universal evolution involving spiritual effects as well as material, has exerted a like influence.

It will be, however, most religious, as well as most reasonable, to estimate the hypothesis on its scientific merits, regardless of any irreverent uses which may have been made of it. If it represents a *real history*, it reveals God's activity and God's thought, and no man can be actuated by a higher ambition than to make himself familiar with the thought of God.*

* Many learned adversaries have recorded their opinions in opposition to this hypothesis. Whewell says, We must leave it to the future to furnish the facts on

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Let us now glance at the scientific grounds of this famous hypothesis. We have already seen (in our former article) what reasons exist for believing that matter in a state of vaporous incandescence is a wide-spread phenomenon in the universe. The telescope, by its failure to resolve a large proportion of the nebulæ, opened the way for the opinion that their substance is really continuous, and this was the view entertained by the elder Herschel. It was his opinion, also, entertained from Wilson, that the envelope of the sun is of a cloudy character. In our own times, the spectroscope may be said to

which its claims can be rested.—*Indications of a Creator*, pp. 27, 52, and *Plurality of Worlds*. Undoubtedly, if now living, he would recognize the irresistible cogency of the "facts." Buchanan, ("Modern Atheism," chap. ii); Brewster, ("More Worlds than One," and "North British Review," No. 3, p. 476,) and the author of the article on the Nebular Hypothesis, in "Appleton's Cyclopædia," have used arguments in opposition. See also Sedgwick, "Discourse;" Miller, "Footprints of the Creator." It will be remarked, however, that none of the weightier opponents (unless Proctor be one) belong to the present, and that their objections rest on premises rendered untenable by recent progress in science.

Those who accept the hypothesis are legion; among them may be named Helmholz, ("Interaction of Natural Forces;") Dana, ("Manual of Geology," p. 741 and elsewhere;) Dawson, ("Archaia," and "Story of the Earth and Man;") T. S. Hunt, ("Lowell Institute Lectures," "Canadian Naturalist," new series, vol. v, p. 446, *et passim*;) Thomson and Tait, ("Treatise on Natural Philosophy," App. D, also "Trans. Royal Soc.," Edinburgh, 1862, etc.;) Arago, (*Astronomie populaire;* Meunier (*Le Ciel géologique*, p. 147, *et seq.*;) Delaunay (*Cours élémentaire d' Astronomie*, pp. 638–646;) Flourens, ("Human Longevity;") J. S. Mill, ("System of Logic;") Sæmann, (*Bull. de la Soc. géol. de France*, Feb., 1861;) Spencer, ("First Principles," pp. 149, 179, 181, etc.;) Comte, (*Philos. pos.*, ii, 363, 376;) Schellen, (*Die Spectralanalyse*, pp. 511, 512;) Secchi, (*Le Soleil.*) Father Secchi says: "Les savants sont de nos jours *unanimes* à admettre que notre système solaire est dû à la condensation d'une nébuleuse qui s'étendait autrefois au delà des limites occupées actuellement par les planètes les plus lointaines, (p. 332.) La théorie. . . . a été bien confirmé et, pour ainsi dire démontré par la découverte des nébuleuses gazeuses," (p. 401.) Delaunay says: "Laplace a été plus heureux. En adoptant l'idée d'Herschel sur la condensation progressive des nébuleuses, et sur transformation en étoiles, et appliant ces idées à notre système planétaire, il est parvenu à en expliquer la formation de la matière la plus satisfaisante. *Aucune des particularités* que l'observation a manifesté relativement aux planètes et à leur satellites n'échappe à l'ingénieuse explication qu'il a dévelloppé," (*Op. cit.*, p. 639.) Schellen says: "Das herrliche Gebaüde welches schon von Kant in 1755 . . . in seinem Grundlinien aufgezeichnet, und von Laplace 41 Jahre später aufgebaut wurde, hat gegenwärtig durch die Spectralanalyse seinen Schlusstein erhalten." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 511, 512.) On the subject of cosmogony see also Ennis, "The Origin of the Stars, and the Causes of their Motion and Light," and "Proc. Am. Assoc., Troy Meeting," pp. 27–47. Proctor has propounded what may be styled a meteoric theory of planetary origin. See "Other Worlds than Ours," pp. 220–229.

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have demonstrated the correctness of these views. All those celestial bodies which furnish spectra with bright lines are incandescent vapors. These include the nebulous stars, the planetary nebulæ, (small circular nebulæ with large bright nuclei,) the ring nebulæ, the irregular nebulæ, and some of the spiral nebulæ.* Bright-line spectra indicative of a gaseity are also given by the comets, (as far as examined,†) the zodiacal light, and the *aurora borealis.*

Moreover, every dark-line spectrum demonstrates also the existence of vapors or gases surrounding a luminous body of a solid or liquid character. Thus igneous vapor exists about the sun and nearly all of the fixed stars.

Lastly, matter in a state of liquid incandescence presents a condition not very far removed from gaseity; and this condition is demonstrated (since solid incandescence in the midst of glowing vapors seems eminently improbable) in all cases of dark-line spectra. Thus, we must have a molten nucleus for the sun and for most of the fixed stars. Besides this, many celestial objects furnish continuous spectra indicative of incandescence in the liquid or solid state. This is the case with many of the resolved and probably resolvable nebulæ, and also a few apparently irresolvable. The continuous spectrum, as before remarked,‡ *may* be caused by the equal emissive and absorptive properties of vapors enveloping an incandescent nucleus, and hence the continuous spectrum is not conclusive as to the solid or liquid condition of those celestial objects which produce it. When, however, it becomes a rule with an entire class of objects to produce a continuous spectrum, it seems probable that such objects exhibit the liquid condition. We seem to have satisfactory evidence, therefore, of the presence in space of three modes (probably solid incan-

* It does not seem necessary to presume, as suggested by Herschel, and taught by Nichol and many others, that all irresolvable masses of nebulous matter lie far beyond the limits of the fixed stars. Some of these masses may be, as Herschel supposed, remote external firmaments, or firmament-stuff; but it seems likely that some irresolvable masses lie within the distances of the remotest stars. This is even indicated by certain astronomical observations on their changes.

† Huggins: "Philosophical Transactions," 1868; Young: "American Journal Science," [3,] iii, p. 81.

‡ The statements and conclusions of our former article are presumed to be in possession of the reader.

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descence is a fourth) of material existence, all incandescent, namely:

- Incandescent Matter.
  - Gaseous. → Irresolvable nebulæ, Comets, etc.
  - Liquid.
    - Enveloped in vapor. → Suns.
    - Not enveloped. → Certain star-groups and clusters.

The first postulate of the nebular hypothesis is therefore sustained by the latest developments of astronomy.

In the next place it may be regarded as demonstrated by the revelations of the spectroscope that the sun, planets, stars of all orders, and nebulæ of all conditions, abound in the same material substances as our earth. The hypothesis demands this. The evidences need not be repeated here, as we have briefly cited them in our former article, (pp. 201–205,) and they may also be studied in numerous accessible works.

In the third place, there is a chain of *geological* evidences tending to prove that our earth has come down from such a state of primitive incandescence as the nebular hypothesis confers upon it. Here, first of all, are the phenomena of volcanoes throwing out smoke, ashes, flames, cinders, and molten lava from some deep reservoir of heat. Next, are the indications of thermal springs, equally evincing some deep-seated source of warmth. Then the regular elevation of temperature experienced in boring artesian wells and sinking deep mines becomes a warning that the fires of which the volcano and the boiling spring furnish us the tidings are realities widespread underneath the solid surface of our globe. And, lest these warnings pass unheeded, the earthquake shakes, from time to time, the rocky foundations of the land, convincing us that after all the mountains are not those types of endurance and solidity which we had supposed.

We now lift up our eyes and discover that innumerable mountain cones and humble hillocks present all the characteristics of active volcanoes, except the presence of issuing flames and lavas.* They are, in fact, extinct volcanoes. The time was when they added their emphatic testimony to the proofs

* As, for instance, the district of the Auvergne, in France, and extensive regions of our own country, in New Mexico, Nevada, California, and Oregon.

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of deep internal fires. But they are still witnesses. They have left their depositions on record in the shape, not only of volcanic craters, but of lavas, scoriæ, and ashes. Thousands of square miles of our fair earth are covered with such evidences of the former reign of fire.

But here are other rocks which look only like another order of lavas—dolerites, basalts, porphyries. These, when we inspect them, declare themselves but more ancient lavas, which have come up, also, from the deep reservoir of fire, in an age when the whole world seems to have been shaken by volcanic throes and rent by earthquake fissures. The ancient surface, now mostly concealed, reminds us forcibly of the map of the moon. Other rocks, underlying thousands of square miles, though not appearing like ancient lavas, present, nevertheless, the evidences of the action of heat. Baked, vitrified, reddened, they proclaim as intelligibly as the overburned brick the story of the ordeal of fire.

This, then, is the tenor of these geologic testimonies. A great heat has been here upon the surface—a fusing, glowing heat. That heat has disappeared mostly from the surface, but remains perpetuated at some unknown depth beneath. There are some data, nevertheless, for the calculation of the depth. Knowing the rate of increase of heat in artesian wells and deep excavations, we can easily figure out the depth at which the temperature would be sufficient to boil water or melt iron or granite. It results from these data that the solid crust cannot be over two hundred miles in thickness. Until recently the majority of geologists maintained that beneath this depth the entire interior of the globe still subsists in a molten state. Some considerations have been brought forward, however, within a few years, which tend strongly to establish the conclusion that a large part of the interior of the earth has already assumed a solidified condition. That solidification took place at the surface, and possibly began at the surface, is generally admitted; for though substances, as a rule, are denser when solid than when liquid, the molecular condition assumed in the act of solidification seems to render them, within a certain range of temperature, less dense than the liquid. Thus solid water (ice) floats upon liquid water; solid iron (notwithstanding subsequent shrinkage of one per cent.) floats upon

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molten iron;* solid type-metal upon liquid type-metal; cold lava upon molten lava.† At the same time the enormous pressure experienced at the center of the earth has led a number of geologists to suggest the probability that solidification also began there, in spite of the great elevation of temperature which must have existed throughout the earth's interior during the earlier ages of the liquified condition. Prof. William Hopkins and Poulett Scrope contend that solidification began at the center, and, at a later period, at the periphery. Prof. Shaler maintains a similar opinion. Dr. T. S. Hunt holds (like Keferstein, Hopkins, and Scrope) that only a thin belt of molten material exists, lying between the solidified exterior and the solidified core, but argues (with Sir John Herschel) that this layer is but the under portion of the sedimentary beds encroached upon by the internal heat of the globe, aided by chemistry. Prof. Hall denies that we have any positive evidence of a former molten condition of any considerable portion of the earth, but denies it (absurdly) on the lack of the visible exposure of any large part of the primitive crust. Sir William Thomson argues that the phenomena of precession and nutation *demand* greater rigidity of the earth than would be possible with a comparatively thin crust. This opinion is opposed by Delaunay, but again recently defended by Thomson.‡

* Certified personally by several observers. Also, "Coll. Cour.," 1872, p. 173.

† Kæmtz: "Meteorology," English edition, p. 152. This seems almost like the *experimentum crucis*.

‡ The reader interested in the discussions respecting the condition of the earth's interior may make the following references:

Keferstein: *Naturgeschichte des Erdkörpers*, (1834,) vol. I, p. 109; *Bulletin Soc. géologique de France*, [1,] viii, p. 197.

W. Hopkins: "Phil. Trans.," 1836, p. 382; 1839–40–42; "Quarterly Report British Association for 1847," p. 33; "Jour. Geol. Soc. London." viii, 56.

Babbage (Charles:) "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," note G, pp. 209–220.

Sir John Herschel: "Proc. Geol. Soc., London," (1836,) II, 548; Babbage's "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," note I, pp. 225–247.

Hunt (T. S.:) "Canadian Journal," May, 1858; "Quarterly Journal Geol. Society, London," November, 1859, xv, 594; "American Journal Science," July, 1860, xxx, 133; *Ib.*, May, 1861, xxxi, 406–414; *Ib.*, March, 1864, xxxvii, 25; *Ib.*, September, 1864, xxxviii, 182; "Geology of Canada." 1863, pp. 643, 669; "Report Geol., Canada," 1866, p. 230; "On the Probable Seat of Volcanic Action," May, 1869, ("American Journal Science," [3,] II, 121; "Geol. Mag.," February,) 1868; "Canadian Naturalist," December, 1869.

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It is clear that igneous activity has been diminishing upon the earth. The globe has been growing cooler than formerly. Why is it not probable that the cooling is still in progress? Opportunely, the physicists of France and England have demonstrated that such is the case. They have measured instrumentally the amount of heat which comes to the earth from all sources, and also the rate of escape from the earth. They find less received than lost. We know, consequently, not only that the world has been cooling for some ages past, but that the process is still continued.

The earth itself, then, is in the midst of a long process of cooling. May we conjecture the commencement of that process? It is fair to argue that it did not begin just at that juncture when the heat was such as to produce those ancient igneous phenomena which we see in extinct volcanic vents and ancient lavas. Their record carries us back to the time when there was barely sufficient solid material at the surface to retain the impression of events then transpiring. The records of older times and higher temperatures have not been stereotyped—could not be stereotyped; but have we no authority to assert that there were older times and higher temperatures? Yes, the line of events which we have traced backward gives us the proper clew; it determines a fixed direction, and, though it lose itself in the distant fog of geologic antiquity, we may

Hall (J.): "Palæontology of New York," Vol. III, Introd.; Hunt's review in "American Journal Science," [2,] May, 1861; "American Institute Lecture," New York, 1869.

Thomson (Sir William): "Proc. Roy. Soc.," May 16, 1862; *Ib.*, November 27, 1862; Thomson and Tait's "Natural Philos.," §§ 832, 833, 834, 847, 848; "Nature," January 18, 1872; also, "On Secular Cooling of the Earth," Trans. Roy. Soc., Edinburgh, xxiii, Section 1.

Shaler (N.): "Proceedings Boston Society Natural History," x, 237; xi, 8; "Geolog. Mag.," November, 1868, v, 511; "Atlantic Monthly."

Scrope: "Geolog. Mag.," December, 1868; "Volcanoes," Second Edition.

Delaunay: *Comtes Rendus*, July 13, 1868; *Cours élémentaire d'Astronomie*, pp. 643, 644.

Whitney (J. D.): "North American Review," April, 1869.

Meunier (S.): *Le Ciel geologique*, 1871, p. 223.

Le Conte (Joseph): "American Journal Science," [3,] iv, 345, 460.

Dana (J. D.): "American Journal Science," [3,] v, 423; vi, 6, 104, 161; also *Ib.*, [2,] ii, 385; iii, 94, 176, 380; iv, 88; xxii, 305, 335.

All this discussion, it will be borne in mind, is not whether the earth has been molten or even gaseous, but whether its interior is still wholly molten.

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feel sure that it continues onward through the fog. We can travel no longer by sight, like the mariner, from headland to headland, but we can go by "dead reckoning," like the mariner himself in the fog, or the engineer in the deep tunnel. Our mathematics is deduction. As we figure our pathway up to the remotest antiquity of the world, we see it in a condition completely molten. As we find here no necessary beginning of the course of cooling, we follow backward to that incandescent vapor which is the ultimate form assumed by all matter when heated to the highest temperature with which we are acquainted.* If heat can vaporize a world, we have good ground for assuming that the world was once a vapor.

Here geology joins hands with astronomy. Here, in an incandescent vapor, we find the starting-point equally of nebulæ, stars, and earth.

That which has been the history of our earth has been the history of other worlds. We have shown enough of the uniformities of the solar system to entitle us to assume that if the matter of earth was primordially an igneous vapor, so was that of Mars and Jupiter and the other bodies of our system. The sun is still largely an incandescent vapor, and it is easy to admit that it was once completely so. The masses of these heavenly bodies expanded to vapor would fill such a volume of space that the planets would be blended with the sun in one common mass. An immense globe of incandescent gas, filling more than the orbit of Neptune—such is the picture which we are to form of the material of the solar system in the remotest condition of which science affords us any intimations.

This incandescent gas was not a flame in the strict sense; there was no combustion; it was merely the elements of things —*discordia semina rerum*—at a temperature elevated inconceivably high. A mass of matter thus heated and suspended in space must immediately begin a rapid radiation of caloric. With the loss of caloric the vapor began to diminish in volume. The mutual repulsions of the particles being weakened, the particles gradually settled toward the center of gravity of the mass.

It has been demonstrated that a shrinking sphere of fire-

* Iron has recently been vaporized by Dr. Elsner of Berlin.

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mist * thus situated must almost inevitably inaugurate a rotation upon its axis. Two simple considerations tending that way can be readily appreciated. *First.* In the simultaneous movement of so many particles and portions of the substance toward the center of gravity, it must happen that some particles or portions would become jostled into a direction more or less to one side of the center of gravity. The resultant momenta of such movements would pass to one side of the center of gravity, and would become a *tangential force*, which, like the hand laid upon a wheel, would tend to produce rotation. *Second.* Disturbing attractions must have been felt from various quarters of the heavens. Other systems were then building or built, and their silent influences, reaching to our cooling sphere of fiery vapor, changed, from time to time, its form, and, accordingly, the place of its center of gravity. The point of convergence of the descending particles would, indeed, follow the center of gravity, but it would follow a little behind. The converging particles would give a resultant which would inevitably act as a tangential force, and a slow rotation would be generated.

* The distinctions among the forms and phases of matter existing at a temperature above the state of liquefaction have not, so far as we know, been studied in their bearing upon the present account, (Compare, however, Secchi: *Le Soleil*, pp. 243, 244, etc.) Water, we know, besides its solid and liquid states, exists as follows: 1. *Vapor* [water] united with the atmosphere, [or other gas,] invisible, absorbed by the air and constituting its *humidity;* 2. *Vesicular vapor*, cloud or fog, which is really but minute drops of liquid water (once supposed hollow) floating in the air or other gas; 3. *Watery gas*—invisible steam, heated above 212° Fah. Are these three conditions possible to substances in general? We are inclined to think they are; and these distinctions ought to be recognized in treating cosmological questions. We can certainly conceive of any matter so heated as to assume the condition corresponding to *watery gas*. This might be transparent, like watery gas or oxygen, or colored, like chlorine. We can conceive of a mixture of such gases at such a temperature as to maintain even the most liquefiable substances in the aëriform condition. Then we may conceive the temperature to be so reduced that the most liquefiable substance condenses in fine particles which may float, like fog, in an atmosphere composed of the other substances. In this condition it would probably become more visible; it would glow with a white light. This would be a real "fire-mist," and ought, by itself, to give a continuous spectrum; but if the fire-mist were relatively very tenuous, the gases proper in which it should be suspended might establish a bright-line spectrum; and, on the contrary, the excess of luminosity of the liquid mist might be such as to give, through the absorbent influence of an immersing gas, a spectrum of dark lines. Some portion of the fire-mist might become combined with the remaining gases, like aque-

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A rotation once initiated, progressive shrinkage would be accompanied by progressive acceleration. The sphere of fiery vapor would assume the form of an oblate spheroid, a greatly flattened spheroid, and, ultimately, that of a rotating disc. Eventually the centrifugal tendency of portions upon the periphery would exactly counterpoise their gravitating tendency, and no further movement of these parts toward the center would take place. A peripheral ring would thus be held in equipoise. The remaining mass, continuing to contract, would separate itself from the outer ring. The latter would remain temporarily balanced in space, and rotating with the velocity with which it parted from the main mass. But its equilibrium would be one of instability. Perturbating attractions from without would beget an unsymmetrical movement. Undulations of the ring would begin, and become gradually exaggerated to such an extent that the ring would be rent asunder, when its whole mass, having perhaps previously assumed a granulated condition, would gather itself together in the form of a globe rotating on its axis and revolving about the general mass of vapor in the same direction as before. Thus was isolated the matter of the oldest planet of the solar system.

It is obvious, without further detail, that the residual mass, continuing to cool and shrink and accelerate its rotation indefinitely, would continue, in the progress of countless æons, to throw off a succession of rings like the first, which would become the materials for the entire series of planets. In reference to the asteroids, it remains uncertain whether each corresponds to a distinct ring, or all together represent a single original planet, shattered to atoms by a convulsion of nature. The mass of a planet physically suited to occupy the gap between Mars and Jupiter is such that some thousands of asteroids would be required to equal it. If the group of asteroids existed originally as a single ring, it is a physical possibility that it should have been rent into many fragments by the passage of a comet or other body through its substance. It is

ous humidity. But we may conceive the cooling and condensation to proceed so far that this fire-mist would descend in rain, and other gases would condense to fire-mist. In our discussion, no attempt is made to determine the particular condition of the aeriform substances at that juncture when rotation began, or at any subsequent stage of the evolution.

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also appropriate to suggest that a ring of matter circumstanced as described would experience a tendency to stratification and ultimate segregation into several rings, as we see taking place in the rings of Saturn before our eyes. These separate rings, severally broken up, might form a group of small planetoids.*

We can form no adequate conception of the time requisite for the consummation of these results. No doubt the time-intervals involved in the history of creation are entirely correspondent with the space-intervals which we have seen to be so vast. Time is an element entirely eliminated from the study of events united in the relation of cause and effect. When we can discern such a relation, it is immaterial whether the cause act through years or chiliads of years. Besides, time is a factor which only sustains relations to finite existence, and not to an existence adequate to the production and sustentation of a universe. We must undoubtedly accustom ourselves to the contemplation of the vastest values of time and space, and cultivate the full assurance that the figures which we employ represent realities; and that, in short, the full realities transcend even the power of our calculus to express them.

The fact should be duly borne in mind that our hypothesis requires a general diminution in mass among the planets, in proportion as the circumference of the parent fire-mist grew less through loss of matter and shrinkage. We accordingly find the "giant planets" are all exterior to the earth. Moreover, the remoter planets should have least density, since, if the peripheral portions of the fire-mist were composed of its most volatile constituents, the earlier rings would take off matter more volatile than that of the later. Accordingly, while the density of Neptune, Uranus, and Jupiter is only one fourth or one fifth that of the earth, and the density of Saturn still less, the density of Mars and Venus is about the same as that of the earth, and the density of Mercury is one half greater.

We have seen a series of planetary bodies disengaged from

* M. Delaunay thinks that each planetary ring passed through a stage of accumulation around many local nuclei, and that ordinarily these were afterward drawn into one mass; but in the case of the ring between Mars and Jupiter a large number of distinct nuclear portions continued to rotate separately, (*Cours Elèmentaire d'Astronomie*, p. 642.)

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the general mass of fiery vapor, and entered, each for itself, upon a career of axial and orbital movements. We are to contemplate each planetary mass as constituting, at first, another sphere of incandescent material destined to go through the same history as the parent mass. Neptune, beginning his career as a rotating orb of flame, in due time detached a ring which became a satellite. Other rings were probably detached from a mass so large, and cooling therefore so slowly, but if so, the resulting satellites have thus far eluded the search of astronomy, hidden as they are in the depths of space. The planet Uranus, in like manner, detached, in process of time, a satellite, followed, in the progress of the cosmic ages, by seven others. A slow disturbing influence, supposed also to be recognized in the Neptunian system, has manifested itself in the Uranian, in an excessive obliquity of the plane of the Uranian satellites—an obliquity which considerably exceeds a right angle, and upon which we have already offered some considerations. What cause or causes operated to effect a partial overthrow of these two systems we can, at present, only conjecture. The cause seems to have been connected with the peripheral location in the primordial spheroid of fire-mist. Possibly, in those remote regions, somewhat approximating the empire of starry influences and control, our spheroid had not yet settled into that steady and symmetrical movement requisite to impart to its planetary offspring axial rotations in the same general plane as itself; and the plane of the planet's rotation departing from that of the original mass, its satellites' orbital rotations must depart equally from it. The fact that they do is a circumstance confirmatory of the nebular hypothesis. Possibly, instead of this cause, these obliquities are due to the proximity, in remote time, of some mass of matter since removed, which, acting upon the equatorial protuberances, increased the inclination of their axes to an extraordinary degree. Such mass of matter might have been one of those fixed stars whose proper motions we have before indicated. A star *may* be as likely to travel through the region occupied by our system as to travel elsewhere. Or, again, such mass of matter may have been a cometary body of such magnitude as has not been seen during the annals of our race. Meantime, we see no absurdity or improbability in the

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supposition that the Neptunian and Uranian systems were originally conformed to the norm of planetary motions, and were thus a realization of the results demanded by the nebular hypothesis.

Saturn similarly disengaged his eight satellites. But here, again, we encounter a peculiarity. Saturn remains, to our day, surrounded by rings. This circumstance, instead of being an anomaly, seems an instructive confirmation of the grand hypothesis. The physical constitution of the rings is not known. Professor Pierce has shown, from an analytical discussion, that they cannot be solid and cannot be liquid. Three rings are now permanently present, but the inner one has only been observed since 1850. This is known as the dark ring, and the body of the planet can be seen through it. The middle one is the bright ring. The inner ring seems to be slowly increasing in brightness. The other rings have been seen to resolve themselves into several; and even the dark one has been seen in two. The ring system is also increasing in width at the rate of twenty-nine miles annually. Such observations seem to confirm Prof. Pierce's conclusions, and it becomes thus a question of deep interest to learn what is the constitution of the rings. Proctor* has recently suggested that they are composed of countless small satellites, and this hypothesis is thought to account for all the phenomena which they present. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, while the rings of Saturn exhibit as to form, they do not exhibit as to constitution, a phenomenon which should be a necessary incident of the nebular hypothesis.†

Jupiter, in the progress of his shrinkage, detached rings which became four satellites. If the asteroidal mass were ever accompanied by one or more satellites, their movements and their very existence have become confounded with the asteroidal bodies. This would be the necessary result of the disruption of a large planet in the midst of its satellites. Mars is clearly unaccompanied by a satellite; but Venus, which is about the size of the earth, has many times been pronounced thus attended; though the astronomers of the present century

* Proctor: "Saturn and his System," p. 118.

† "Il est enturé de ce merveilleux anneau qui subsiste là comme pour temoigner de l'origine de tout le systéme solaire." Secchi: *Le Soleil*, p. 352.

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have not been able to confirm the statement. Mercury, even, has been thought to have a satellite, but the opinion has not been entertained by any recent observer. This deficiency of satellites on the part of the smaller planets is rendered probable by the requirements of the hypothesis, since the smaller masses would soonest chill to the liquid state, and by undergoing a less prolonged and less excessive shrinkage would experience less tendency to differentiate the peripheral and sub-peripheral velocities of rotation.

In accordance with this view of the origin of the solar system, the sun is to be regarded as the residual mass, still in the progress of change. Its present condition is one through which every planet and satellite has passed in the history of its cooling. It is still maintained at an incandescent temperature, simply because time sufficient has not yet elapsed for a body so vast to have cooled to a darkened state. All the opportunities for organic life on any of the planets are limited to the finite period of solar cooling.*

The smaller of the planetary masses, primary and secondary, whether disengaged in earlier or later times, seem to have attained such a condition of refrigeration as to cease to shine by their own light. This is certainly the case with Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Moon, and probably all the satellites. Our own moon, indeed, presents evidence of total refrigeration; while its surface retains the marks of ancient volcanic and earthquake activity, the absence of water and an atmosphere seem probably attributable to the absorption of these elements in the pores of the rocky substances of that body.

Mars and our own planet happen to be, at present, in that period of their history when the thermal conditions favor the presence of organic life. The mass of Jupiter is so vast that, though a much older planet, it seems to remain, in our times, in a state of partial incandescence. This condition is in-

* Mayer suggested that the sun's heat is maintained by the impact of countless numbers of meteoric bodies circulating through space, and gradually drawn into the solar vortex, (Mayer: "Celestial Dynamics," Youmans' ed., p. 276, *et seq.*;) "American Journal Science," [2,] xxxvii, p. 192.) Professor Newton computed the approximate number of meteors in the August ring alone at more than three hundred millions of millions, ("American Journal Science," [2,] xxii, 451.) This cause, however, is not regarded, at the present day, as an adequate explanation of the sun's heat.

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dicated, first, by the remarkable changes observed in his form. At various times he has been seen to present what is known as the "square-shouldered" aspect, being greatly flattened at the poles and also about the equator. The semi-incandescent condition is indicated, also, by his remarkable brilliancy. While our moon reflects but one fifth the light received, and Mars but one fourth, Jupiter reflects three fifths of the light which falls upon his surface. This indicates a reflective capacity equal to white paper. Professor Bond, of Cambridge, even estimated his brilliancy greater than would be due to a total reflection of the light. Under these circumstances, the suggestion of Proctor seems plausible, that this planet still retains some portion of his inherent light. The third indication of a high thermal condition is the perpetual presence of a cloudy envelop. Nothing has ever been seen of the geography of Jupiter. Now, the intensity of the solar rays at Jupiter being but one twenty-fifth their intensity at the earth, it is incredible that this influence should suffice to maintain such a vaporous condition. Jupiter must be now in that stage of planetary cooling when aqueous vapor is first condensing and precipitating primeval rains upon the body of the planet—a condition the records of which are still perpetuated upon our own planet. Still another indication of a highly heated state is the low specific gravity of Jupiter. This is only one third greater than water, and one fourth the density of the earth. Besides the rarefaction produced by heat, it may be suggested that the apparent density is diminished by the exaggerated bulk of the planet, caused by the suspension of an envelope of clouds in the atmosphere, at an unknown height above the planet's surface.

The planet Saturn, though not exhibiting changes of form to the same extent as Jupiter, cannot be regarded as existing in a settled condition analogous to that of Mars and the earth, since important changes have been observed in his rings. This planet, moreover, is similarly concealed in a permanent envelope of vapors, and shines, also, with a degree of brilliancy exceeding the probable capacity of a dark planetary body for reflecting the solar rays. Saturn reflects one half the light which falls upon his surface, and, though aqueous vapors upon this planet and Jupiter must be expected to exhibit a greater

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brilliancy than continental and marine surfaces, it seems probable that the brilliancy of both these planets is greater than could be without the addition of some inherent luminosity.

Of the physical condition of Uranus and Neptune we know very little, except that their density is only about one fourth that of the earth, and the light which they emit is greater than ought to proceed from the reflective capacity of dark bodies. The indistinct contour of Neptune is thought to suggest a nebulous condition.*

The facts and considerations thus presented all argue for the nebular hypothesis; and, in doing this, confirm our conviction of the unity of the solar system in reference to time, and the identity and persistence of a plan stretching through cycles of time whose vastness is commensurate with the abysses of space which thought must sweep over to reach the outer limits of co-existent worlds.

II. *Physical History of the Earth.*

The history of terrestrial matter subsequently to its differentiation from the general mass, presents, at the same time, a series of events sustaining a concatenated relation to each other, and an unbroken prolongation of the line of planetary evolution. It is, at once, a unit in itself and a unit with all the remoter past.

Directing our thoughts again to the condition of the earth after the disengagement of her satellite, we trace a succession of changes which may reasonably be regarded as the type of planetary changes in general. The incandescent vapor, in the progress of cooling, attained such a temperature that some of the most refractory elements began to condense and hang suspended as a mist in the heterogeneous medium formed of the other substances. As in the case of watery mist, particle coalesced with particle, and the heavier drops descended toward the common center of gravity. Thus a molten nucleus was formed, surrounded by clouds of fire-mist suspended in incandescent gases. The nucleus grew as the fiery rains de-

* Le vif éclat dont brille cette planète (Neptune) malgré l'énorme distance du soleil, pourrait même faire croire qu'elle est un peu lumineuse. Nous n'avons jamais vu son contour bien nettement terminé, ce qui s'accorderait parfaitement avec l'hypothèse d'un état nébuleux." Secchi: *Le Soleil*, p. 355.

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scended, and the world attained a condition supposed to be illustrated in human times by the constitution of the sun. According to the reasoning of Hopkins and others, solidification may have begun at the center, even at this early period, the enormous pressure elevating the solidifying point of the materials to the temperature now subsisting.*

The earth was itself a luminous sun, visible in the heavens of the astronomers of any other orbs already cooled to a habitable condition. There are grounds for supposing that during this condition of the earth the moon had attained to a habitable state, and served as the abode of corporeal intelligences. But the axial rotation of the moon had not yet been strained by terrestrial attraction into coincidence with its orbital revolution, and hence its alternations of light and darkness were better suited than at present to the requirements of intelligences akin to man.

In the further progress of its cooling, the time arrived when the fire-mist would mostly have descended to the growing nucleus of molten material, and a heated, heterogeneous atmosphere of more volatile substances would still envelop the world. In the outer and thinner regions of this atmosphere the temperature would become sufficiently reduced to cause the condensation of aqueous vapor, while yet the lower regions probably remained in an intensely heated state. Oxygen and hydrogen, which had combined to form invisible steam at the highest temperature at which watery vapor can remain undecomposed, now furnished an abundant supply of cloud material. A vail of haze began to overspread the sky, which, in the course of ages, thickened to a pall of clouds which totally excluded the light of the sun. Rains began immediately to descend from such an accumulation of vapor, but the heated lower strata of

* The reader will bear in mind that central solidification is not supposed to have resulted from the sinking of dense solidified material cooled at the surface. The melting points of bodies given in tables are under the standard pressure of one atmosphere. It is supposed, however, that as the pressure diminishes, the melting point is lower; as it increases, the melting point is higher. Now, at a given time before solidification began at the center, the temperature was at a certain figure, and the solidifying point was at a certain lower figure. But the temperature descended; and with the increase of pressure, by the enlargement of the liquid globe, the solidifying point ascended. The actual temperature and the solidifying point mutually approached each other. They finally coincided, and solidification began.

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the atmosphere prevented their reaching the glowing earth. Reconverted to vapors, they re-ascended to the clouds, to be again sent forth as rains and again returned as vapors. But every ascent of the vapors carried away additional portions of caloric from the atmosphere and the earth, and by degrees the ebullition which raged for a geologic cycle in mid-air settled toward the fervid crust. The excitation of the electricities developed lightnings and thunders, and the disturbances of the thermal equilibria awakened gusts and whirlwinds, and tempests, which rent the vapors on every hand.*

The zone which witnessed the struggle between the powers of water and the powers of fire settled at length to actual contact with the terrestrial surface. Before this, probably, the surface had been encrusted by a film of frozen lava. Now, the forces of fire must have seemed to make a new and more determined stand, but the waters at length began to prevail, and the germs of a seething ocean began to gather themselves in the lowest depressions of the terrestrial surface.

This stage of evolution we suppose to be represented in human times by the planet Jupiter.

The bed of the primeval ocean having cooled sufficiently to permit the waters to assume a state of repose, the supplies of vapor were diminished, and the clouds began to experience exhaustion. After an epoch of twilight, day broke full through the partings of the clouds, and a changed world was exposed to the genial beams of the ancient sun.

The ocean did not, at this time, cover the whole earth. The germs of continents protruded through the gathered waters. These germs were destined to undergo a systematic development. The earth now consisted of the nuclear mass,

* Years ago the writer reasoned out the probable circumstances attending the slow refrigeration of the earth. See "Theologico-Geology," a lecture published March, 1857, pp. 11–13; "Creation the Work of One Intelligence," a lecture published March, 1858, p. 5; "Michigan Journal of Education," May, 1858, p. 136; "Ladies' Repository," August, 1862, p. 490; "Sketches of Creation," 1870, p. 54. His views, though at first published with some anxiety, are the same as now promulgated by Figuier, Meunier, Dawson, and others. It appears, however, that some of his speculations were anticipated by Babbage, "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," pp. 206, 207. The present writer generalized the law of terrestrial cooling and made it cosmical, applying it to the sun, several years before such views had been current in America.

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still more or less molten, the forming crust and the enveloping waters The process of cooling removed equal quantities of heat from the intensely heated interior and the cooler crust. But equal reductions of temperature cause greater contractions in more highly heated bodies. The nucleus, consequently, shrank more rapidly than the crust. The latter became, by degrees, too large for the nucleus, and a vacuum must be formed or the crust must wrinkle to adapt itself to the shrunken nucleus. Wrinkles were formed, and these became the *first land*—the germs of the continents of later times.

It may not be possible to assign the causes which determined the location of these wrinkles. It is, however, a circumstance of the utmost interest that the foundations thus early laid have served as the bases of the completed and inhabited continents. Thus, in North America, the germ of the land was a V-shaped ridge located in the region north of the St. Lawrence river and the great lakes. One branch stretched north-eastward to the coast of Labrador, and the other north-westward between Hudson's Bay and M'Kenzie's River to the Arctic Ocean. The original continent has become worn down, in later times, to a mere stump, but the stump testifies intelligibly and instructively. The materials worn from that primeval land were transported and deposited, on the east, in the bed of the ocean, along a region which was destined to become the Appalachian. There are evidences that a similar work was performed along the region destined to become the Pacific slope of the continent.

From epoch to epoch successive collapses of the crust raised higher and higher the once-formed wrinkles. The uprising of the Laurentian ridge widened, from age to age, the basis of the continent. The land grew, according to a method, by successive annexations on the south-east and south-west. Already there existed other wrinkles still covered by the waters of the ocean. They were the germs of the Appalachian folds of the crust, upon the east, and of the folds of the Rocky Mountains, on the west. By degrees these systems of ridges rose toward the surface of the ocean. The wide expanse of the continent was swung between these limiting barriers on either hand—a shallow lagoon, in which the forces of life were enacting a marvelous history. At an opportune juncture, after some ages of

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premonitory tremblings, one grand series of paroxysms upheaved the ponderous masses of the Alleghanies, and with them brought to light the entire Atlantic slope of the continent, as far westward as Kansas and Nebraska. A similar upheaval, at a later period, brought up the masses of the Rocky Mountains, and some contiguous portions of the sea-bottom, though on that side of the continent the new land was not yet united to the older area. A broad channel was left, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean.

The eastern portion of the continent was now completed to the region which has since become the lowland border of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. Another collapse of the terrestrial crust, and a part of this border was annexed to the land, while the long midland channel was parted in the middle —one branch retreating to the coast border of Texas, and the other toward the far north. The eastern and western branches of the continent were now welded together. Still another collapse, and the continent was complete in all its outlines.

But one more revolution remained, and the land so long preparing would be fitted for the reception of its long-destined occupant. This consummation was effected by means of vertical movements of the solid crust. There was an uplift of the northern regions and a consequent reign of ice, a depression of the entire continent and a dissolution of the ice, a further depression and re-submergence of the land—then a slow uprising to the existing levels, and the work was completed.*

It is impossible to contemplate the history of continental growth without a profound conviction of the unity of method pursued.

1. The simple law of cooling matter determined and regulated the entire evolution. The terrestrial history was thus

* The continental history so hastily summarized embodies the results of the labors of a long list of American geologists. For our first comprehensive generalizations from the accumulated facts we are chiefly indebted to Professor James D. Dana. See his "Address before the American Association," at Providence, 1855, and his paper in the "Proceedings American Association" at Albany, 1856, both republished in "American Journal Science," [2,] xxii, 335; see also ii, 335, 352; iii, 94, 176, 381; iv, 88; also, "U. S. Explor. Exped.," 1849, pp. 11, 419, 429; also "Manual of Geology." Compare also Guyot: "Earth and Man," Lect. iv; Hitchcock: "Religion of Geology," p. 259; Dawson: "Story of the Earth and Man." For further details see also the writer's "Sketches of Creation."

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a continuance of the cosmical. The dissipation of heat resulted in liquefaction, incrustation, gathered clouds, and precipitated oceans. The dissipation of heat, and consequent shrinkage of nucleus and crust, resulted in wrinkles which grew to mountain ridges with continents stretched between.

2. Vertical movements, as the immediate results of shrinkage, have evolved the lands; transposed, sometimes, land and water areas; made fitting marshes for the growth of coal plants, and sunk them, in turn, to the ocean bottom, and restored them again to the dry land; upturned the broken edges of the rocks to expose them and their contents at the surface; brought into existence a continental glacier to renovate the wasted lands, and re-admitted the ocean to assort the glacier *débris* and leave the surface as it is.

3. All the great topographical and hydrographical features of the continent were prefigured in earliest time. The primordial angulated ridge which some unknown cause located in the Canadian region was, in its trends, a prophecy of the existing shores and completed form. Mark the conformity of the Appalachian ridges and the Atlantic coast to the trend of the eastern branch of the primordial ridge. Mark the conformity of the Sierra Nevadas, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific coast, to the trend of the western branch of the primordial ridge. The great relief features of the land have determined the position of the great lake region and the great drainage valleys. The St. Lawrence flows along the foot of the primordial ridge on one side and the M'Kenzie's on the other. Hudson's Bay lies in the angle between them, as the Gulf of Mexico occupies the angle between the later Appalachian and Rocky Mountain ridges. The Mississippi Valley and River were necessitated by the incidents of earliest terrestrial history.

Such has been the *general* method of continent-building; for it is as true of the other continents as of our own. The latest results of terrestrial configuration have been but the unfolding of germs planted in the remote ages. The present is literally but a fulfillment of the prophecies of the past. It flows out of the past as a continuous and unbroken stream.

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That stream took its rise in the utterance of the mandate which called the matter of our system into being. From that source we have traced it downward through all the ages, and witness the same stream rushing past us and losing itself in the future. What the future may reveal, borne on the stream of events, becomes a most suggestive subject for inquiry; but our object is simply to cite and collate the facts which sustain the grand generalization of the historical unity of the solar system, rather than deduce the ultimate consequences of the persistence of the current of events.

Grand as is the sweep of the mind's eye when we look forth from the altitude of thought thus attained, we have not reached yet the loftiest pinnacle of contemplation. We have appealed to the gaseous condition of some of the nebulæ, but have not suggested the obvious inference that their history furnishes as strict a parallel as their substance and condition to the case of our own system. The truth is, if we rightly read these wonderful wisps of cosmical light, that they are illustrating before our very eyes the actual processes of world-formation. Some present the appearance of a continuous, dimly luminous gas or fire-mist; some show the nebulous matter in a coagulating process; some manifest an unmistakable movement of gyration; some are approximating the stage of ring-formation. The conviction is urged upon us that the Creator is carrying forward in the distant heavens, in various stages of development, the same work which, in our own system, has reached a stage so advanced. And then the stars as they shine with their varied light are reading to us the chapters of the history of sun-life. That they are suns the spectroscope no longer leaves room to doubt. There are those which still exist in an early stage of formation, glowing with the intensest heat—the *white stars*, like Sirius and Vega. There are others more advanced, whose light has attained the *yellow* stage, like Aldebaran and Pollux. And then, as Secchi suggests, the *variable* stars reproduce the actual condition of our own sun, with light at intervals dimmed by an excess of maculations upon their discs. And there are yet others, the *red stars*, older than our sun, beginning to glow with a hue which distinctly betokens their waning heat. We think there is still another chapter of sun-life related in the heavens. There are the

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temporary stars which from time to time burst forth, like those in the Whale (in Tycho Brahe's time) and in the Northern Crown, (in our own time,) in the dark intervals of space, and glow with a proper starry light for months or years, slowly to fade and disappear. What are these but still older suns which have reached the eruptive stage which supervenes on incrustation and unavoidable collapses of the wrinkling crust? Shall we call them old, decrepit suns, or youthful planets? They are both. The old age of a sun is the infancy of a planet. As suns they utter a prophecy for our solar orb. As planets they rehearse a reminiscence of our home-world. The sky is all one vast arena of world-production. We had thought, in our narrowness and ignorance, that creation was complete and finished, but Nature is as busy to-day as she ever was; and here are the evidences that she has never ceased to elaborate. Lift our eyes high enough, and we see the universe like a forest, in which the history of the century-old tree is recited in the hundred stages of growth which we trace downward from the veteran to the sapling and the succulent twig—a panorama of history as well as a network of mutual relationships.*

Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, as already intimated, though older in years, are younger in development, than our world. Mars is possibly already senescent. The moon is dead and fossilized and desiccated. And yet the cemetery in which she lies is the bourne toward which the whole processession of cosmical bodies is steadily marching.

We cannot stand upon this pinnacle of thought and contemplate the scene without emotion. In one horizon we behold nebular mists springing into being. They roll on through ages, rising in the firmament as glowing suns in successive stages of incandescence; they rush past us as planetary bodies clad in verdure and animated by the multifarious scenes of animal life; they recede from the present with the wrinkles of old age written upon their brows, and descend beneath the opposite horizon, numb and chill and unconscious, to the burial-place of effete worlds. All there is of the present world—its heats and snows, its waves and earthquakes, its upspringing and decaying vegetation, its births and its deaths—

* The writer takes the liberty to refer to his little *brochure* entitled "The Geology of the Stars," in which these ideas are more fully wrought out.

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all are but incidents in an unfaltering progress. The phases of to-day—nay, of a generation, a century, the life-time of a race—are but transient, following other scenes that are past, and making place for the new conditions which roll on in the plan of the All-wise and the All-powerful. Before our eyes the great current of events surges on—unhasting, unresting—like the mighty, ceaseless sweep of suns and systems through the boundless abysses of space.

So we view things present, things past, and things to come. Every age is the unfolding of a previous age, and itself conditions the events of the following one. That this is *evolution* we most frankly admit and most solemnly affirm. If we could not detect this relation of genesis between the antecedent and the sequent, we should miss the clearest revelation of thought in the physical world, and the strongest argument for God—one God, infinite in wisdom and in power. If the changes of the universe are now in progress, after the lapse of the past eternity; if they tend toward a finality instead of moving in a circle, as all the evidence shows that they do, then this movement of events had its origin *in finite time;* for, otherwise, every possible issue would have been reached an eternity since. We trace the material evolution back to the condition of a fire-mist, and for all that we can render probable this was its first condition. The lapse of time since then, however vast, is not eternity. The evolution of the universe belongs in finite time. But how of the matter of the universe? Finite, we reply; for if of infinite age, then it existed dead and motionless through an eternity before that evolution began which we behold in progress; and no cause short of omnipotence can be assigned for the vivification of matter an eternity without life. Dead an eternity, dead for all eternity.

It is an evolution, indeed, over which science leads us to this commencement. But she can lead us no further. This beginning was not evolved. Demand the antecedent condition, and she has no response to give. Demand the origin of matter, and the forces which animated it, and she is dumb. Sometimes, because she cannot climb quite to God, she refuses to have anything to say about God. Philosophy, however, bridges the awful chasm which separates that which is primordial to science from that which is primordial to thought. She

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is the beautiful, heavenly guide which takes us by the hand and leads us into a clear light, where we read lines of truth not revealed to the eye of science. The cosmical evolution had a beginning; therefore, some adequate cause began it. Matter and force exist; therefore, they have been caused to exist. The method of the evolution in progress in the universe is framed in strict accordance with the laws of thought; it is, therefore, the product of intelligence. The worlds of space, like the individual inhabitants of any world, are bursting into birth with the succession of the ages; therefore, creative and formative activity has never slept. There is a Being revealed in the depths of human consciousness who stands forth clothed in all the attributes of the Being thus revealed in the cosmos; therefore, the God of Nature and the God of the soul are one.

Gladly and devoutly do we take a further step. We have spoken of the forces of matter, and have viewed them as evolving worlds. What do we know of the nature of these forces? We know that, while in their essence inscrutable, they tend more and more to reveal themselves as but forms of one force. What is this *one force?* Sir William Thomson uttered the suggestion of the common intelligence when he said, in substance, that the controversy between materialism and Christian faith was likely to be reconciled in the mutual recognition of *immediate Divine agency* in the one force which manifests itself in Nature under so many guises, working out such an infinitude of results. This, while an old suggestion of philosophy, is a new confession for science. It commends itself equally to the thinking and the religious nature of man; and neither science nor philosophy can bring one witness against it. We are comforted to feel that the forces of Nature are but the immediate exertions of Divine will. The laws of Nature are but God's uniform methods of acting. The more demonstrable the evolution of a system of events, the clearer the revelation of the antecedent and accompanying exercise of Divine thought and power. The whole universe is radiant with the presence of God and vocal with the thoughts of God; and we rise, at last, to that awe-inspiring conception of the relation of Deity to his works which seems to have been almost a national inspiration in the Hebrew mind. "Who layeth the

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beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind." "He looketh on the earth and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills and they smoke."

Art. VI.—DR. CHAMBERLAYNE ON SAVING FAITH.

In the "Methodist Quarterly" for October, 1873, we find a review of Dr. Chamberlayne's work on "Saving Faith." From the highly eulogistic character of the review there can be no doubt of the writer being in harmony with the author respecting the peculiar teachings of the work. We had almost said, too, that there can be no doubt of his intention to bring the work very prominently before the Methodist Church, and its ministers in particular, with the design of incorporating such teaching into the theology and constitution of said Church. Perhaps, however, there is room for doubt whether he wishes the book to be thus widely read. He requests all cursory readers and superficial thinkers to let it alone. Hence, it is not the Church generally, only persons of profound and comprehensive minds, who are to peruse it, and be instrumental in effecting the suggested changes. We hope this is not intended as a warning to objectors that they are to consider themselves superficial, and therefore are to refrain from making known their objections.

The writer of these lines examined very closely Dr. Chamberlayne's work soon after its publication. He saw in it evidence not only of an earnest purpose, but likewise of a very acute mind, of wonderful skill in framing an argument, and of extensive research upon the subject discussed—more, however, *without* than *within* the circle of Methodist writers. But the doctrine of the book occasioned much surprise, being so directly contrary to what he had learned in a forty years' membership in the Methodist Church. Could it be that he had been mistaken all these years in his views respecting the Methodist doctrine of saving faith? After considering the subject for some time he turned to Mr. Wesley's works to satisfy himself. A protracted examination led to the conclusion that the views of the book were anti-methodistic as well as anti-scriptural. He withstood the

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earnest solicitations of many ministerial brethren to publish his conclusions, supposing the work itself would produce but a very slight and transient wave on the surface of Methodist thought; but as an effort is now made to push the little volume into great prominence, he offers his views to the periodical which has been used for this purpose.

Still, he has considerable doubts whether he shall be allowed thus to present himself before the Church. He has understood for years, though he cannot say now upon what authority, that opposing papers upon any subject are never admitted to the pages of the "Quarterly." It seems, however, that the case in hand might form an exception to such rule. The reviewer asks for a thorough investigation of the whole matter referred to in the book; he states his conviction that the work should at once be placed on the list of preparative ministerial studies, being better fitted for a place on such list than almost every book now on it; and he assumes throughout his article that many, perhaps we should say the majority, of Methodist preachers are fundamentally wrong in their ideas respecting saving faith. If the work be thus important to Methodism, and so much be claimed for it, opinions pro and con may properly be placed before the Church, such opinions being expressed with due regard to truth and brotherly affection.

Is saving faith a condition of membership in the Methodist Church? This is the first question of the book. The answer is plain and easy. Since the year 1864 a profession of such faith has been required from every person who seeks full membership. But Dr. Chamberlayne contends that the General Rules require such faith; hence, it has been a condition not only of completed, but likewise of initial, membership ever since those rules were published; and hence, again, General Conference acted under a mistake when it passed a resolution requiring such a profession ere full membership is granted. An objection is anticipated grounded on the description given in the General Rules of the persons forming the Church, namely, "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness." The author meets this by the statement that such a description may "very well consist with any measure of saving faith on this side heaven." We more than doubt this statement. To say of a mature Christian that he has the form and is seeking the power

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of godliness would certainly be misleading. Such a one possesses this power. He may and ought to be seeking a larger degree of it, but this is not expressed in the words before us.

To other statements similar objections might be made, but we pass on. To substantiate his position respecting the requirement of the General Rules, the doctor investigates the nature of saving faith; and having at some length brought forth his idea, proceeds to draw from it certain inferences. It is this statement of his doctrine, and the inferences, with the proofs of each, which constitute the body of the work.

We have no intention of following Dr. C. or his reviewer into all the side issues they have raised. What we propose is to present clearly the fundamental idea of the work—that of Saving Faith—to notice a few of the doctrines drawn from it and to show, as we proceed, that these doctrines are contrary to the teachings of Wesley and one or two other leading minds of the Church.

One of the first things which impressed us on reading Dr. C.'s work was the statement that in the views he presented he differed from all other Methodist writers except Wesley and Fletcher. He censures General Conference for making certain changes in the Discipline out of harmony with his ideas, thus showing that General Conference differed from him. He affirms that no previous writer on either side the Atlantic has presented the view he presents. After referring to Wesley and Fletcher, he says: "If later and lesser Methodist writers do not harmonize with these two, such writers must make their peace with *Wesleyan* Methodism as best they may." And he speaks of discovering, or rediscovering, the views of Wesley after such views had been lost. Here, certainly, was ground for surprise. Mr. Wesley wrote the General Rules to show the condition of membership in the Methodist Church. According to Dr. C., if these rules should be misunderstood, Wesley's and Fletcher's writings clearly reveal their meaning. Yet Methodist preachers, Methodist writers, and Methodist Conferences, from Mr. Wesley's day to the present, have not understood what that condition is, but have adopted an opinion just the contrary to that which Mr. Wesley intended. Well may the reviewer ask, If this be true, is it not remarkable? Well does he say, The phenomenon must be regarded as one of the most remarkable

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of ecclesiastical mutations. Strange that these brethren did not see that such a statement ought never to have been made, without irrefragable proof drawn from Mr. Wesley's writings after thorough and protracted search.

The fundamental error of Dr. C. will be found in his view of Saving Faith. Before, however, we present that view, we will, for the sake of clearness, state what we suppose to be the Methodist idea of the process by which a sinner is converted.

1. There is wrought in the sinner's mind conviction of sin. This involves the knowledge that he is a sinner; a fear of the evil threatened by God against sinners; a sorrow for and hatred of sin, together with a determination to turn from it; a desire for salvation; a consciousness of moral feebleness; some hope that God will forgive, which leads to prayer. A person with these experiences is said to be under conviction—a penitent.

2. There must be faith in Christ. By this we mean not a mere belief in the doctrines of the Bible, even those respecting the person and work of Christ. But we mean a reliance upon Christ's death for the forgiveness of sins. Deeply conscious of his own guilt, unworthiness, and helplessness, the sinner must, by a special mental effort, trust in or depend upon that death. This trust or reliance is all that is immediately required for pardon.

3. At the moment any one thus believes, not only are his sins forgiven, but his heart is renewed by the Holy Spirit; thus changing the current of his nature and strengthening him to do the will of God. This we understand to be the Methodist view on this subject.

Now we inquire, What is Dr. C.'s opinion of saving faith? He promises a definition a little less complicated and inexact than any which has fallen under his notice. We listen: Faith is of two kinds—objective and subjective. Objective faith is simply believing what the Bible teaches, especially as to Christ and salvation by him.—P. 22. This objective faith is an act of the intellect, "a sheer act of the faculty which perceives, understands, and judges."—P. 24. This faith, however, never saves a man. Subjective faith alone can do this, and subjective faith is "that change which brings the affections and volition into active harmony with the divine testimony."—P. 25. As this is a vital point in the doctor's scheme, he returns to it again

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and again. We quote further, abridging his language to save space. This faith, he says, enters the heart. There the Spirit excites fear of menaced evil, hope of promised rescue, desire of salvation from sin, . . . which is nothing less than the genesis of love to holiness, which is love to God. Involved in this work of faith [we should prefer saying work of the Spirit, as the author himself has just before said] is sorrow for and hatred of, sin, with all other [appropriate] affections.—P. 25. These persuade volition, which decides on full and unreserved surrender to the claims of God, by consenting to receive Christ to teach, to atone, to reign.—P. 26. Again, this is "a faith assenting to all, consenting to all, the truths of Divine testimony, fearing, hoping, grieving, hating, loving, willing—all harmoniously with the word of God, harmoniously with his will."—P. 29.

From these definitions and descriptions of saving faith it will be seen that Dr. C. includes in such faith the three stages we have marked in the process of conversion. Saving faith includes hope, fear, desire, sorrow for, and hatred of, sin. It includes the reception of Christ to teach, to atone, to reign. It brings the affections and will into active harmony with the word of God. And this is the definition which we were told should be less complicated and inexact than any which had fallen under our author's notice. If this be so, we pity the author. We cannot, however, but believe he is mistaken. Some of Mr. Wesley's statements upon this subject are faulty, as shown by Dr. C., yet his works abound in correct definitions of saving faith clearer, perhaps, and more exact than this by Dr. C.; and we refuse to believe the doctor has not read them.

Perhaps we have said enough to show the view of saving faith presented in the work, but would like to dwell upon the point a few moments longer. The fundamental position of the book may be thus formulated: Any exercise of the sensibilities and the will, which includes a desire for salvation, and a willingness to receive it, is saving faith. Dr. C. examines the case of the eight or ten persons who sought Mr. Wesley's advice, the *nuclei* of Methodism as he terms them. These were deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. To be convinced of sin, he says, proves objective faith; but grieving for the one, and groaning for the other, was

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"nothing less than believing with the heart." This earnest groaning shows "a full consent, an unutterable longing to receive the Infinite Good," which we know the Gospel assures to all "on the simple, sole condition of feeling the need of and heartily consenting to receive it."—P. 54. Again the doctor says: "He who, being truly penitent, brings forth fruit inwardly and outwardly meet for repentance, is at the very time he does so possessed of saving faith." These statements are too definite to allow any doubt respecting the author's meaning.

Our intention is, as we have said, to test this view by Mr. Wesley's writings. In passing, however, we may remark that if it be correct, the publican was in a state of justification when he went up to the temple to pray, as well as when he went down to his house; the penitents on the day of Pentecost were in a state of forgiveness when they asked, What shall we do? Saul was a pardoned sinner before he reached Damascus, though Ananias exhorted him three days after to wash away his sins, calling upon the name of the Lord. The Philippian jailer was a believer, and in a state of salvation, when Paul exhorted him to believe on Christ, that he might be saved.

Having laid down his doctrine of faith, Dr. C. proceeds to state other doctrines either involved in or to be inferred from that, and employs many pages of his work in an attempt to show that Mr. Wesley taught these inferred doctrines. The logic by which these doctrines are deduced from the view given of faith we believe to be strictly accurate. If the doctrine respecting faith be correct, so are these other doctrines. But, on the contrary, if these doctrines be incorrect, there must be error in the more general one from which they are logically drawn. That these are incompatible with Mr. Wesley's teachings we shall now show. Yet we will not examine every one. An exposure of the incorrectness of the principal ones will render unnecessary any remarks respecting the others.

We are about to give a number of quotations from Wesley's works, and it seems necessary to make a remark or two respecting the value of such quotations. Both Dr. C. and his reviewer intimate that Wesley's earlier views underwent serious modifications, and claim that the peculiar teachings of the work agree with Wesley's maturer utterances. As the citations from Wesley given in the work date from the year 1747, per-

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haps earlier, to 1788, the alleged change must have occurred early in his life. That Mr. Wesley did change his opinions is well known, and is acknowledged by himself in his writings. See Works, vol. vii, p. 494; vi, p. 164. He denies, however, any change subsequent to the year 1738. vii, 494; vi, 162, 164. Now we certainly will not quote from Wesley any passage written earlier than this date.

Suspecting, however, that Dr. C. will plead a change later than this, we beg permission to add a few more lines. In the midst of his apostolic labors and travels Wesley wrote and published a great many works. During the years 1771 to 1774 he republished a uniform edition of the whole, excepting his Notes, his Philosophy, his Christian Library, and his school books. Respecting this edition Wesley says: "I have altered many words or sentences, many others I have omitted, and in various parts I have added more or less as I judged the subject required, so that in this addition I present to serious and candid men my last and maturest thoughts."—Vol. i, p. 10, Preface.

After this declaration it will be useless to speak of immature views expressed in Wesley's writings, for the views therein given are Wesley's, not when he was thirty-five or forty years of age, but when he was seventy. It may be remarked, too, that as late as the year 1784, when he was eighty-one years old, in the trust deed which he had drawn up for his meeting-houses, Wesley mentions the four volumes of his sermons then published and his notes on the New Testament as the standards of doctrine for his connection. Of course these must have represented his views at that time. Subsequently to this, in 1787, he revised his notes on the New Testament, and January 1, 1788, he republished, after revision, the sermons he had written for the "Arminian Magazine." His works which we have, revised by himself, are the sermons he published after January, 1788, and his other works published subsequently to 1774. We suppose, too, that his private letters were not revised. We shall find occasion to refer to these dates farther on. . .

We have already seen that Dr. C. asserts repentance to be an evidence of saving faith; every one who is truly penitent is possessed of such faith. In proof, he gives extracts from the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, from Andrew Fuller, who says, "I have no notion of a penitent unbeliever," and from

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the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church. But what is of more importance to our purpose, he attempts to prove it by a quotation from Wesley. In his note on Acts xi, 18, Wesley says, "True repentance is a change from spiritual death to spiritual life, and leads to life everlasting." On this our author reasons thus: A saving change can spring only from saving faith. But true repentance, according to Wesley, is such a change. Therefore it springs from saving faith. Thus Mr. Wesley is made to teach that saving faith precedes and produces repentance. Did he believe this? In his sermon on the Scripture Way of Salvation he says: "Repentance and its fruits are necessary in order to faith, faith is immediately and directly necessary to justification."—Vol. i, p. 388.

In his Farther Appeal he says: "Repentance absolutely must go before faith, fruits meet for it, if there be opportunity. By repentance I mean conviction of sin, producing real desires, and sincere resolutions, of amendment."—Vol. v, p. 35.

In the Minutes of the first Conference we find these questions and answers: "Is faith the condition of justification? Yes. But must not repentance, and works meet for repentance, go before faith? Without doubt, if by repentance you mean conviction of sin."—Vol. v, p. 194.

And in the Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained, after defining faith as "a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins, that he loved me, and gave himself for me," he adds: "The moment a penitent sinner thus believes, God pardons and absolves him. I say a *penitent sinner*, because justifying faith cannot exist without previous repentance."—Vol. v, p. 302.

Omitting further citations, let us see where we now stand. Here is a line from Wesley from which it may be inferred that saving faith precedes repentance. On the other hand, we find scattered through his writings positive declarations as plain as language can make them that repentance precedes saving faith. Which of these opinions shall we say was Wesley's? the one inferred from the solitary line, or the one positively stated so many times? There can be but one answer. But that answer will involve the thought that the author of the work under consideration is not a true expositor of Mr. Wesley's views.*

* We apprehend, however, that there is no discrepancy between the two statements by Wesley. In the former statement the word "repentance" embraces,

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The reviewer pleads for an increased knowledge of Watson, Benson, and Clarke, by our ministers. Dr. C., however, in a very summary manner, sets aside all Methodist writers besides Wesley and Fletcher. "If later and lesser Methodist writers do not harmonize with these, they must make their peace with *Wesleyan* Methodism as best they may." This is a strong insinuation of the unsoundness of these later and lesser writers. Notwithstanding this, there are Methodists who believe that Richard Watson and Adam Clarke understood Methodist theology as well as Dr. C. does, and are as reliable teachers of it. A passage from each of these may not be out of place.

Watson says: "It were absurd to allege contrition, penitence, and fear as the proofs of our pardon, since they suppose that we are still under condemnation."—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 276.

Dr. Clarke says: "The order of the great work of salvation is: 1. Conviction of sin; 2. Contrition for sin; 3. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as having been delivered for our offenses and risen again for our justification; 4. Justification, or pardon of all past sins." See *Clarke's Theology*, by Dunn, p. 148.

Suppose Methodist preachers adopt Dr. C.'s opinion that every penitent sinner has exercised saving faith. This will necessitate a great change in our modes of operation. A man is in a prayer-meeting penitently pleading for mercy. Shall we exhort him to believe on Christ? He is a believer. Shall we encourage him in seeking salvation? He is a saved man. What can we do but tell him to cast away his fears and sorrows; they arise from a mistaken idea respecting his present standing; he is already in possession of saving faith? What Methodist preacher will commence this method of dealing with penitents?

But what shall we say when these persons, with ecstatic joy diffused over their countenance, tell us they have just found salvation? Our author tells us there is a faith which goes before pardon, and a faith which follows after, and which may include assurance.—P. 50. Here is certainly a curious distinction, "Which may include assurance." The inference is that it may not. Then we have a faith which precedes pardon, a faith which follows it but does not bring assurance, and a third faith

generically, as it often does, the whole change from the unregenerate to the regenerate state, and so, of course, includes faith. But in the latter, "repentance" has its special sense, and precedes faith.—ED.

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which does bring assurance. Will Dr. C. explain? But this in passing. Have these penitents exercised the faith of assurance? If so, how wretchedly deceived have Methodist preachers been for several generations in regard to these experiences. Poor, foolish, ignorant men! they have supposed these persons have exercised the faith which brought pardon, when they merely exercised the faith which brought assurance. They were pardoned when they came forward for prayers. Who will receive and teach this doctrine?

Another point upon which Dr. C. is at variance with Mr. Wesley respects the standing of a penitent sinner. The doctor contends that such a one is not under the wrath of God. This agrees with what we have before noticed. If penitence is a proof of saving faith, a penitent cannot be exposed to the Divine wrath. But penitents like those who came to Mr. Wesley see the wrath of God continually hanging over their heads, and wish to know how to flee from it. Dr. C. answers that these impressions are delusive, and quotes Fletcher to sustain him. We pass this, as our purpose is to show the doctor's want of harmony with Wesley. But Mr. Wesley asserts the same thing, and the author quotes these words: "Such a one is actually in a state of acceptance; . . . the wrath of God no longer abideth on him."—Vol. ii, p. 385. Respecting this passage, we only say here that it is directly contrary to Mr. Wesley's teachings in other places.

Thus, in the sermon on the Spirit of Bondage and Adoption, Mr. Wesley, speaking of a convicted sinner, says he has "fear from a lively sense of the wrath of God, and of the consequences of his wrath; of the punishment he has justly deserved, and which he sees hanging over his head—fear of death as being to him the gate of hell, the entrance of death eternal—fear of men who if they were able to kill his body would thereby plunge both body and soul into hell."—Vol. i, p. 79.

And again, in the same sermon: "An unawakened child of the devil sins willingly; one that is awakened, unwillingly." "Dost thou commit sin? If thou dost, is it willingly or unwillingly? In either case God hath told thee whose thou art. He that committeth sin is of the devil. If thou committest sin unwillingly, still thou art his servant. God deliver thee out of his hands!"—Vol. i, p. 83.

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The sermon on the Way to the Kingdom contains the following passage: "Knowest thou not that every sinner is under the sentence of hell fire, doomed already, just dragging to execution? Thou art guilty of everlasting death. Art thou thoroughly convinced that thou deservest God's wrath and everlasting damnation? If God hath given thee truly to repent, thou hast a deep sense that these things are so."—Vol. i, p. 55.

Let us now return for a few moments to the passage quoted by our author. We find this was written in 1788 or 1789, when Mr. Wesley was in extreme age, and when his memory had partially failed, and, as will be seen by the date, it had no revision by him. We may say, too, that it stands alone in Mr. Wesley's works. Another statement of the same import we have not been able to find during a diligent and prolonged search. On the other hand the passages we have adduced were written in the prime of his manhood, were revised and republished by him in the full maturity of his powers, and are found in those parts of his writings which he selected as the embodiment of doctrine for his Societies. In this case, then, of Wesley *versus* Wesley, which view shall we accept as his? It seems to us that no unprejudiced inquirer after Mr. Wesley's teaching would hesitate to place the passage cited by Dr. C. among the few *errata* to be found in his (Mr. Wesley's) works.

In confirmation of what we have said upon this point we will briefly refer to the hymns Mr. Wesley gave his people to sing. The last hymn-book he prepared for use in his Societies is dated October 20, 1779, and is still used by the English Wesleyans. No one will suppose that Mr. Wesley would put into the mouth of his people sentiments he believed to be incorrect. Under the heads of "Mourners Convinced of Sin," and "Persons Convinced of Backsliding," we find the following language:

Guilty I stand before thy face;
On me I feel thy wrath abide;
'Tis just the sentence should take place—
'Tis just, but O! thy Son hath died. (No. 127.)

A sinner weltering in his blood,
Unpurged and unforgiven,
Far distant from the living God,
As far as hell from heaven. (No. 150.)

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Out of the deep I cry,
Just at the point to die;
Hastening to infernal pain,
Jesus, Lord, I cry to thee. (No. 151.)

Earth doth not open yet
My soul to swallow up,
And, hanging o'er the burning pit,
I still am forced to hope. (No. 172.)

I tremble, lest the wrath divine,
Which bruises now my sinful soul,
Should bruise this wretched soul of mine
Long as eternal ages roll. (No. 181.)

These quotations will suffice, and we only add that it is impossible to read the hymns published by Mr. Wesley under the heads mentioned above without meeting on almost every page sentiments differing from those of Dr. Chamberlayne.

Upon this point Watson writes: "It is not true that repentance changes the legal relation of the guilty to God. . . . The sentence of the law is directed against transgression, and repentance does not annihilate, but acknowledges the fact of transgression. The charge lies against the offender; he may be an obdurate or a penitent criminal, but in either case he is criminal of all for which he stands truly charged. How, then, can his relation to the Lawgiver be changed by repentance?"—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 97.

The following is Dr. Clarke's statement: "Penitent sinner, thou hast sinned against God and thine own life. The avenger of blood is at thy heels. Thou art never safe till thou hast redemption in Jesus' blood. Believe on the Son of God, and thou shalt not perish, but have everlasting life."—*Theology*, p. 126.

Another doctrine upon which Dr. C. differs from Mr. Wesley is that of the assurance of salvation. This is in agreement with his other teachings; for if a man has exercised saving faith and is accepted of God, while he sees the wrath of God hanging over him, such a one must have the divine favor without knowing it—yea, when he actually believes he has it not. One of our author's main positions is that "assurance is not essential to saving faith, nor therefore, necessarily, connected with it."—P. 63. This language is indefinite. Assurance is not included in saving faith, but follows it. So

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far Dr. C. is right. He adds, "nor necessarily connected with it." We believe that some consciousness of being in the divine favor is joined with such faith, but whether it is necessarily so or not we care not to discuss. The doctrine of the author is more clearly expressed on other pages. Thus he says, "To doubt or directly question the existence and exercise of saving faith by the subject is consistent with its presence and exercise in the same subject."—P. 67. "Mr. Wesley is not invited to say whether believers, advanced to a state of maturity, know their sins forgiven or not. For, happily, his large family have never felt a jar upon that head."—P. 96. Again, on page 102, he quotes from Mr. Wesley these words: "By a sense of pardon I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven. This is the common privilege of real Christians." Dr. C. explains the phrase "real Christians" thus: "Elsewhere called adult Christians and adult believers." From these quotations it will be evident that Dr. C. represents Wesley as teaching that assurance is not the experience of all Christians, but belongs only to "adult Christians," "adult believers," or believers advanced to a state of maturity.

Before proceeding to notice how Dr. C. attempts to prove this position, we would inquire what authority he has for saying that by real Christians Mr. Wesley meant adult Christians. Are there no real Christians but those that have grown to the stature of men in Christ Jesus? Where is the line in Mr. Wesley's works which favors a meaning like this? The statement certainly requires proof, yet proof is unfurnished.

Upon this point, too, we notice a little discrepancy between Dr. C. and his reviewer. The latter says, "By saving faith he [Dr. C.] does not usually, if ever, mean mature faith. He generally, if not always, means the faith of acceptance. . . . It is not salvation complete, but salvation so far as to secure release from the divine displeasure, and the condemnation of the violated law. But the newly born is yet an infant only, not a man of full stature in Christ. He may or he may not enjoy the sense of assurance." That is, according to the reviewer, an infant may enjoy the sense of assurance; according to Dr. C. this belongs only to adult Christians. We leave the reviewer to make his peace with the author as best he may.

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But it is time to produce the quotations by which Dr. C. attempts to show Wesley's opinion. The first runs thus: "I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance to be essential to justifying faith." This line is found in Wesley's works, vol. vii, p. 495. The doctor quotes unfairly. Let us show the connection. Mr. Wesley says he believes a few, very few, Christians have an assurance of eternal life. More have such an assurance of present salvation as excludes all doubt and fear. A consciousness of being in the favor of God is the common privilege of Christians fearing God and working righteousness. [Let us remark just here that throughout Dr. C.'s book "fearing God and working righteousness" is the description of Christians who are without such a consciousness.] Mr. Wesley continues: he will not affirm that there are no exceptions to this rule. Possibly some may be in the favor of God and yet go mourning all the day long. But this is usually owing either to disorder of body or ignorance of the Gospel promises. Then follows Dr. C.'s quotation. From the whole passage it is evident that Mr. Wesley believed such an assurance to be the common experience of Christians, but allowed there might be exceptional cases. Dr. C. represents him as believing it to be the experience only of adult or mature Christians.

The other quotation upon this point the doctor gives from Miles' History of Methodism, apparently unaware that the passage is to be found in Wesley's works. It is there, however, in an undated letter to Charles Wesley. (Vol. vi, pp. 659, 660.) Tyerman quotes part of the letter, and says it was written in July, 1747. (Life of Wesley, vol. i, p. 552.) In it Wesley says: "By justifying faith I mean that faith which whosoever hath not is under the wrath and curse of God. By a sense of pardon I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven. I allow that there is such an explicit assurance; that it is the common privilege of real Christians; and that it is the proper Christian faith which purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world. But I cannot allow that justifying faith is such an assurance, or *necessarily* connected therewith."

Tyerman represents this as a change from Mr. Wesley's former views, and adds, "he held this corrected view to the

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end of his life." This statement favors Dr. C.'s use of the passage, but Tyerman is a poor authority upon a point in theology.

The objection to his statement is that Mr. Wesley wrote and published many things in his subsequent life contrary to the tenor of this letter. In his sermon on the Marks of the New Birth he says: "The Spirit beareth witness that we are the children of God. In whom doth the Spirit bear this witness? In all who are the children of God."—Vol. i, p. 157.

In his Farther Appeal we find these words: "The moment a penitent sinner believes this, God pardons and absolves him. And as soon as pardon or justification is witnessed to him by the Holy Ghost, he is saved."—Vol. v, p. 35.

This latter passage was written in 1744, the former probably before 1747, but both underwent the revisal of 1771–74. The following passages were written later than 1747. In a letter to John Smith, (supposed to be Archbishop Secker,) dated March 22, 1748, Mr. Wesley says: "You will all the day long stretch out your hands in vain, unless you teach them [his parishioners] to pray that the Spirit of God may inwardly witness with their spirits that they are the children of God." —Vol. vi, p. 653.

Yet if he believed a man could be accepted of God without this witness of the Spirit, how could he say that such labor must be in vain?

In May, 1753, Mr. Wesley, at the request of his Conference, wrote a letter to Whitefield complaining of some few things Whitefield was reported to have done. In this epistle, speaking of his preachers, Wesley says: "Some of them have been grieved at your mentioning among our people some of those opinions which we do not believe to be true; such as, 'a man may be justified and not know it;' that 'there is no possibility of falling away from grace;' and that 'there is no perfection in this life.'"—*Tyerman*, vol. ii, p. 167. Yet Dr. Chamberlayne says Mr. Wesley believed a man may be justified and not know it.

At the Conference of the same year it was asked, "Does every one know the exact time when he was justified?" The answer was: "It is possible he may not know what to call it when he experiences this, especially if he has not been accus-

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tomed to hear the scriptural doctrine concerning it. And the change then wrought in some may not be so sudden, or so observable, as it is in others. But generally, wherever the Gospel is preached in a clear and scriptural manner, more than ninety-nine in a hundred do know the exact time when they are justified.—*Tyerman*, vol. ii, p. 168.

Writing to Richard Thompson, July 25, 1755, Wesley says: "It is no absurdity to suppose that when God pardons a mourning, broken-hearted sinner, his mercy obliges him to another act: to witness to his Spirit that he has pardoned him." And in a later letter to the same person he refuses to retract or soften this expression. (Vol. vii, pp. 107, 109.)

We would not unnecessarily multiply citations from Wesley, but request permission to add two more. In the sermon on the Scripture Way of Salvation, published, Tyerman tells us, in 1765, we find this passage: "Faith is a divine evidence that Christ loved me and gave himself for me. It is by this faith that we receive Christ in all his offices as our Prophet, Priest, and King. . . . 'But is this the faith of assurance, or faith of adherence?' The Scripture mentions no such distinction. The apostle says, 'there is one faith;' one Christian, saving faith. . . . And it is certain this faith necessarily implies an assurance that Christ loved me and gave himself for me. For he that believeth with the true, living faith hath the witness in himself: the Spirit witnesseth with his spirit," etc.—Vol. i, p. 387.

Writing to Joseph Benson, May 21, 1781, Mr. Wesley says: "That some consciousness of our being in the favor of God is joined with Christian faith I cannot doubt."—Vol. vii, p. 30.

We have by no means exhausted the passages in Wesley's writings which teach this doctrine; but what we have given will probably be sufficient to show his opinion. Still, the words quoted by our author were undoubtedly written by Wesley. The subject had just occupied the attention of Conference. Wesley continued to think upon it; wrote out his thoughts "roughly," as he says in the letter, and sent them to his brother. Dr. Chamberlayne wishes to exalt this letter to the dignity of a full statement of Wesley's doctrine upon the subject, ignoring entirely the many statements contrary to it which he afterward wrote. Undoubtedly there is a contra-

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diction* between the letter and the passages we have quoted. The doctor can make much of this; but we doubt whether any well-informed reader will be misled by the one-sided statement.

We would at this point introduce another quotation from Dr. Chamberlayne. Page 35, he says: "It is a law of the government of the blessed God—a law of universal application —now to accept, for Christ's sake, all who now heartily believe and sincerely obey, . . . the time and manner of making them acquainted with his acceptance of them being left in his own power." The contrariety of this to Mr. Wesley's teaching must be obvious to every reader of the passages we have quoted. It is the doctrine of the Calvinistic Churches, with which Methodism has ever held a controversy on this subject. The statement entirely omits every thing peculiarly Methodistic in the doctrine of assurance.

Does any one inquire whether Mr. Wesley taught that every true Christian has an assurance of salvation? We reply that this opinion was frequently expressed by him. This he believed to be the general rule; still he admitted there might be exceptions, owing, as he said in his letter to Dr. Rutherford in 1768, "either to disorder of body or ignorance of the Gospel promises." Some years previous to this (in 1756) he ex-

* We imagine that Mr. Wesley's eye would survey all these passages without a sense of contradiction.

The case is this. A general principle there is which is practically true for all cases at present occurring; but there are certain exceptions, of theoretical importance, to be stated when a full exhibit of the absolutely true doctrine is to be made. Now it is too much to require of a man who is called every day to state the principle for the cases occurring, and for practical purposes, that he should always slavishly tack on the exceptions, or be held responsible for a contradiction.

As the ordinary principle in the Wesleyan revival, and as a rule whose fulfillment ought always to be required, *the evidence of acceptance followed the acceptance.* For the soul seeking salvation it was an all-important rule, *not to stop till the evidence was attained.* Often, therefore, Wesley most justifiably stated the rule without the qualification. When the *theory*, however, was to be discussed, he made the limitations over and over again, as given on page 111. The limitations are, "Generally, wherever the Gospel is preached in a scriptural manner." This allowed that accepted heathen and Christians, in a dim dispensation, might not be able to rightly interpret the divine evidence into a clear assurance. Even though the light be divinely given, humanly it is not truly construed.

Wesley's words to Whitefield, to Secker, and to Richard Thomson, state the fact as seen under the clear Gospel. His words, as quoted by Dr. C. and by Tyerman, and as minuted at the Conference of 1753—all given above—recognize the qualifications.—Ed.

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pressed the same opinion to R. Thompson thus: "My belief in general is this, that every Christian believer has a divine conviction of his reconciliation with God. The sum of the concessions is, I am inclined to think there may be some exceptions."—Vol. vii, p. 110. Very like this was the doctrine of the Conference of 1747, where, after asserting the belief that justifying faith is a divine assurance, etc., it was further stated that "we are inclined to think there may be some exempt cases." But it is immediately added, "It is dangerous to ground a general doctrine on a few particular experiments."—Vol. v, pp. 206, 207. This, however, is just what Dr. Chamberlayne is trying to do by adducing in his book the cases of William Cowper, of a Methodist preacher named Haine, and one or two others.

Watson teaches thus: "The adoption of sons follows upon our actual redemption . . . in other words, our pardon. Upon our pardon the Spirit of His Son is sent forth into our hearts, producing filial confidence in God, crying, 'Abba, Father.'" —*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 270.

Dr. Clarke says: "As to the doctrine of assurance, (or the knowledge of our salvation by the remission of sins, or, in other words, that a man who is justified in Christ Jesus knows that he is so, the Spirit bearing witness with his spirit that he is a child of God,) against which such a terrible outcry is made, I beg leave to ask, What is Christianity without it? A mere system of ethics, an authentic history, a dead letter. This assurance of God's love is the birthright and common privilege of all his children."—*Theology*, p. 156.

We have now examined Dr. Chamberlayne's work on the relation of penitence to saving faith, on the relation of a penitent to the great Lawgiver, and on the doctrine of assurance. On all three we have shown a great discrepancy between him and Mr. Wesley. But Dr. Chamberlayne's views upon these points are necessarily connected with his views of saving faith. With the one the other must stand or fall. Any attempt to induce the Methodist Church to accept a doctrine of faith which would necessarily lead to opinions so diverse from Wesley's must, we think, prove a failure. We agree with the reviewer, that more knowledge of Watson, Benson, and Clarke would "diminish the peril of swerving from

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our primitive standards of doctrinal and experimental divinity;" and this notwithstanding Dr. Chamberlayne's low estimate of these later and lesser writers. But the knowledge of these men we should like to see prevailing would be a thorough one; not a knowledge of a few passages taken out of connection with all else they have written. And we feel confident that such knowledge would secure the Church from receiving the peculiar teachings of the work under our notice.

Of those teachings we have noticed but a small part. And in our quotations, too, from Watson and Clarke we have given but one from each upon each point examined when a dozen were lying before us. But we have probably written enough to weary the reader. One or two remarks in conclusion:

First: We object to the method in which Dr. Chamberlayne attempts to show Wesley's opinions. Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer, yet had little time for writing. What wonder if occasionally a sentence fell from his pen not well weighed in all that it involved? That he wrote such sentences is shown by his occasional notices of correcting or expunging them. Dr. Chamberlayne, by a rigorous, though partial, reading of Wesley finds a few such sentences, quotes them, and, when it suits him, bends them by a severe logic into harmony with his own views, and proclaims these as Wesley's opinions. Yet these proclaimed opinions are in direct opposition to many of the plainest and most positive opinions Wesley ever wrote. This we conceive to be an unfair method. A few months ago, a Universalist preacher discovered a short paragraph in Wesley's writings which he alleged taught Universalism, and, on the strength of this, claimed Wesley as a believer in that faith. A pretty severe reply speedily appeared in the Methodist papers. But what shall we say to a Methodist preacher who, by similar means, attempts to show as Mr. Wesley's certain opinions which Mr. Wesley has repeatedly denied? Dr. Chamberlayne claims to be the discoverer of certain of Wesley's opinions which he asserts have been lost. Undoubtedly he is the discoverer of what he proclaims.

Second: We have another objection to Dr. Chamberlayne's method. It is well known that the Methodist and Calvinistic Churches have differed upon many points of doctrine. Dr. Chamberlayne's scope embraces some of these points. He

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attempts to prove his views by "orthodox theologians generally," and Wesley and Fletcher in particular. But these orthodox theologians are almost invariably Calvinistic ones. The proof passages come from the Westminster Confession, Dr. John Dick, Andrew Fuller, Christmas Evans, Richard Baxter, and others. In a passage quoted by Dr. Chamberlayne, Baxter rejects the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit as an Antinomian dotage, a pestilential and dangerous error, and warns his readers strongly against it. Dr. Chamberlayne undoubtedly believes the doctrine; but after reading such a passage, however much honor may be given to Baxter as a noble Christian man and a great theologian, we should suppose the doctor would be rather jealous of his teachings respecting the doctrine of assurance. On the contrary, he says: Baxter's testimony on the subject of assurance is of itself entitled to end all controversy. How far would Dr. Chamberlayne follow such a principle as this declaration involves? But, generally, are we to correct our Methodist theology by accepting as unquestioned proofs the statements of Calvinistic divines? We are told in the latter part of the work that if the Methodist Church adopts the views it contains, we shall receive the gratulation of the whole sisterhood of Churches. Of course we should. The Calvinistic Churches would rejoice exceedingly if Methodism, renouncing her own views, would accept of theirs. But such a jubilee is not near.

Art. VII.—THE DAY-YEAR INTERPRETATION.

In interpreting certain prophetical Scriptures, more especially in the books of Daniel and the Revelation, some of our ablest and best English and American commentators have adopted what has been called "the Day-year theory." In particular passages they have regarded a day as standing for a year; on the other hand, the Jesuits, the Germans, and a few American scholars, have denounced this theory in the strongest terms. They have said "it never ought to be true, and never can be." They have discarded it as being "utterly baseless, false, and of course mischievous and delusive."

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The question is of much importance, as it involves the interpretation of some of the more interesting portions of the Bible. Let us for a few moments consider this question, and endeavor to come to a right understanding of it.

The question is not whether in *all* the prophetical Scriptures a day stands for a year; for certainly this is not the case. In most of the passages where days are mentioned, the word day is to be taken in its literal signification.

But does it, in *any cases*, stand for a year? And can this be proved, either by the testimony of Scripture, or by the obvious fulfillment of prophecy? We believe it can be, and shall proceed, in few words, to justify this opinion.

When it was predicted of the Israelites that they should wander in the wilderness forty years, it was added: "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, *each day for a year shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years.*" Num. xiv, 34.

So Ezekiel, when predicting the siege and capture of Jerusalem, was directed to lie on his left side *three hundred and ninety days*, which days denoted so many years. These years may be calculated from the establishment of idolatry by Jeroboam in the kingdom of Israel, to the final desolation of the whole land, in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, a period of precisely three hundred and ninety years. When the prophet had accomplished these days, he was directed to lie forty days more on his right side, which represented the forty years that intervened betwixt Josiah's reformation and the same final desolation. "*I have appointed thee each day for a year.*" Ezek. iv, 1–6.

In the prophecy of Daniel, this same mode of representation is unquestionably resorted to. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy." Dan. ix, 24. This prediction refers, undoubtedly, to the Messiah, and to the time when he should appear to make expiation for sin. The commencement of the seventy weeks is fixed by Daniel himself, or rather by the revealing angel. It was "from the going forth of the decree to restore and to

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build Jerusalem." Dan. ix, 25. This decree was given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the twentieth year of his reign. Neh. ii, 1. And from this time to the death of Christ, according to the best chronologists, is four hundred and ninety years, or *seventy weeks, counting a day for a year.*

It is objected to this interpretation that what our translators have rendered seventy weeks is in the original of Daniel *seventy sevens*, which may mean seventy sevens of years, that is, *four hundred and ninety years;* thus bringing us to the same result, without supposing a *day* to stand for a year.

The only question here is, Did Daniel, or the revealing angel, intend, by the seventy sevens, sevens of days, or sevens of years? We think he must have intended sevens of days, *hebdomads, weeks;* since, from the creation, time had been divided into weeks of seven days, but years had never been so divided. A seven, a hebdomad, would naturally be understood to mean seven days, though the word days should be omitted. So the word hebdomad has always been understood. Critics have no more reason or authority for changing the meaning here into sevens of years than they would have for changing it into sevens of hours or sevens of months. The proper translation of the passage before us is that contained in our Bible: "*Seventy weeks* are determined upon thy people, and upon the holy city,"—that is, seventy times seven days—four hundred and ninety days; and the fulfillment of the prophecy shows that each of these days must stand for a year.

Instances of this species of interpretation occur in the Revelation. Thus it is said to the Church in Smyrna: "The devil shall cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days." Rev. ii, 10. No one can suppose that the persecution here referred to would be limited to ten literal days. The reference is, undoubtedly, to the Diocletian persecution, which lasted ten years.

It is believed by the most respectable commentators that the army of locusts swarming forth from the bottomless pit, on the blast of the fifth trumpet, denotes the vast army of Saracen warriors by whom a great portion of the earth was overrun and devastated for many years. This army was to continue its ravages for *five months.* Not five literal months; no one can entertain such a supposition. A much longer period must

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be indicated. On the "Day-year theory," the five months represent one hundred and fifty years. Let us see, then, how long the Saracen conquests continued.

The Saracens first issued from the deserts into Syria, and commenced their wars upon Christian nations, about the year 629. From this time, for the next hundred and fifty years, they were the most successful warriors on the earth. They carried their conquests through Egypt and all northern Africa, and then through the greater part of Spain and into France. At the same time they twice besieged Constantinople, and laid waste the greater part of the eastern Roman empire. They entered Europe from the East, intending and expecting to unite their eastern and western conquests somewhere in Italy, and to have all Christendom at their feet. But they were defeated and driven back in France by Charles Martel in the year 732. Soon after this their conquests were checked in the East, and by the year 779—one hundred and fifty years from the commencement of their ravages—their power to injure had in great measure ceased. The Caliphs had become rich, luxurious, and effeminate; they built cities, palaces, and castles; they devoted much time to the pursuits of science and the arts of peace. They did not cease to exist as a people, but their power to do hurt was taken away. They were no longer a terror to their Christian neighbors and to the nations of the earth.

We have an instance of the same kind under the sixth trumpet, when the Euphratean horsemen—almost universally allowed to represent the Turks—invaded Western Asia, captured Constantinople, and destroyed the last remains of the old eastern Roman empire. For a time they were prevented from crossing the Euphrates by the power of the Caliphs. But in the year 1055 Bagdad was taken by the Turks, and the way was opened for the extension of their conquests westward. They crossed the Euphrates with a vast army, chiefly horsemen, which John sets down as "two hundred thousand thousand." Gibbon says that "they overspread a frontier of six hundred miles."

After this army was let loose upon western Asia, it was to continue "for an hour, a day, a month, and a year." No one can suppose these numbers to be taken literally. They must denote a much longer period. On "the Day-year interpreta-

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ation," they stand for about three hundred and ninety-one years. Supposing the Turks to have commenced their career of conquest in 1062—which is as soon as they could be expected to commence it after crossing the river—and adding to this number three hundred and ninety-one, we have 1,453, the precise year in which Constantinople was taken. There is some diversity of statement as to the year in which the Turks commenced their wars in western Asia; but the result in every case comes very near to that stated above. And surely it is a most remarkable result, going to assure us of the accuracy, not only of the prediction which contains it, but of the method of interpreting that prediction.

We have another instance in the Revelation equally striking. When the two witnesses had finished their testimony they were slain, and their dead bodies lay unburied "in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt," three days and a half. Then "the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet." Rev. xi, 3–11. These witnesses are supposed to denote the faithful few who were found at their post through all the Middle Ages —the Paulicians, the Cathari, the Culdees, the Lollards, the Albigenses, the Waldenses—holding up the light of truth, and braving the hatred and persecution of the world. As the time of their testimony in sackcloth drew to a close, they were assailed with unwonted violence. Their enemies were determined either to silence them or destroy them. Wars were waged against them; crusades were set on foot for their destruction; the Inquisition was busy at its work, and in the short period of four years is said to have destroyed one hundred and fifty thousand persons.

At length, as we approach the time of the Protestant Reformation, Rome ventured to proclaim that her work of destruction was accomplished. At the ninth session of the Lateran Council, held in the year 1513, the orator of the session ascended the pulpit and affirmed: "There is an end of all resistance to the Papal rule and religion; opposers exist no longer. The whole body of Christianity is now seen to be subject to its rightful head—the Pope." It is probably from this time that the three days and a half, during which the bodies of the witnesses remained unburied, are to be reckoned.

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And it is wonderful to record that in three years and a half from the date of the above proclamation, that is, in the autumn of 1517, Luther commenced his attack upon indulgences, life entered again into the bodies of the dead witnesses, and the Protestant Reformation was ushered in.

In the cases above cited, "the Day-year interpretation" is supposed to be verified by the actual fulfillment of prophecy. There are other instances in the Apocalyse which are to be interpreted in the same way, the fulfillment of which is not yet accomplished. The terminus *ad quem* has not been reached. In the latter half of the Revelation we find frequent mention of a period styled the forty and two months, and the twelve hundred and sixty days, during which the Church is to be persecuted and well-nigh destroyed by its enemies. The holy city is to be trodden under foot forty and two months, and the two witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth twelve hundred and sixty days. Chap. xi, 2, 3. The mystical woman is to flee into the wilderness and be nourished there for the same period. Chap. xii, 6, 14. And the beast rising out of the sea is to continue his iron rule forty and two months. So, in Daniel, the saints are to be given into the hands of the power represented by the little horn until "a time, times, and dividing of time," three years and a half, forty and two months, twelve hundred and sixty days—the same period as that indicated above.

No sober interpreter can suppose that these several numbers are to be understood literally. They must indicate a much longer period.* Interpreting them on the "Day-year theory," each and all of them signify twelve hundred and sixty years, the period of papal rule and domination in the Church. Each and all of them terminate together, at a time yet future, in the great conflict immediately preceding the millennium.

* Even Professor Cowles, who denounces and ridicules "the Day-year theory," does not himself interpret the above notations of time literally, but prolongs them indefinitely, or as much as he has occasion. He says: "It matters not how long the two witnesses did actually testify to the Jews before the fall of their city," p. 127. Of the mystical woman he says: "God kept her in the wilderness *as long as the occasion demanded*," p. 147. So the forty and two months of the beast's continuance indicates, according to Professor Cowles, "an *indefinite period of calamity*," p. 155. Even the thousand years of the millennium does not, in his reckoning, signify a thousand years, but a vastly longer period.

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If we knew with certainty when the twelve hundred and sixty years commenced, we might fix the date of the millennium. But this we do not know. When was the mystical temple measured, and the court of the Gentiles left out, and the holy city given to be trodden under foot? When did the two witnesses commence giving their testimony in sackcloth? When did the mystical woman flee into the wilderness, to be sheltered and nourished there? When were the saints of the Most High given into the hands of Daniel's little horn? We have not the means of answering definitely either of these questions. Perhaps the periods indicated by them did not all commence mence together, but at different times in the course of a century or more. Papal Rome did not rise to the height of its supremacy all at once. Its usurpations were gradually assumed, its abominations were gradually accumulated, and its prostration and breaking up may be gradual. The millennium may not be fully introduced at once. It may come in gradually, and in some of its stages almost imperceptibly. Its light, which even now may be streaking the east, will shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

There is, however, one of the apocalyptical symbols, denoting the commencement of the twelve hundred and sixty years, which, as it seems to me, is quite definitely fixed: I mean the rising of the beast out of the sea, in the thirteenth chapter. This beast, I cannot doubt, signifies Papal Rome in its *political, secular* character. It arose when the Pope received his temporal dominion and became a king. This took place in the year 756; and the twelve hundred and sixty years added to this will make the millennium to commence in about the year 2000, or in the six thousandth year of the world.

Meanwhile the way will be constantly preparing for it; revolutions will be taking place one after another, and the power of the Papacy will be steadily diminishing. But at the time above-mentioned the millennium, I trust, may be fully introduced, and the seven thousandth year of the world will be the great Sabbatical period.

We have shown that in the prophetical Scriptures a day is often, though not always, reckoned for a year; and if it be inquired how we are to determine when the word day is to be so reckoned and when not, I answer: In these cases, as in

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others, we are to be guided chiefly by the connection and the sense. Thus, when it is said in Jeremiah, "These nations shall serve the King of Babylon seventy years," there is nothing in the connection to show that the literal sense of the words is not intended. So, when it is predicted by Daniel that the pollution of the sanctuary by Antiochus Epiphanes should continue two thousand and three hundred days, the numbers are to be understood literally. Chap. viii, 14. But when it is said of the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast—signifying a terrible persecuting power—that the saints of the Most High shall be delivered into his hands until "a time, times, and dividing of time," that is, three years and a half, the connection shows that the terms cannot have a literal interpretation; a period much longer than three and a half years is obviously intended.

If any object that this "Day-year interpretation" is wholly arbitrary, that there is no reason or occasion for it, and therefore it must be unsound, it will not be difficult to show that there is a principle involved in it, and that it was not adopted by the Holy Spirit without the best reasons. It was adopted, as is evident in most of the cases where it occurs, to give *continuity* and *congruity* to the symbols employed. Without it, or something like it, there would be an utter incongruity. Thus, when the Church is represented by a travailing woman flying into the wilderness, there to be nourished for twelve hundred and sixty years, the statement is monstrous. The woman could not live a tenth part of that period. But by substituting days for years, and supposing each day to stand for a year, the whole representation becomes consistent and agreeable.

The same explanation will apply to the beast in Rev. xiii, who is to continue his ravages for twelve hundred and sixty years. But no beast can live twelve hundred and sixty years. To avoid the absurdity of such a representation there is a necessity of adopting the "Day-year theory," and then the whole becomes consistent: a literal beast may continue forty and two months.

And so of the locusts representing the Saracen warriors in chapter ix. If it was the intention of the revealing Spirit that these should continue one hundred and fifty years, why

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did he not say one hundred and fifty years? Why limit their ravages to five months? Because locusts do not live one hundred and fifty years, nor commonly more than five months. The Spirit, therefore, adopts the "Day-year principle," and says they shall continue five months, which are one hundred and fifty days, and stand, symbolically, for one hundred and fifty years.

In cases like those here adduced, it is necessary that both parts of the representation should be interpreted in the same way. If one part is a symbol, so must the other be. In the cases we have considered, the woman, the beast, and the locusts are confessedly symbols; and so the numbers must be, a day standing for a year.

The germinant idea of this method of interpretation seems to have been derived from Moses. "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years." Num. xiv, 34. From Moses it was adopted by Ezekiel and Daniel, and the writer of the Revelation. It enables the writer to prophesy in symbols, and at the same time to make his symbols congruous and consistent.

In this short article I have endeavored to set forth, explain, and defend the "Day-year" method of interpretation because I think it a matter of great importance. Without it, I feel sure that the books of Daniel and the Revelation can never be properly and consistently interpreted.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1873.—1. The Law of Divorce. 2. Philosophy of the Eucharist. 3. Rawlinson's Parthia. 4. Literary Skepticism. 5. Prince Bishop of Breslau. 6. Tradition.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Philadelphia.)—1. Girolamo Savonarola. 2. Free Trade and Protection. 3. Resurrection of Christ. 4. The Relation of Prayer to Pastoral Efficiency. 5. Transfiguration of Christ. 6. The Political Responsibility of the Christian Citizen. 7. Our Schools and Foreign Missions. 8. Paul as an Argument for Christianity.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Cincinnati.)—1. Collegiate Education for Girls. 2. Infant Baptism. 3. Miracles. 4. Dogmatism and its Cure. 5. Fénélon and Religious Toleration. 6. "The Sabbath."

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MERCERSBURG REVIEW, October, 1873. (Philadelphia.)—1. Christianity and Humanity. 2. Scripture View of Divine Worship. 3. The Scope and Spirit of Scientific Research. 4. The Doctrine of Baptism as taught in the Heidelberg Catechism. 5. Dalton on the Heidelberg Catechism. 6. The Union of the Divine and Human in Jesus Christ. 7. The Presbyterian Theory of Christian Baptism.

NEW ENGLANDER. October, 1873. (New Haven.)—1. The Scientific Demolition of Prayer. 2. Modern Physical Discoveries and their Limitations. 3. Current Fallacies concerning Ordination. 4. How American Women are Helping their Sisters. 5. Flies in the Ointment. 6. Doctrinal Creeds as Tests of Church Membership. 7. The Study of Words. 8. A Reminiscence of the Stackpole House. 9. The Friendship of Goethe and Schiller.

QUARTERLY REVIEW. October, 1873. (Gettysburgh.)—1. What is the Church? 2. Bismarck *versus* the Pope. 3. The Lutheran Church in Illinois. 4. Amateur Theology. 5. Justification by Faith. 6. The Training of the Young of the Church. 7. Organization for Efficient Work.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Boston.)—1. The Destiny of the Creature. 2. The Assassins. Part Second. 3. Man and his Position in Nature. 4. The Opinions of John Wesley. 5. German and Anglo-American Morals. 6. Sufficient Provision.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1873. (New York.)—1. The Modern English Pulpit. 2. Faith: Its Place and Prerogative. 3. The New Testament Meaning of Eternity and Eternal. 4. The Vatican Council. 5. The Necessity of Religious Instruction in Colleges. 6. Infant Baptism. 7. Life and Its Origin. 8. The Harmony of the Gospel Accounts of Christ's Resurrection. 9. The Contrast between Man and the Brute Creation Establishes the Divine Origin of the Scriptures. 10. Eating and Drinking Unworthily.

Dr. Lord's able article on "The Modern English Pulpit" has a full section on the Methodist pulpit, written in the strain usual in some quarters; namely, glowing with eulogy on the Methodism of the past, but chill with evil augury to the Methodism of the present and future. We give the closing part of the section:

"The six millions and a half of Methodists in this country indicate something as to the power of a pulpit whose baptism is not that of human learning, or wisdom, or eloquence, for in these things it is exceptionally deficient, but is that of the Holy Ghost and fire. We imagine, however, that this offshoot of the Anglican Church has reached its most triumphant period. It is losing that which is more convincing than authority, wiser than learning, more attractive than eloquence. It has felt the doctrine which it has preached; it has discarded, almost despised, the graces of culture; it has been rude and coarse, but it has been sincere and in earnest; it has not had many preachers who knew how to 'divide the word;' not many who could mix the light of the sun, the roar of the torrents, and the sublimity of the heavens in their speech; not many of melting voice, and graceful gesture, and beautiful simile; not

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many who could interpret the Psalms, or explain the prophets, or unfold 'the things hard to be understood' in Peter and Paul; but it has had a great company who could touch the hearts of men, and make them ask, 'What shall we do to be saved?' But like all reactionary churches, it at last comes to the state from which it reacted. It is ambitious for the things which it has left. It is tending to the excellency of speech which it disdained. It is lowering its conception of the ministry, and in its anxiety to be greatest in the kingdom of God, it is losing the ideas which have made it great as it has been."—P. 582.

This reminds us of an article in the "Westminster Review" of twenty years ago, touching on Wesley and Methodism, glorifying the first generation of English Methodists, as men of striking natural endowments and rare power for effect, in consequence of their intense sincerity, and setting them in vivid contrast with the insincere, mechanical, and *effete* Methodism of the then dead present. Yet never in all her history has Methodism made more gigantic advances than during the twenty years of that dead present. And during all that period not a biennium has passed in which some prophet has not arisen, and with a rare freshness of inspiration, blended with profound philosophy, predicted that "Methodism has fulfilled her mission; she was a great power in the past, but her methods and spirit will fail for the future." Dr. Lord's vaticination is one of the series, just as good as the thousand and one of its falsified predecessors. We do not think that with the Presbyterian, as with the infidel soothsayer, the wish is father to the thought. But somehow the method of both is the same—a eulogy of the past to the disparagement of the present. And somehow the query arises: Did the past Methodism, when present, receive better courtesy than the now present? When Wesley and his preachers were really living and at work, did infidelity write eulogies on their characters? And as for our American Methodism of fifty years ago—faugh! what a *mormo* it was in the eyes of the then living Presbyterianism! It is only the *past*, not the at any time *present*, Methodism, that these prophets admire. They write blazoning eulogies only on the assumption that their eulogies are epitaphs.

About the Methodist preaching of the past Dr. Lord knows

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about as much as he really does of the Methodist preaching of the far future. A large share of our preaching has, no doubt, been rude and coarse; but never, like the parallel Presbyterian sermon-reading, sleepy and paralytic. And as for those "who could mix the light of the sun, the roar of the torrents, and the sublimity of the heavens in their speech," etc., the learned doctor prattles like a babe. It is from oratory as oratory, native-born pulpit oratory, such as the schools can never teach and seldom reach, that much of the popular power of Methodism in the past has been derived. When from a countless host we select the names of Asbury, M'Kendree, Bascom, Summerfield, Maffit, Cookman, Fisk, and Olin, we fear no comparisons.

But Methodism is one of the "reactionary Churches" and must relapse. What great Church, we reply, was not in its origin "reactionary?" Protestantism itself, Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and Quakerism—all, like Methodism, had their "reactionary" phase. Methodism, like all but the last of these, possessed, however, not only a negative reactive phase, but it also has its positive element of permanent persistence. More than a century of tireless progress, unfolding in an increasing variety of methods and agencies, adjusting itself to every new demand of the age, would seem to decide that point. As for being "ambitious for the things that it had left," Dr. Lord does not know, we presume, how widely he misstates our history. Methodism began in a university, and she did not go out, but was hustled out. She began in consecrated churches, and stayed until she was driven into the streets and fields. When she came to this country she found the college gates frowning upon her, and the "standing order" scowling at her. One of the first enterprises of our first bishops, Coke and Asbury, was to build a college and call it after their own names, COKESBURY COLLEGE. And when reprimanded by Wesley for calling it so big a thing as a "college," they none the less determined that a college it should be. After it was twice burned down, leaving a heavy indebtedness, they concluded, perhaps not unwisely, that their immediate mission was the open Gospel field. For a while the university work was suspended. In that interval there arose, doubtless, hundreds among us who distrusted learning itself as an aid to religious progress. Popular preachers even, feeling their defect of col-

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lege education, indignantly deprecated the advantage they did not possess. But never did Methodism forget her origin in a university, or cease to boast that her founder was a "fellow" of Oxford. The very preacher who sneered at "college-bred parsons" was often heroic in his readiness for sacrifices in the cause of building "a college of our own." And when Methodism enters upon schools, and colleges, and universities, and seminaries, she only returns to her starting-place. The scenes of enthusiastic liberality which we have witnessed in Methodist Conferences in behalf of a seminary or a college would fully attest both that the Methodist ministry never lost its original affinity for higher education, and that they had no doubt that our learning might be impregnated with all the glowing zest of our religion in the past. And this, we confess, is the problem before us. Here Dr. Lord predicts that we shall trip. Here, however, we think and trust that it is Dr. Lord himself that trips.

For, does the learned doctor really believe that zealous, aggressive piety, touched with the holy fire of the past, is really incompatible with learning? We submit to Dr. Lord whether he is not herein adopting the very theory attributed to untaught Methodism, namely, that religious life must lower as the intellectual life rises. We believe no such libel upon our religion. The very fact that our Methodist opposers of education were converted to its cause by the sweeping revivals that proved our schools to be the place to get their children converted, is a cheerful prophecy that religious zeal and intellectual culture may beautifully blend in our future history.

In the article on "Infant Baptism," by Rev. Erskine N. White, that rite is grounded upon the doctrine of INFANT REGENERATION. Those who have objected to that doctrine on the ground that it is a denial of depravity, must be surprised to find it maintained by that branch of the Church which, of all others, has placed the strongest emphasis on the totality of our depravity.

Among the conditions of proper baptism the reviewer reckons *Presumptive Regeneration*, and thus proceeds:

"Baptism, as we have seen, symbolizes regeneration; but *presumptive* regeneration is all that we can predicate of any candidate whether old or young. God only reads the heart,

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and we have reason to believe that all Churches contain unworthy members.

"Among the apostles, called by the Lord himself, there was a Judas; Paul was forsaken by Demas; and this experience has been repeated in every age.

"Thus, in regard to the children of believers, it cannot be asked that their regeneration shall be proved as an invariable fact, but only that there shall be proved to be in its favor a presumption such as we deem necessary in the case of adult candidates for the same sacrament.

"That there is warrant in the judgment of charity for such presumption, and as a basis of ecclesiastical procedure, and that so far the children of believers are to be treated as regenerate, we argue from the following considerations:

"1. The regeneration of infants is *possible*.

"*a*. Regeneration is a work of the Holy Ghost, transforming the soul. It is the divine side of that great change of which the human side is 'repentance' (*μετάνοια*) or conversion. Logically, the act of God must precede the act of man, although in point of time they may be often coincident. The Holy Ghost can change the heart of the confirmed bigot and persecutor Saul; he can transform, if it pleases him, the moral nature of an infant.

"*b*. A conscious acceptance of Christ at the moment of regeneration is not a necessary accompaniment. We believe that all children dying in unconscious infancy are saved. They enter heaven only as redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, and as with a moral nature transformed by the power of the Holy Ghost. Their first conscious thought must be in harmony with the will of God; but the great moral change—their regeneration—preceded it while they were still unconscious." *

"3. Not only is the regeneration from earliest infancy of the children of believers *possible* and *credible*, but Scripture expressions encourage us to *expect* it.

"'Thou art he that took me out of the womb, thou didst make me to hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I

* "'Moreover, infants who are to be saved, (and that some are saved at this age is certain,) must, without question, be previously regenerated by the Lord. For if they bring innate corruption with them from their mother's womb, they must be purified before they can be admitted into the kingdom of God, into which shall not enter anything that defileth.'—*Calvin.* Institut. iv, xvi, 1."

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was cast upon thee from the womb; thou art my God from my mother's belly.' Psa. xxii, 9, 10.

"'Thou art my trust from my youth. By thee have I been holden up from the womb.' Psa. lxxi, 5, 6.

"'And did not he make one? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed.' Mal. ii, 15.

"'And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up (ἐκτρέφετε) in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Eph. vi, 4.

"Of John it is said, 'He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb.' Luke i, 15. Of Jeremiah, 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.' Jer. i, 5.

"4. *Facts in the Church* favor the belief that the children of believers are to be presumed regenerate till the contrary appears.

"*a.* Scripture examples. Samuel, (1 Sam. i, 27, 28; ii, 11, 18, 26; iii, 1,) Jeremiah, (Jer. i, 5,) John Baptist, (Luke i, 15.)

"*b.* Where parents pray in faith for the presence of the Holy Spirit upon their children, are watchful in Christian nurture, and look for the evidences of a spiritual change, ordinarily they are not disappointed.

"They do not indeed find their children free from temptation, folly, and sin, any more than they find the adult Christian perfectly sanctified; but they do *not* ordinarily find their children committed to the service of the devil. On the other hand, they find their earliest emotions drawn out toward God with sincere desire to do his will. There is no Christian who has not seen such instances and rejoiced in them. The reason, alas! that they are not more frequent is that very seldom do parents have such faith; and still more rarely do they train their offspring as young Christians within the Church of God.

"*c.* The great majority of those who confess Christ before men are children of Christian parents. So true is this that, notwithstanding the want of faith upon the part of parents and their neglect of true Christian nurture, there is little risk in saying that the spiritual condition at twenty years of age, of any given number of children of Christian parents, would compare

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favorably with the condition, twenty years after baptism, of the same number of persons presumptively *converted* and baptized in adult years.

"5. All Churches that baptize infants do so upon the ground that they may be regenerated in infancy.

"This is, of course, true of those Churches (the Romish, Greek, Lutheran) that hold that the sacraments convey spiritual grace '*ex opere operato*;' but it is equally true of the different branches of the Reformed Church that most earnestly deny that any such efficacy is inherent in the sacrament itself.

"The Protestant Episcopal Church teaches (Art. 27) 'Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, but is also a sign of regeneration or New Birth.' In the Baptismal Office the words are used, 'Seeing that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church.' This is often construed to mean more; it at least means as much as we have maintained.

"The Methodist Episcopal Church repeats essentially (Art. 17) the twenty-seventh Article of the Episcopal Church.

"The Rev. Mr. Hibbard, in a work that has the indorsement of the 'Methodist Book Concern,' says: 'In the following treatise, I have assumed that infants are in a regenerated state,' (p. 5;) and again, 'Infants are in a gracious state. . . . Baptism is an outward sign of an inward work of grace . . . a token of confirmation that the subject belongs to the spiritual family of God. All who belong to the spiritual family of God are entitled to baptism.'—P. 89.

"The Church of the United Brethren (Moravian) teaches in the 'Litany at Baptism of Children,' 'Baptism is the answer of a good conscience toward God, who hath saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which is shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Children, also, may be made partakers of this grace.' The Heidelberg Catechism teaches, (Quest. 74,) 'Are infants also to be baptized? Yes; for since they, as well as the adult, are included in the covenant and Church of God, and since redemption from sin by the blood of Christ and the Holy Ghost, the author of faith, is *promised to them no less than to the adult*; they must, therefore,' etc.

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"The Dordrecht Confession of Faith teaches, (Art. 34,) 'And indeed Christ shed his blood no less for the washing of the children of the faithful than for the adult persons; and, therefore, they ought to receive the sign and sacrament of that which Christ hath done for them.'

"The Westminster Confession of Faith having explained (Chap. 28, Sec. i) that 'Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and a seal of the covenant of grace, of his engrafting into Christ, of *regeneration*, and of his giving up unto God through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life,' proceeds to say, (Sec. iv,) 'Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents, are to be baptized.' (Sec. vi.) 'The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet, notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred, by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time.'"—Pp. 671–676.

In regard to Baptismal Regeneration, the Reviewer furnishes in a foot-note the following statements:

"Misunderstanding frequently arises from mere difference of definition. Many Anglican divines, in supposed conformity to the expressions of their standards, use the word *regeneration* as signifying solely the change that takes place in the condition of a person who, by the sacrament, is 'grafted into the good tree, born into the Church,' and who receives 'baptismal grace.' But they do not deny the possibility of a previous spiritual change wrought by the Holy Ghost and manifested by faith and repentance; only they do not call it *regeneration*.

"'Here again,' says the Bishop of Ely, 'misunderstanding results from difference of definition. The Church calls the grace of baptism by the name of regeneration, for reasons already specified; but she does not deny that God may work in the souls of men *previous to their baptism;* nay, she does not deny that there may be *true spiritual life* in them before baptism. But that spiritual life she does not call the new birth

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till it is manifested *in the sacrament* of regeneration. We must remember that the terms *new birth* and *regeneration* are images borrowed from natural objects and applied to spiritual objects. In nature we believe life to exist in the infant before it is born —life, too, of the same kind as its life after birth. Nay, *if there be no life before it is born, there will be none after it is born.* So, the unbaptized may not be altogether destitute of spiritual life; yet the actual birth may be considered as taking place at baptism; when there is not only life, but life apparent, life proclaimed to the world; when the soul receives the seal of adoption, is counted in the family of God, and not only partakes of God's grace and mercy, but has a covenanted assurance and title to it.'—*Browne's Exposition of Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 647.

"The late Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton, says: 'In baptism . . . I was *made* a child of God.' Yes, coronation makes a sovereign; but, paradoxical as it may seem, it can only *make* one a sovereign who is a sovereign already. Similarly with baptism. Baptism makes a child of God in the sense in which coronation makes a king. And baptism naturally stands in Scripture for the title of regeneration and the moment of it.'—*Sermons. Second Series: Sermon iv.*

"In accordance with common usage, the word 'regeneration,' in this article, is used to designate the primal spiritual change from death unto life, whereby the subject becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus.

"'By a consent almost universal the word regeneration is now used to designate, not the whole work of sanctification, nor the first stages of that work comprehended in conversion, much less justification, or any mere external change of state, but the instantaneous change from spiritual death to spiritual life.'—*Hodge's Theol.*, vol. iii, p. 5."—P. 663.

Under these definitions the doctrine of "Baptismal Regeneration" ceases to be a bugbear.

We do not see how any fair exposition of our Seventeenth Article can be given which does not involve the doctrine of Infant Regeneration. We do see that under such exposition and doctrine the baptism of infants is a necessary conclusion. The Baptist theory is thereby scattered to the winds. A clear and beautiful light is thrown on childhood, and that cruel dogma

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which assigns to our offspring the position of heathens, and neglects to bring them to holy baptism, stands corrected.

But do our Calvinistic brethren hold that *all* the elect are regenerated at birth? Is, then, regeneration never a sequent of the preached Gospel and conviction of sin? Is every sinner, antecedent to his conversion, and in the midst of his impenitence and gross sins, a regenerate person? We faint in the effort to unravel the tangled thread of that theology.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1873. (Boston.)—1. The Progress from Brute to Man. 2. The Meaning and Causes of Value. 3. Universal Suffrage under Napoleon III. 4. Our Electoral Machinery. 5. Taine's Philosophy. 6. Charitable Sisterhoods.

It is a noteworthy fact that the two periodicals, quarterly and monthly, issuing from our national "Athens," and representing our highest "Athenian" culture, the "North American Review" and the "Atlantic Monthly," seem most fascinated with the theory that man is but a development from brute. In the first article, Mr. John Fiske, Lecturer on Comte's Philosophy in Harvard College, traces in conception "the progress from brute to man." Mr. Fiske, with another writer in this "Review," Mr. Henry Wright, whom we have formerly noticed, and Professor Youmans, appear to be the American representatives of Spencer, Darwin, Bain, etc.; perhaps inferior to their originals, yet ably contributing many furnishings and finishings to the theories of their English masters. In accordance with our usual course of frankly placing before our readers the most "advanced positions" of the new "science and philosophy," we shall try to give in their behalf the clearest possible hearing in brief space to Mr. Fiske's skillful showing how man grew from brute.

The article is a chapter from a volume about to appear from his pen, in which it is preceded by his proofs that this evolution of man from brute is a true fact. Of that series of proofs we have had a condensed report in the New York Tribune, and our great objection to the whole is that the great "fact" is entirely unsupported, if not refuted, by facts.

1. The difference between man and brute must be rightly estimated:

"When we take the refined and intellectual Teuton, with his one hundred and fourteen cubic inches of brain, and set

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him alongside of the chimpanzee with his thirty-five cubic inches of brain, the difference seems so enormous as to be incompatible with any original kinship. But when we interpose the Australian, whose brain, measuring seventy cubic inches, comes considerably nearer to that of the chimpanzee than to that of the Teuton, the case is entirely altered; and we are no longer inclined to admit sweeping statements about the immeasurable superiority of man, which we may still admit, provided they are restricted to civilized man. If we examine the anatomical composition of these brains, the discovery that in structural complexity the Teutonic cerebrum surpasses the Australian even more than the latter surpasses that of the chimpanzee, serves to strengthen us in our position. And when we pass from facts of anatomy to facts of psychology, we obtain still further confirmation; for we find that the difference in structure is fully paralleled by the difference in functional manifestation. If the Englishman shows such wonderful command of relations of space, time, and number as to be able to tell us that to an observer stationed at Greenwich on the 7th of June, A.D. 2004, at precisely nine minutes and fifty-six seconds after five o'clock in the morning, Venus will begin to cross the sun's disk, the Australian, on the other hand, is able to count only up to five or six, and cannot tell us the number of fingers on his two hands, since so large a number as ten excites in him only an indefinite impression of plurality."—P. 253.

2. If we reply to this that nevertheless man is a *progressive* being and the brute *stationary*, we receive the following answer:

"In similar wise is made to disappear the sharp contrast between human and brute animals in capability of progress. Hardly any fact is more imposing to the imagination than the fact that each generation of men is perceptibly more enlightened than the preceding one, while each generation of brutes exactly resembles those which have come before it. But the contrast is obtained only by comparing the civilized European of to-day directly with the brute animals known to us through the short period of recorded human history. The capability of progress, however, is by no means shared alike by all races of men. Of the numerous races historically known to us, it

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has been manifested in a marked degree only by two—the Aryan and Semitic. To a much less conspicuous extent it has been exhibited by the Chinese and Japanese, the Copts of Egypt, and a few of the highest American races. On the other hand, the small-brained races — the Australians and Papuans, the Hottentots, and the majority of tribes constituting the wide-spread Malay and American families—appear almost wholly incapable of progress, even under the guidance of higher races. The most that can be said for them is that they are somewhat more imitative and somewhat more teachable than any brute animals. In the presence of the Aryan, even under the most favorable circumstances, they tend to become extinguished, rather than to appropriate the results of a civilization which there is no reason to suppose they could ever have originated. The two great races of Middle Africa, the Negroes and Kaffirs, have shown, by their ability to endure slave labor, their superiority to those above mentioned; but their career, where it has not been interfered with by white men, has been but little less monotonous than the career of a brute species. Of all these barbarian races, we commonly say that they have no history; and by this we mean that throughout long ages they have made no appreciable progress. In a similar sense we should say of a race of monkeys or elephants, that it has no history."—P. 255.

3. Early progress, also, is slow, and the advance, being in geometric ratio, becomes after long ages incalculably rapid:

"No previous century ever saw anything approaching to the increase in social complexity which has been wrought in America and Europe since 1789. In science and in the industrial arts the change has been greater than in the ten preceding centuries taken together. Contrast the seventeen centuries which it took to remodel the astronomy of Hipparchus with the forty years which it has taken to remodel the chemistry of Berzelius and the biology of Cuvier. Note how the law of gravitation was nearly a century in getting generally accepted by foreign astronomers, while within half a dozen years from its promulgation Darwinism became the accepted creed of the great majority of naturalists. How small the difference between the clumsy wagons of the Tudor period and the mail-coaches in which our grandfathers rode, compared to the dif-

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ference between the mail-coach and the railway train! How enormous the revolution in philosophic thinking since the time of the *Encyclopédistes*, in comparison with the slow changes which occurred between the epoch of Aristotle and the epoch of Descartes! In morality, both individual and national, and in general humanity of disposition and refinement of manners, the increased rapidity of change has been no less marked."—P. 256.

This is in accordance with Spencer's great doctrine of Evolution. Starting from dead nebula, every cause produces many effects; and then each effect becomes a new cause producing its many effects. And so progress, for long ages very slow, becomes finally incalculably rapid. And, we may add, Mr. Spencer proceeds to show that multiplying causes finally come to checkmate each other, and produce universal dead-lock and death. In the final result the universe becomes an iceberg.

4. From all this it results that man's progress in later ages being geometrically rapid, after a point of manhood has been attained, his distance from the brute in the proper conditions becomes "practically infinite:" "The progress of mankind is like a geometrical progression. For a good while the repeated doubling produces quite unobtrusive results; but as we begin to reach the large numbers the increase suddenly becomes astonishing. Since the beginning of recorded history we have been moving among the large numbers, and each decade now witnesses a greater amount of psychical achievement than could have been witnessed in thousands of years among preglacial men."—P. 261. And hence Mr. Fiske indorses and appropriates the following statement of the Duke of Argyll: "We do right in setting a higher value in classification upon the eleven inches which intervene between the gorilla and the Hindu than upon the sixty-eight inches which intervene between the Hindu and the Englishman."—P. 279. The rapid improvement in man will not be in the medulla or cerebellum, but in the cerebrum: "The intellectual superiority of man over brute, and of the civilized man over the barbarian, essentially consists in a greater capacity for *mentally representing objects and relations remote from sense.* And we have insisted upon the point that in this capacity of representation *the difference between the highest and lowest specimens of normal*

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humanity known to us far exceeds the difference between the lowest men and the highest apes. Now in closest connection with these conclusions stands the physical fact that the chief structural difference between man and ape, as also between civilized and uncivilized man, is the difference in size and complexity of *cerebrum*. The cerebrum is the organ especially set apart for the compounding and recompounding of impressions that are not immediately sensory. The business of *co-ordinating*, immediately, presentative impressions, is performed by the *medulla* and other subordinate centers. The cerebrum is especially the organ of that portion of psychical life which is entirely representative. Obviously, then, the progress to higher and higher representativeness ought to be accompanied by a well-marked growth of the cerebrum relatively to the other parts of the nervous system. Now, in the light of the present argument, how significant is the fact that the cranial capacity of the modern Englishman surpasses that of the aboriginal non-Aryan Hindu by a difference of sixty-eight cubic inches, while between this Hindu skull and the skull of the gorilla the difference in capacity is but eleven cubic inches! That is to say, the difference in volume of brain between the highest and the lowest men is at least six times as great as the difference between the lowest men and the highest apes."—P. 278.

5. What is the *humanity point*—the Rubicon over which progressing brute crosses into humanity? To answer this, Mr. Fiske appropriates the great discovery of Mr. Wallace. In brutes it is by bodily advantages that the fittest survives; in man it is by mental. Just as soon as the animal attains the point by which intellectual superiority is the advantage by which he conquers and survives, he becomes human! "In the case of sheep or bears, for instance, increased cold can only select for preservation the individuals most warmly coated; or if a race of lions, which has hitherto subsisted upon small and sluggish ruminants, until these have been nearly exterminated, is at last obliged to attack antelopes and buffaloes, natural selection can only preserve the swiftest and strongest or most ferocious lions. But when an animal has once appeared, endowed with sufficient intelligence to chip a stone tool and hurl a weapon, natural selection will take advantage of variations

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in this intelligence, to the neglect of purely physical variations. Communities whose members are best able to meet by intelligent contrivances the changes in the environment will prevail over other communities, and will be less easily destroyed by physical catastrophes. Still more strikingly must this superior availability of variations in intelligence be exemplified when the intelligence has progressed so far as to sharpen spears, to use rude bows, to dig pitfalls, to cover the body with leaves or skins, and to strike fire by rubbing sticks, according to the Indian version of the myth of Prometheus."—P. 280.

6. Hence the *immensely greater superiority of man in mind rather than in body over brutes:* "We may now understand why man differs so little, in general physical structure and external appearance, from the chimpanzee and gorilla; while, with regard to the special point of cerebral structure and its correlative intelligence, he differs so vastly from these, his nearest living congeners, and the most sagacious of animals save himself. . . . It is a corollary from the foregoing considerations that no race of organisms can in future be produced through the agency of natural selection and direct adaptation which shall be zoölogically distinct from, and superior to, the human race. As the same causes which physically modify lower species have, for countless ages, modified man directly and greatly in intelligence, and only indirectly and slightly in physical constitution, it follows that mankind is destined to advance during future ages in psychical attributes, but is likely to undergo only slight changes in outward appearance."—Pp. 281, 282.

7. It is in the department of ethics that our author thinks that evolution reveals its highest grandeur. As the animal has passed the mental Rubicon over into manhood, it is in intellect that his development most unfolds itself. Increasing intellectual acquirements lengthen the period of infancy; for the more the child has to learn in attaining the adult level, the longer he is a child. Lengthened childhood requires and produces the family, the kindred relations, and the clan. As soon as the group has learned to sacrifice self for the common good, the mere gregariousness of the animal has passed and the ethical feeling commences. When the social nature so grows that the instinct of right and wrong becomes immediate and predominant, man is truly a moral being: "Here we approach

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the limits at which morality shades off into religion. For, as I shall hereafter show, Religion views the individual in his relations to the Infinite Power manifested in a universe of casually connected phenomena, as Morality views him in relation to his fellow-creatures. To violate the decrees of nature comes to be considered a sin, capable of awakening keen remorse; for to him whose mental habits have been nurtured by scientific studies, the principles of action prescribed by the need for harmonizing inner with outer relations are, in the truest sense, the decrees of God."—P. 314.

We, therefore, await the advent of the new religion to be dispensed to us in Mr. Fiske's forthcoming volume.

THE SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1873. (St. Louis.)—1. Philosophy *versus* Darwinism. 2. The Prospects of Protestantism. 3. La Grande Mademoiselle. 4. A Memorial of Gessner Harrison. 5. Annals of Loch Cé. 6. Corals and Coral Islands. 7. Causes and Consequences of the Sepoy Rebellion. 8. Sir William Hamilton on Perception. 9. Man's Place in the Universe.

In the April Southern Review Dr. Bledsoe firmly assured those who complained of the political character of his Quarterly that the question was closed: political the "Southern Review" should unchangeably be. In that same April our own Quarterly presented its trenchant exposure of the blatant inconsistency of a political Quarterly "under the auspices of" a non-political Church, and that Church pouring through that same Quarterly its volumes of reproach upon us as "*the* political Church." The next (July) Southern Review came, strange to say, blank of politics; the October now comes equally pure! Next comes, in the "Nashville Advocate," an announcement that *the Southern Review is discontinued*, and that Dr. Bledsoe will publish, *pure from politics*, at Nashville, a Southern religious and literary Methodist Quarterly! A most mysterious and sudden change of base! To a Quarterly on the new base we cordially wish success.

Sequences are not always *con*sequences; but, from our stand-point, it looks wonderfully as if our well-directed blows had first driven politics out of the "Southern Review," and then the Southern Review out of existence. At any rate, we rejoice that one of the most flagrant discrepancies of modern ecclesiastical history is ended. Irrevocable mischief has, indeed, been done. Under the indoctrinations of its leaders, through this Quarterly, the Church South is, no doubt, thor-

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oughly and permanently impregnated with treasonable principles. It, no doubt, follows John C. Calhoun as unanimously in politics as it follows John Wesley in theology. And this is well illustrated by their St. Louis sheet, which who does not object to our calling Southern Methodists "rebels," but repudiates the epithet "traitors." And so, in their estimation, *rebellion is not treason.* But, if we rightly recollect, the Constitution does define treason to be the levying war against the national Government. And this is the very treasonable dogma we credit to them; the dogma, namely, that *they can take arms against the nation when they please without treason.*

These disloyal positions, however, are damaging to nobody but themselves. Southern rebellion, as an actual fact, is a thing of the past; and the principles that inspired it most Southerners will soon be glad to deny ever to have been their own. The political utterances of Dr. Bledsoe, and their consequent indorsements by the other Southern editors, are a sad mistake for their own future.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Romanism in England. 2. The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah. 3. Healing by Prayer. 4. Theological Seminaries in the United States and Divinity Halls in Scotland. 5. Sir James Simpson. 6. A New Analysis of "In Memoriam." 7. Creeds: Their Advantages and Defects, as illustrated by the History and Present Condition of Dissent. 8. Prison Life of the Countess Ulfeldt.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Archbishop Cranmer and the English Reformation. 2. The Rise of Monachism. 3. Moffat's Labors in South Africa. 4. Hazard's Santo Domingo. 5. Moral Philosophy. 6. Recent Studies in History. 7. Renan's Antichrist. 8. The Methodist Conference of 1873.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Richard Rothe. 2. Strikes. 3. Plymouth Brethrenism. 4 The Odyssey of Homer. 5. Sources of Pleasure in Landscape. 6. Herbert Spencer. 7. The Revolution in the Anglican Church.

Though the "British Quarterly" for October is rich in attractive topics, yet, for reasons soon to appear, we prefer to call attention to an article in the April number describing the first assemblage of the French Protestant Church, (by a permissive decree of President Thiers, influenced thereto, probably, by the counsels of Guizot,) after an interregnum of two hundred years. This was the organic descendant of the old Church of

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the Huguenots; the Church of Calvinism and Martyrdom; the survivor of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

But this memorable assembly found itself in a forlorn position of self-neutralization. There were three parties, powerfully pulling different ways, and threatening a consequent stand-still. There were the grand old evangelicals of the Monod school as the Right; the Deists, who believed in God, revered Jesus Christ, and held the Bible as a rich deposit of religious truths; and the Left Center, who believed in the supernatural, in a certain divinity of Christ, and in his resurrection, but denied trinity, expiation by blood, and eternal punishment. The debates, lasting a week, were characterized by high courtesy and striking eloquence. The whole discussion is full of lesson, furnishing some very ample admonitions to those who are fond of declaiming against *creeds*, as well as striking answers to those who object to the exclusiveness of the Evangelical Alliance. The grand lesson is, that *a creed as a basis of associate harmony, is absolutely necessary for the energetic action of any great Christian body.* Let a Church or an organization be made up of contradictory opinions, each checkmating the other, and for all aggressive action it is dead. Hence it was wise and necessary for the Evangelical Alliance, if it intended to produce any definite effect, to adopt a platform of principles.

The first question was, *Should they have a Confession?*

"M. Bois, Professor of Theology at Montauban, in laying on the table the proposed Confession, took the ground that 'There could be no such thing as a Church without a common faith. One does not become a member of the Church by the mere accident of birth.' He desired union, but union has its limits; the proposed declaration had been made as cautious as possible, but the Synod should not separate without confessing the Christian faith, all the more as the Church had been silent so long. And it is a declaration not of what the faith of the Church ought to be, but what it is; as the daily worship, ceremonies, and sacraments of their congregations testify. Yet it is a necessary declaration; there are now among us not two diverse tendencies, but two views absolutely opposed. We believe in revelation, but some wholly deny the supernatural.

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We believe in a Divine Christ, the infallible Revealer of religious truth, dying for sin and rising again; they hold that Jesus, who died, and remains dead, like other men, was, while he lived, like other good men, fallible and sinful. M. Pecaut replied, pointing out that the real question was, 'Shall we *formulate* the faith of the Church, and so exclude those who do not share in it? What right have we to do so? We are not a Divine institute—this is not a council; we are a Protestant assembly, elected to defend the Church, and not to divide it. If it were a mere declaration, not to be imposed, it would be less objectionable; but the true *régime* for the Church is one of peace and freedom. The barrier you try to raise will be swept away, and your sons will use your diplomatic credo with mental reservations. The evils of the day are not to be sought in the superficial sphere of doctrine; they lie deeper, and demand moral renovation.' "—P. 438.

We quote the following piquant passage: "M. Pernessin, a layman, characterized the members of the Left as neo-Christians and neo-Protestants, whose views confessedly agreed neither with those of the Apostles, nor with those of the Reformers, but who, nevertheless, were entitled to hold them. 'I recognize their right to found a new religion, and launch their bark upon the wave. But for us, we desire neither to be its passengers nor pilots, but shall remain with Jesus in the boat of the Apostles. We are not afraid of *des esprits délicats;* we fear God, and have no other fear. The hour is solemn; we know not if we shall see another Synod; but binding ourselves to Christ, let us say, *Te Jesu, morituri salutamus!*' M. Vigŭié, on the Left, repeated that there were in the Church not two religions, but merely two tendencies, and vigorously denied the right of a majority to exclude one of them. 'You say you wish to leave us liberty after declaring the Church's faith. But it is only a liberty to depart, (*liberté de sortir,*) and we refuse it.' M. Fontanès, later in the day, argued that religion meant the religious sentiment; and Christianity, that sentiment as determined by Jesus Christ. 'But we are asked, Of what Christ do you speak—of the Christ of the Bible? I answer, There are several Christs of the Bible, from the man approved by God in word and work, to the Word made flesh.' And as to the Resurrection, he proceeded, amid *exclamations*

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et protestations bruyantes, to state that it meant, in the New Testament, the rising, not of the body, but of the soul, when liberated from the flesh, and that St. Paul never believed in the corporeal resurrection of Jesus. This was too much for one of the enrolled vice-members or *suppléants* of the Synod, who at this juncture cried out: '*M. Monod.*—Did Jesus Christ appear after his death? yes or no.' '*M. Fontanès.*—Fool! with what body did He come?'"—P. 441. This concluding response may *warn some deniers of the literal resurrection of the body*, who are obliged to vaporize the resurrection of Christ, on what a rationalistic brink they stand.

The following passage is also suggestive: "The objection was to dogmas, or confessions of fact. If, this year, it was said, you impose on electors an authoritative rule of faith, what is to prevent you adding, next year, an additional yoke of confession? It is a question, added M. E. Coquerel, of right. 'If you have the right to impose one dogma, you have the right to impose all.' This central argument was instantly met by M. Sohier by the unanswerable remark, 'Well, the existence of God is a dogma. Have you or have you not the right to demand of an elector if he believes in God?'"—P. 447.

The Synod adopted a very scant Confession. Feeling that their great difficulties arose from being stereotyped by a connection with the State, the Synod avowed unanimously a preference for disestablishment. That is, it was agreed that the Evangelical and Rationalistic sections could not work together, and had better separate.

The true theory was thus stated by Guizot: "What is a constituted religious society? It is one professing certain truths, certain beliefs. Well, I am a Christian; I know my creed. There are beside me men who do not believe in the Christian revelation, but who believe sincerely in God. Far be it from me to deny the religion of these men; let them form a Deist communion, and I shall be well pleased. But certainly the difference between them and Christians is vast."—P. 432. Evangelicals have a right to form an alliance or a Church; by so doing they do not unchristianize or unchurch others. Romanists, Rationalists, Deists, and Atheists have a parallel right to form a Church of their own, and none outside the given belief has any right to complain that he is not included.

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German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. Riehm and Dr. Kostlin. 1874. First Number.) *Essays:* 1. RIEHM, Reminiscences of Dr. Carl Bernhard Hundershagen. 2. BEYSCHLAG, The Epistle to James as a Historical Document of Primitive Christianity. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. MURALT, Documentary Contributions to Hebrew Paleography and to the History of Punctuation. 2. RIEHM, Remarks on the Preceding Article. *Reviews:* BAUMSTARK'S Christian Apologetics, reviewed by W. BESSER.

Dr. Riehm, one of the present editors of the "*Studien*," gives, in this number, the promised biographical sketch of the late Dr. Hundershagen, who, after being for many years (since 1845) a contributor to the "*Studien*," became, in 1861, one of the assistant editors, and in 1864 one of the editors-in-chief. The "*Studien*" still maintain their long-established front rank among the literary periodicals of evangelical Protestantism; and the present editor bears a thankful testimony to the great merits of his predecessor. Hundershagen was born in the grand-duchy of Hesse on January 30, 1810; studied, from 1825 to 1830, theology and philology at the Universities of Giessen and Halle; became, in 1831, a lecturer on Church history and exegesis at Giessen; in 1834, extraordinary professor of theology at the University of Bern; in 1847, ordinary professor at Heidelberg; in 1867, ordinary professor at Bonn, where he died on June 2, 1872. The most important among his numerous works are: "German Protestantism: its Past and its Present Vital Questions," (1846; third edition, 1849;) "The Principle of the Free Investigation of the Scriptures in its Relation to the Symbolical Books and the Church," (1852;) "Contributions to a History of Church Constitution and of Church Policy," (1864; only the first volume of this work has been published;) and "The Way to Christ," (1853,) a collection of addresses delivered in behalf of the home missionary cause. He was also a frequent contributor to some of the leading periodicals of evangelical Protestantism.

The article of Professor Beyschlag reviews the recent German literature on the Epistle of James, and discusses the question of the authenticity, authorship, date of origin, readers, and doctrinal system of this biblical book. As regards the author of the epistle, Professor Beyschlag believes that it was written by James, the brother of the Lord, whom he distin-

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guishes from the two apostles of the same name, and that it is probably the oldest book of the New Testament. He attaches to it an unparalleled interest for the history of the first years of the Christian Church, as, in his opinion, it clearly reflects the sentiments which prevailed in the most religious portion of the Jewish people, and in which Jesus himself and his brothers were reared. He finds some similarity between these sentiments and those of the Essenes—for instance, the enthusiastic eulogy of poverty and of silence, the prohibition of swearing—though he rejects the assumption of any direct connection between Jesus and the Essenes, and regards the latter as a morbid outgrowth of that portion of the Jewish people which was, as it were, the historical cradle of the Gospel.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Fourth Number. 1873.) 1. HILGENFELD, The First Epistle of Peter. 2. C. WITTICHEN, The Composition of the Gospel according to Luke. 3. SIEGFRIED, Philo and the Received Text of the Septuagint. 4. CALINICH, Can the Tenth Article of the Augustana (Confession of Augsburg) be Understood in the Sense of Transubstantiation? 5. SPONHOLZ, Ernst Theodor Johann Bouchner, A Biographical Sketch.

In the article on the First Epistle of Peter, Professor Hilgenfeld reviews the opinions of the exegetical writers of Germany on this biblical book. It is admitted that until Semler wrote the authenticity of the epistle was never doubted in the Christian Church. According to Semler, (*Euraphrasis in Epist. II. Petri, et Epist. Judae*, Halle, 1784,) Peter, having gradually become more friendly to the teachings of Paul, authorized some one to write, in his name, to the Churches in which Paul had labored, in order to prevail by his authority upon those still adhering to rigid Judaizing opinions to adopt a more liberal view of Christianity. Claudius (*Uransichten des Christenthums*, Altona, 1808) was the first to deny altogether the Petrine origin of the epistle, which he believed to have been written by a disciple of Paul. The introductory words, Peter the Apostle, he believed to be of later origin than the epistle itself. He was followed by Eichhorn, De Wette, and many others. The Tubingen school (C. F. Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, Volkmar) not only regarded the tendency of the epistle as Pauline, but believed that the author had designedly represented the epistle as proceeding from the apostle Peter, in order to secure, in this way, the ascendency of the Pauline theology. Those who reject the authenticity of the epistle are,

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however, by no means agreed as to the date of its origin. Some, like Ewald (*Sieben Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes*, Göttingen, 1870) and Grimm, (in *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1872,) assume it to have been written during the Neronian persecution of Christianity; Baur and Schwegler refer it to the persecution under Trajan; while Volkmar and Holtzmann (*Kritik der Epheser und Kolosserbriefe*, 1872) contend that it was not written until about 140 A. D. Professor Hilgenfeld, in the present article, argues in favor of the persecution under Trajan as the time when the epistle appears to have been written. Prominent among the German theologians who, of late, have defended the authenticity of the first as well as the second epistle of Peter is Professor Weiss, (in a series of articles in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1865, 1866, and 1873.)

The second article, by C. Wittichen, author of a work in three volumes on "The Idea of the Kingdom of God," (*Die Idee des Reiches Gottes*,) advances a new theory on the composition of the Gospel of Luke. The main points of this theory are: 1. Our present Gospel of Luke is a compilation from several works, which was made by two writers; 2. The former of them used the original Gospel of Mark as the basis of his work, and interwove with it matter from two other works, one of which was also used by Matthew; 3. The second writer revised this work, using the Gospel of Matthew in its original form, and adding the history of the childhood of Jesus, his genealogy, and other matter; 4. The second writer joined to the Gospel thus compiled a second work, for which he made use of a work of Luke on the missions of Paul, characterizing it by a new preface as a continuation of the Gospel. As regards the relation of this second writer to the theological parties of the primitive Church, Wittichen believes that he belonged to the Judaizing party in the Church of Rome, and that his chief object was to secure the ascendency of the Petrine over the Pauline party, for which purpose he endeavored to mitigate the peculiar views of Paul.

For the strict Lutherans, both in Germany and in the United States, the unaltered Confession of Augsburg, of the year 1530, is a symbolical book, all the doctrines of which the members of the Church are bound to subscribe to. The charge

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which has been brought by Liberal Lutherans against the Confession—that in its tenth article it professes the Roman Catholic doctrine of the transubstantiation—is, therefore, one of great dogmatical and historical interest. The chief recent writers on the subject are Dr. Calinich, of Hamburg, who insists that the charge is true, and Professor Zöckler, who, in the interest of the Confessional Lutherans, repels it. In the present number of the "Journal for Historical Theology," Dr. Calinich replies at length to the arguments of Dr. Zöckler.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Kalmis. 1874. First Number.) 1. DR. HEPPE. The Life and the Work of Madame de la Motte-Guyon. 2. STARKE, Critical Examination of the Salac Conduct given and broken to John Huss. 3. RONNEKE, Original Documents of the Venetian Inquisition on the Trial, the Recantation, and the Death of Francesco Spiera: 4. FRANZ, A Letter of Anton Corvin to Philip Melanchthon. 5. SEIDEMANN, Documents Relating to the History of the Reformation.

From the article on the pious Catholic mystic writer, Madame Guyon, whose name and writings are well known among American Protestants, we learn that in the Swiss Canton of Vaud the two Protestant clergymen, Ballif de Lucens and Jean Philippe Dutoit-Membrini, founded, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the sect of the *Théosophes Illuminés*, or *Ames Intérieurs*, in which the *Sainte Madame Guyon* was esteemed as the highest authority. This sect was only a branch of a larger religious communion, as Dutoit received his instructions, as *Directeurs des Ames Intérieurs* of the Canton of Vaud, from the Count von Fleischbein, the grand master of the entire communion, who resided at Pyrmont, a well-known German watering-place in the principality of Waldeck. Dutoit, who died at Lausanne on January 31, 1793, anonymously published a "*Discours sur la vie et les écrits de Madame Guyon*," in which he eulogized Madame de Guyon as a true saint, who had reached a state of perfect sinlessness here upon earth, and who, therefore, was next among all saints to the sinless mother of Jesus. Remnants of this sect, on which the government of Bern, in 1769, asked the opinion of the Academy of Lausanne, are found in the Canton of Vaud up to this day. See Chavannes, in the *Lausanne Journal, Chretien Evangelique*, 1861.

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French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) August, 1873.—1. The Prison Question. 2. BRUSTON, The Deciphering of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. 3. E. DE PRESSENSE, Count Pelet de la Lozere.

September.—1. GRITILLAT, Metaphysical Analysis. 2. The Church Question in the Canton of Neufchatel. 3. BRUSTON, The Deciphering of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. 4. POZZY, On the Origin of Man, from a Paleontological Point of View.

October.—1. B. COUVE, On Social Progress. 2. SECRETAN, Review of the Work of Fouillet on Liberty and Determinism, (First Article.) 3. MOURON, Science and Christianity, with Special Reference to the Work of Louis Ruchet. 4. BONIFAS, Review of the Work of Jules Cambon de Lavalette: "La Chambre de l'Edit de Languedoc." (Paris, 1872.)

The three last numbers of the "Revue Chretienne," as the above table of contents indicates, are replete with essays on important and live questions. They are an indisputable proof of the literary eminence which evangelical Protestantism has attained in France. There is no longer any department of science and art, and of social life, in which it has not a number of able representatives. Several of the above articles are based on new Protestant books. The article on their form of prisons is inspired by a recent work (*La Question Penitentiare*, Paris, 1873) by E. Robin, the secretary of the "Société de Patronage des Prisonniers Libérés Protestants" of Paris. In the article on Count Pelet de la Lozère, Pressensé refers the reader to a recent work by Ernest Dhombres (*Le Comte Pelet de la Lozère Pensées Morales et Politiques, précédees d'une notice sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1873) on the eminent Protestant nobleman, Count Pelet, one of the most distinguished representatives of French Protestantism in modern times. The article on the Origin of Man is a chapter of a new work of Pozzi on the agreement of science and religion, entitled, "*La Terre et son histoire rapprochée du récit biblique de la Creation*," which, as Pressensé says in an introductory note, is the fruit of profound studies. The reviewer of the work of Fouillet on Liberty and Determinism calls it the "philosophical work which has at this moment produced the greatest sensation in France;" and he does not hesitate to say, if his judgment were asked as to how it compares with the new German work of E. von Hartmann on *Das Unbewusste*, (The Unconscious,) which is the most recent sensation in the philosophical circles of Germany, that "France

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has run ahead of Germany in the province of speculative studies."

The monthly reviews of religious and political questions which Pressensé publishes in every number are always among the most readable and interesting articles of the "Revue Chrétienne." In the October number, Pressensé reproduces three letters which he had addressed to the "Journal des Debats," of Paris, on the Old Catholic Congress at Constance, where he, with Father Hyacinthe and Abbé Michaud, was the foremost representative of France. These letters certainly belong among the best that has been written on the subject. There was one incident in the proceedings of the Congress which profoundly mortified Pressensé and Father Hyacinthe, and even induced them to leave the hall. One of the political leaders of the Old Catholics of Bavaria, Dr. Völk, deputy of Augsburg in the German Reichstag, represented the Old Catholic movement as a conflict between Germany and Rome, in which the German empire represented the liberty of the soul and of conscience; and, after denouncing the acts of the Ultramontane party of France, made remarks on the late war between France and Germany which too deeply hurt the national feelings of the two distinguished Frenchmen to allow them to remain. The way in which Pressensé states his grievances is in full accordance with the high reputation which he enjoys among men of all parties. Even those whose conduct he blames will be the first to admire the words by which the censure is expressed. Pressensé, the most ardent European defender of the principle of separation between Church and State, warns the Old Catholics against too close an alliance with the secular governments of Germany; but, with this exception, he is an enthusiastic admirer of the movement, of the wisdom with which it has been conducted, and of its foremost leaders, Bishop Reinkens and Professor Schulte, the President of the three Old Catholic Congresses. He evidently entertains very great hopes as to its ultimate success. "I cannot close," he says at the end of the article, "without expressing the hope that this Catholicism, enlightened, liberal, and yet remaining profoundly Christian, may yet find its echo in France. There can be no doubt that it is the only means of bringing back to religion a number of spirits who

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cannot accept it under the form of a gross superstition which is the sworn enemy of all liberty. They feel the need of a positive belief; they understand that the family, no more than society, can with impunity reject it. They find themselves in a terrible alternative when they are placed between the negation of all belief and a fanaticism which would be ridiculous if it were not fatal. A rational reformatory Catholicism would be for them a port of refuge. I know that all this appears supremely contemptible, not only to the Ultramontane clergy and its furious journalists, but also to those new Church fathers who throng in well-meaning *salons*. Because they have no intellectual wants themselves, they imagine that all the world must be satisfied with some mummeries, and that a belief in the Temporal Power is sufficient to feed the consciences and the hearts of all honest Frenchmen. They are more ignorant in religion than the lowliest of peasant women, or than that courtier of Louis XIV., of whom Sainte Simon speaks, who, on his death-bed, said, 'They claim that I feel repentance: I don't exactly know what that is.' They add to this ignorance a kind of religious illusion which makes them believe that they are the pillars of the altar. Thanks to God! the youth of France have other representatives. May it be well understood that they will be lost for religion if they are allowed to believe that it is incompatible with the progress of intelligence and the love of liberty. I could not help feeling sad at Constance when I thought that nothing is more remote from France than such an assembly of enlightened Christians, who know how to resist, through obedience to God, the encroachments of a false authority." The little progress which the Old Catholic movement has thus far made in France is a subject of general surprise. Although the Gallican views which formerly distinguished the Church of France have long been on the decline, it was well known that, up to the time when the Vatican Council proclaimed the Infallibility of the Pope, there were thousands of French priests who earnestly opposed the new doctrine, and declared that they would never submit. It is asserted that quite a number of them still adhere to this opinion, and only wait for a more favorable opportunity to avow their sentiments. Even a few of the bishops, it is believed, are not firm in their submission to the Vatican

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Council. One of the great obstacles to Old Catholicism in France is the attitude of the Government and the courts, who assume that the bishops and priests who accept the Vatican Council are the only ones entitled to be recognized by the State as Catholics, and who, therefore, have punished the Old Catholic priests for continuing to wear the ecclesiastical dress. The Old Catholics, on the other hand, refuse to represent themselves to the law as a new sect, but claim to be still regarded as Catholics. The Liberal politicians of France, in general, show little interest in religious questions; but quite recently the causes which have been so well explained in the above article of Pressensé appear to have produced a change. At least, it is reported in the papers that, at a meeting of moderato republican deputies, it has been resolved to take an active interest in the reformatory movement of the Church.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

ON September 12 and 13 the Old Catholics of Germany held their annual Congress at Constance. Although the Old Catholics have not increased in point of membership as rapidly as many of their leaders and patrons may have expected, the movement continues to enlist a more general interest than any other religious question of the age. A number of prominent men of other Churches and other countries attended, and expressed to the Congress the feelings of sympathy and esteem with which all religious parties watch the progress of the movement. At the preparatory meeting, held on September 11, speeches were made, among others, by Archpriest Wassilier, in the name of the Russian Church; by Professor Holtzmann, in the name of the Protestanten-verein; Bishop Doane, of Albany, in the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; Abbé Michaud, in the name of the Old Catholics of France; Augustin Keller, in the name of the Old Catholics of Switzerland; and, in conclusion, by Bishop Reinkens. At the first meeting of delegates, on September 12, Professor Schults, of Bonn, who so ably presided at the former Congresses, was again elected President; while Professor Cornelius, of Munich, and Augustin Keller, one of the most prominent statesmen of Switzerland, were elected Vice-Presidents. The Bishop of Lincoln, in England, had addressed a Latin salutatory poem to Professor Cornelius, which was read, as well as a sympathizing letter from the Greek Archbishop of Syra and Tenedos. In regard to a letter from Professor Schaff,

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inviting the Congress to send delegates to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, it was resolved that Bishop Reinkens and the President of the Congress draw up a reply to the invitation. The most important work done by the delegates was the adoption of the synodal constitution of the Church, which, in many points, resembles that of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. It was also resolved that the negotiations with the Anglican, Greek, and Protestant Churches for promoting the union of the entire Christian Church be continued by special committees. And it is noteworthy that while similar movements among the High Church Anglicans and the Oriental Churches have only the Churches believing in the apostolical succession of bishops in view, the Old Catholics expressly embrace within the scope of their endeavors all the Protestant Churches. The hope was expressed that the time would soon come when a truly Œcumenical council of the bishops of the entire Christian Church would be opposed to the Vatican Council, and the Anglican Bishop of Maryland expressed his hearty concurrence in this hope. As regards the present extent of the Catholic Church, Professor Schults stated that it had about fifty-five thousand enrolled members, mostly in Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden. The general meetings of the Congress were again largely attended, and, in the opinion of all who were present, the Congress was in every respect an eminent success. Since the adjournment of Congress, Bishop Reinkens has been recognized by the Governments of Prussia and Baden as a bishop of the Catholic Church, these Governments taking the ground that secular governments have neither the right nor the duty to meddle in internal questions of the Catholic Church; that they cannot, therefore, decide who is and who is not a member of the Catholic Church; and that, therefore, the fairest course for them to pursue is, for the present, to recognize both parties as belonging to the Catholic Church. In the meanwhile, in Prussia, the Roman Catholic Church, by open violation of the laws of the State, which supports her ministers and her institutions, has become involved in one of the severest conflicts which has ever been waged between Church and State, and which is likely to secure to the Old Catholics the entire patronage of the State.

In Switzerland, Old Catholicism is likewise gaining a firm footing in several cantons; and it even seems as though the conflicts between the cantonal governments and the Catholic hierarchy might, ere long, secure the ascendency of Old Catholicism over Roman Catholicism in more than one canton. In Geneva, the new law regulating the affairs of the Catholic Church provides for the election of the parish priests by the members of the parish, in place of their former appointment by the bishop. As the Catholic party refused to recognize the validity of this law, and in the city of Geneva abstained from taking part in a new election, three Old Catholic pastors—among them Father Hyacinthe—have been elected. In the Canton of Berne, all the sixty-nine parish priests have been removed from their places, as they refused to submit to a law of the canton, and their places have been filled, or were soon to be filled, by

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clergymen who may be expected to join the Old Catholic movement. In the Canton of Aargau, the large majority of the Catholic priests appear to be in sympathy with the movement, and are expected to join the Old Catholic movement as soon as a bishop shall have been elected. In the Catholic Canton of Solothurn, a considerable majority of the people and the cantonal council support the movement; and at the head of several of the largest Catholic congregations of the canton there are Old Catholic priests. The cantonal council of St. Gallen has forbidden the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and strictly enforces the prohibition. The cities of Zurich and Basel have flourishing congregations. In Zurich, the parish Church now belongs to the Old Catholics. Only in the Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Valois—the same which, about thirty years ago, formed the Sonderbund in defense of the Jesuits—the cantonal governments are endeavoring to prevent or suppress the Old Catholic movement. There is, however, an organized congregation in the city of Lucerne. At the Congress of Constance it was admitted by the representatives of the Swiss Old Catholics that the movement with them had thus far had more of a political than a religious character: the progress made is more with regard to the legislation of the liberal cantons than to the reorganization of the Church.

ANGLICAN CHURCH.

The statistics of the population connected with the Anglican Churches of the United Kingdom are only known as far as Ireland is concerned, for only in Ireland was the religious denomination of the inhabitants embraced in the official censuses taken in 1861 and 1871. The following table shows the population connected with the Church of Ireland at these two periods in the four provinces of Ireland:

Provinces.	1861.	1871.
Leinster	180,557	170,879
Munster	80,860	77,366
Ulster	391,315	398,705
Connaught	40,595	36,345
Total	693,357	683,295

The comparison of the two years shows that from 1861 to 1871 the population connected with the Church of Ireland decreased by 10,062, or 1.45 per cent. This is, on the whole, a favorable result, for in the same period the Roman Catholics decreased 8.06 per cent., and the Protestant Dissenters (embracing Presbyterians and other non-episcopal Protestants) 3.94 per cent.; but is easily explained from the fact that the "Church of Ireland" represents the richest element of the population, and, in particular, the large land owners, who, of course, will suffer less from the stream of emigration than the lower and less wealthy classes.

In England and Scotland the membership of the religious denominations did not constitute a part of the censuses of 1861 and 1871, and it can, therefore, be only estimated. A little work published on the sub-

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ject, in 1870, by E. G. Ravenstein, ("Denominational Statistics of England and Wales," London, 1870,) deduces from the Registrar-General's Report of Marriages, which has been published annually since 1841, that in 1866 the Anglican Church numbered about 77.82 per cent. of the total population in England, and 2.18 per cent. in Scotland. Widely different from this estimate is that given in F. Martin's "Statesman's Year-book for 1873," (p. 207,) according to whom the population claiming membership with the Established Church of England and Wales was, in 1871, about 12,700,000, or only a little more than one half of the total population. Ravenstein is obviously anxious to make out as high a percentage as possible for the Established Church; and it is apparent that his deductions from marriage returns are liable to be called in question. In Schem's "American Ecclesiastical Year-book" for 1860 the Anglican population was estimated at from 65 to 70 per cent.; and as the estimates of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, by this work, which were based on the same deductions, were fully borne out by the official census of 1861, (the "Year-book" estimated the Roman Catholics in 1851 at between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 in a total population of 6,574,278, while the official census of 1861 gives 4,505,265 Catholics in a total population of 5,798,967,) we believe them to be still nearest the truth. According to the last-mentioned estimate, the Anglican population in England and Wales would amount, in 1871, to about 16,000,000, a considerable portion of whom, however, sustain only a nominal connection with the Church.

While, however, a majority of the people of England and Wales are still nominally connected with the Established Church of England, the non-established Churches have by far outrun them in the number of places of public worship and of sittings. The following table, which was based on information carefully compiled by local enumerators, shows the proportion of the Anglican places of worship, with the number of sittings, to those of the non-established Churches in 1872 :

	Total Population.	Total Pl. Worship.	Total Sittings.	Established Church. Places of Worship.	Established Church. Sittings.
Fourteen towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants	2,905,400	1,760	1,087,859	540	444,926
Twenty towns with more than 50,000 and under 100,000 inhabitants	1,439,816	1,152	681,893	313	227,143
Thirty towns with more than 20,000 and under 50,000 inhabitants	1,055,507	1,155	531,543	410	231,626
Total	5,400,723	4,067	2,301,295	1,263	903,695

The population connected, in 1871, with the Anglican Church in the Australian colony of New South Wales was 159,958. The Church of England had, in all, 277 churches, with accommodation for 50,106 persons, and an average attendance of 36,495, exclusive of 12,356 persons who worship elsewhere than in churches. In Sydney and suburbs were 34 churches. The Free Church of England—a secession from the Church of England, using its ritual, but not recognizing its authority—has one

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church, two ministers, an average regular attendance of 95, and accommodation for 640. In Victoria the Anglican population was 257,835. The Church of England had 200 churches, 99 school-houses, and 117 dwellings or public buildings used for public worship; with sittings for 57,768 persons, and an average attendance of 37,856. The Free Church of England had 5 churches, 3 school-houses, and 1 dwelling or public building used for public worship, with sittings for 1,280 persons, and an average attendance of 700.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE new book of David Friedrich Strauss, entitled *Der alte und Neue Glaube*, ("The Old and the New Faith,") has called forth a literary movement of almost unparalleled dimensions. Not only that all the literary journals of the country, and even the more prominent of the political papers, have brought long essays by scholars who have thoroughly studied the book and the subject, but a large number of special works by prominent scholars have already appeared, which keep up a general interest in the progress of the controversy. The well-known Protestant Church historian, Professor Nippold, has already published an interesting literary history of the controversy, (Dr. Fr. Strauss' *alter und neuer Glaube und seine litererarischen Ergebnisse*, 1873. The work contains also a critical essay against Dr. Strauss by the Dutch theologian, Prof. Kauwenhoff, of the University of Leyden,) and Dr. Strauss himself has published a review and refutation of the more prominent among his opponents, (*Ein Nachwort als Vorwort zu den neuen Auflagen meiner Schrift: Der alte und der neue Glaube.*) It is almost unanimously admitted by the reviewers of Dr. Strauss that his work is written with consummate ability, and that in point of style it ranks among the master works of German literature. But as regards its contents the reception has been any thing but favorable. The radical attitude which he assumes with regard to both the Christian religion and philosophy meets, of course, the approval of the Darwinians of Germany, among whom, in particular, Prof. Häckel, of Jena, and Prof. Semper, of Wurzburg, have declared their entire agreement with Strauss. But the ultra-conservative political views which Strauss professes by the side of his religious radicalism have few friends among the Materialists, who almost without exception belong in politics to one of the extreme radical parties. With the exception of the Materialists, who, as has been shown on this occasion, are by no means as largely represented in the literary and political press of Germany as has been generally assumed, all parties emphatically scorn the assertion of Strauss, that Christianity has ceased to be the religion of the educated of our age. It is remarkable that a

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number of writers who hold very liberal views with regard to theological doctrines, and who even admit their full sympathy with the standpoint which Strauss occupied in his work on the life of Jesus, are particularly emphatic in the defense of Christianity as the author of all our progress and civilization, and as the only religion for all time to come. Among the prominent philosophical writers of Germany who have written against Strauss are: Ulrici, (editor of the leading philosophical journal of Germany,) *Der Philosoph Strauss;* Jurgan Bona Meyer, (professor at the University of Bonn,) *Der alte und der neue Glaube. Betrachtungen über D. F. Strauss Bekenntniss* (1873); Frohschammer, (professor at the University of Munich,) *Das neue Wissen und der neue Glaube* (1873); Huber, (also professor at the University of Munich,) *Der alte und der neue Glaube, Ein Bekenntniss von D. F. Strauss kritisch gewürdigt;* Dr. Zizngiebl, *Der neue Glaube des D. F. Strauss, ein naturwissenschaftlicher Aberglaube;* Dr. Weiss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube. Ein Bekenntniss als Antwort auf D. F. Strauss.*

Two of the above-mentioned opponents of Strauss have also recently published new philosophical works, in which the ideas of a personal God, of the immortality of the soul, of the freedom of the will, are defended against the materialistic schools. Dr. Weiss has published the third volume of his *Anti-Materialismus*, (Berlin, 1873,) which is chiefly directed against the new atheistical philosophy of E. von Hartmann; while Ulrici has published the first volume of a comprehensive work on practical philosophy, entitled, "Outlines of Practical Philosophy; Natural Law, Ethics, and Æsthetics, (*Grundfüge der practischen Philosophie.* Leipzig, 1873.)

A new work on the "Hermeneutics of the New Testament" (*Hermeneutik des N. T., Wittenberg*, 1873) has been published by Prof. Immer, of the University of Bern. The author agrees, on the whole, with the theological views of the late Dr. Richard Rothe.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Validity of Anglican Ordinations and Anglican Claims to Apostolical Succession examined. By Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. Second edition, revised and augmented, in which are inserted replies to "Essays on Anglican Ordinations," by a Layman; and "Anglican Ordinations Valid," by John Fuller Russel, B.C.L., Incumbent of St. James', Enfield. 8vo., pp. 342. Philadelphia: Eugene Cummiskey. 1848.

The work of Bishop Kenrick discussing the validity of the Anglican sacred "orders" and the consequent existence of a valid Anglican Church, which has lately fallen into our hands, is written with that great calmness and clearness of style, and that great force of trained logic, which very many of the high-bred Roman-

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istic writers display. It seems to place the question of existence of a real ordained succession of bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the English Church, and consequently in the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, among the insoluble problems of history.

Bishop Kenrick's argument may be very imperfectly summarized in the following points: 1. At the first establishment of the Anglican system, under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, ordination was undervalued. Cranmer was not only a Low Presbyterian, but generally it was held that a king could make a bishop as he could make a general, by simple appointment, without any form of investiture. Hence, it does not follow because a man filled the office of a bishop that he is a formally consecrated bishop. 2. At the accession of Elizabeth, all the ordained Bishops of England, it is maintained, with the single exception of Kitchin, refused to take the oath of supremacy, and no one of them had any share in the consecration of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth, through whom all the Anglican orders are derived. 3. During the life of Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, the fact of his being at all consecrated was denied and boldly challenged by Catholic writers, and their challenge was never met. The great Anglican champion, Jewell, was taunted by his opponent Harding with the bastardy of his orders and dodged the question. 4. No contemporary evidence fixing time and place and fact of Parker's consecration is offered. A royal commission for the purpose of consecrating him can be shown, appointing the time as the 19th of December, 1559; but an equally authentic royal mandate is also extant, showing that he was really Archbishop of Canterbury years before that, so that he must have been so without consecration. 5. The most fatal fact is this: Fifty years later, for the first time, a pretended record of the consecration was produced. It is a prolix and effeminate document, giving the most minute details of all the evolutions of the performance, just as a boarding-school girl would have written a description of a public pageant. The obvious impression is that of a romance with circumstances. 6. But over the doubt upon Parker's consecration is laid additionally a serious doubt of the consecration of his supposed consecrator, Barlow. The minute steps by which Barlow became bishop can be traced, but consecration, the main step, cannot be found. He is marked by numerous signs of spuriousness. Elizabeth was sorely put to it to find a true bishop to crown her; but though Barlow was genuine enough to consecrate an Archbishop,

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he was not good enough to crown a queen. Documents are quoted in which he is expressly called bishop "elect"—that is, bishop unconsecrated—so that the fact of his consecration is held to be more than doubtful. 7. The "Nag's Head" story is, at least, worth telling. There was in London a clerical tavern where rural ministers were usually entertained, in which was probably a chapel room for sacred service, and which had the head of a "nag" on its sign. Now the story circulated by Romanists, from that day to this, is, that all the consecration Parker ever had was performed at this tavern. Bishop Bonner, being then, by order of Elizabeth, in prison, having heard of the intention to then and there consecrate Parker, sent his chaplain (an eminent scholar by the name of Neal) to witness the ceremony. Among these consecrators the only consecrated bishop was Kitchin, who alone of all the Catholic bishops had saved his miter by taking the oath of supremacy. Bonner sent by Neal a menace to Kitchin that if he took part in the consecration he should be excommunicated; and Kitchin took no share, leaving Parker destitute of canonical orders. The proof of this story is the statement of Neal, and a public statement of the fact in Parliament by the Bishop of Durham, in defense of Parker's canonicity. Years after, the Bishop of Durham denied that he ever made such a statement in Parliament; but Lord Audley, a member of the House of Lords, replied by public letter that he himself heard the statement made by the good bishop.

We are not deeply read in this controversy and pronounce no opinion. Judging by Bishop Kenrick's book alone, we should say that he made a very clear case, that Parker's consecration cannot be, as it ought to be, considered as satisfactorily proved. In our estimate it is not, ecclesiastically, a very important question. We hold the Anglican just as valid a Church with Parker unconsecrated as consecrated. Just so we hold our own to be just as valid a Church whether Wesley intended an Episcopate or not, or whether he had a right to ordain or not. The free consent of a great body of Christians, for a century continued, to be a Church, can make them a Church. But for the Anglican, who holds that a successional ordination is the test of a valid Church, the question of Parker's ordination is a vital point. *Upon that thread hangs the whole Anglican Church.* It is by this partition of very thin film that they are rescued from Romanism. We would not therefore pronounce upon it with flippant haste without fairly hearing all sides. We wish some one of our best ecclesiastical

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scholars would furnish for our QUARTERLY an *impartial* summary of the whole discussion.

In particular, would we avoid that flippant recklessness of truth displayed by Episcopalian writers as a class in regard to Wesley's ordination of Coke. Thus, the "Church Journal" is quoted by the "Methodist" as saying: "Like most Methodists, Dr. Whedon has accepted the superstition of his denomination, that Mr. Wesley founded Methodist Episcopacy; he will be bewildered at the discovery that the said Episcopacy was founded in Baltimore." Now we do not object that the author of this helpless scribble is ignorant, as he profoundly is, of the truth in the case; but we do object that, knowing himself to be ignorant, he pretends to know. He appears to us just as respectable as we should appear to him were we to say: "Like most Episcopalians, the "Church Journal" has accepted the superstition of his denomination, that Parker was consecreated at Lambeth; he will be bewildered at the discovery that the said consecration was enacted at the "Nag's Head" tavern.

Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. III.—Joshua to II. Samuel. Joshua, by D. STEELE, D.D.; Judges to II. Samuel, by Rev. M. S. TERRY, A.M. D. D. Whedon, LL.D., Editor. 12mo., pp. 558. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

Though a THIRD volume, this is the FIRST of a series soon, we trust, to be completed, and destined to fill an important place in the literature of our Church. The reason why this volume appears earliest must be attributed to Mr. Terry's promptness and energy in prosecuting his work to a completion. He is a natural-born commentator; biblical study is to him a labor of love, and annotation on the holy text was, even before being invited to a share in this publication, the resource of his leisure hours, so that not a little was done before it was formally commenced. We trust this first volume is a favorable augury for the entire enterprise.

It is time, as all will acknowledge, for us, as a Church, to do something toward sustaining our ancestral reputation in biblical commentary. The mighty quartos and octavos of Clarke, Benson, Coke, and Watson stand upon our library shelves our honor and our reproach. To live reputationally upon the work of our Fathers is to die shamefully. To merely abridge and re-cook their works is a dwarfish process. If our Book Concern has any mission to fulfill, a large share of its mission must be to draw out the talent and scholarship of the Church into action and production. The attempt has been made, and we have a sanguine faith that it

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will be a cheering success. A corps of scholars has for some time been at work in furnishing a complete exegetical work on the entire Old Testament, to match with the Commentary on the New, of which three volumes have been published. We have never published the programme entire because, as experience shows, we are very liable to disappointments and changes. We may say, however, that Genesis and Exodus have long been in preparation by Dr. Newhall, and, unless his personal health interferes, will, we trust, be in press during the ensuing summer. The remainder of the Pentateuch is in the hands of Drs. Newhall, Steele, and Lindsay.

Though a number of Commentaries have appeared since this work was projected, it still occupies, we think, an unoccupied space. It is not overwhelmed, like Lange's, with a vast mass of matter that is not commentary. The work should be commentary proper, and not homiletics. Though containing, from the closeness of its type, much more commentary matter than the Speaker's Commentary, it is in a more manual form. Though Clarke's has qualities which cannot be superseded, yet the immense mass of biblical science which has accumulated since his day demands that the whole ground should be gone over again, and be brought down to the latest dates. While avoiding occupying space with perfunctory moral inferences, it should be deeply imbued with the evangelical spirit. Though the product of thorough modern scholarship, it should avoid the ostentatious display of scholarship, and thus be suited alike to the minister and the intelligent layman. It should endeavor to say all that need be said to bring out the meaning, the truth, and the power of the Sacred Word in the most concise style, in order to bring the price of the volume to a moderate sum. All this is our aim, and we hope it can be accomplished.

The present volume will evince that our ranks can furnish the men amply competent for the work. Dr. Steele's abilities as a scholar and a writer are well known to the Church. His Joshua, had he been permitted to complete it, would have needed no supplement from another hand. Mr. Terry has thoroughly consulted the latest authorities, and given the results of close investigation of the original. He has been specially thorough in embodying the results of the latest geographical researches into his notes. His style is always clear, concise, and animate; touching the point pertinently, and in brief words. The plentiful cuts and maps, of a truly illustrative character, are a peculiar feature, which it is pur-

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posed to make pervade the whole series. Whether for occasional reference or for consecutive study, we believe this volume will, on the books it annotates, hardly, on comparison, be found surpassed. And we sincerely hope that this and the following volumes will serve to quicken an interest in the earnest and devout study of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. The proof-sheets were revised by Dr. Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, and thanks were rendered him in the manuscript preface, but accidentally omitted in the print.

The Works of the Rev. John Newton. Containing an Authentic Narrative, etc., Letters on Religious Subjects, Cardephonia, Discourses Intended for the Pulpit, Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Olney, A Review of Ecclesiastical History, Olney Hymns, Poems, Messiah, Occasional Sermons and Tracts. To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, etc. By Rev. RICHARD CECIL, A.M. Two volumes in one. 8vo., pp. 966. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow. To which is prefixed A Life of the Author. By JOHN NORMAN PEARSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Table of the Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects, compiled expressly for this edition. 8vo., pp. 800. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

These volumes embrace, in compact form, the entire works of two authors whose reputation has long been fixed as standard in the religious world. Both, clergymen of the Established Church, were evangelical in spirit and holy in life. Their preaching, lives, and writings have done much, and will do more, for the cause of a living Christianity in the world.

The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 367. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Though the work of an eminent scholar, this volume is not scholastic, but is addressed to the popular as well as the scholarly mind. Professor Green first ascertains what is the true structure of the Book of Job, and what the argument lying at its bottom, and then proceeds to bring the truths it unfolds to bear in practical power upon the heart and life. It is an able and eloquent production.

The Character of St. Paul. By J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. 12mo., pp. 314. New York: Dodd & Mead.

We had credited Dean Howson with the possession of unsurpassed erudition in regard to the life of St. Paul; but we are surprised at the insight and subtlety here displayed in the analysis of his character. We know no work on the subject, among the many attempts, that surpasses this, either in intellectual or practical value.

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Lectures on the Truth of the Christian Religion. Delivered before the Students of the University of Michigan on Sunday Afternoons. By Rev. B. F. COCKER, D.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. 12mo., pp. 265. Detroit: J. M. Arnold & Co. 1873.

After one has gone over the ordinary books on Evidences of Christianity, Dr. Cocker's "University Lectures" will be read as a fresh and independent course of thought. Written in a liberal and candid spirit, by one fully understanding and sympathizing with the minds to which they were addressed, they were admirably calculated to win attention and convince the understanding. Their style is popular, divested of technical terms and stereotyped phraseologies, and even of those elaborate forms of statement which Dr. Cocker sometimes adopts.

The course of thought runs over the Old Testament line of history and literature, in a somewhat chronological order, until it arrives at and briefly touches upon the New. He adopts the "document theory" of Genesis, believing that Moses agglutinated together in chronological order the records found in the sacred line of Seth. In the chapter of Mosaic cosmogony he recognizes not science or history, but primeval sacred poetry. It is a "Hymn of the Creation," chanted for centuries in the tents of the patriarchal Church. He does not dread the discovery, if it shall ever take place, of a pre-Adamic humanity. The Adamic race may be simply the Caucasian race, latest created, progenitor to the Saviour, and itself intended, had it not fallen, to be savior to the other races, and, even since the fall, bound to be a savior through *the* Saviour. He argues the truth of the Old Testament history by various proofs, deduces the argument from prophecy, and brings the whole to bear upon the Gospel history.

The volume, very inartistically, has neither preface, analytical table of contents, nor running designation of topics. Only by reading the pages and paragraphs can you augur what the "University Lectures" discuss. It is attractively printed in small-lettered lines, and leaded, but needing a more accurate proof-reading.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Story of the Earth and Man. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of M'Gill University, Montreal; author of "Archaia," "Acadian Geology," etc. 12mo., pp. 403. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

Dr. Dawson's volume has proved an unwelcome surprise to the romancers in paleontology and "evolution." It has come like a

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wet blanket over their rich and gushing enthusiasms, chilling their dreams of vast human epochs, abbreviating the longitude of their pedigrees and the grandeur of their ape paternity, and bringing them down to a prosaic descent from Adam, according to Genesis. "It is a shame to cramp my genius down to a mortar and pestle," said the ambitious young apothecary. It is an equally humiliating business in Dr. Dawson to cramp soaring scientific romance down to Moses and the Bible. The apothecary and the *savant* were born for larger destinies. But Dr. Dawson is somewhat peremptory; and, moreover, is not a man that can well be ignored. He is peremptory, for he has gone over the localities most boasted as proofs of geologic man, and promptly denies that they carry us beyond Adam. He is not to be sneered down, for, so far as discoveries in geologic antiquity are concerned, he is the most archaic man extant. He frankly reminds the romancers of this archaism: "The present writer may, however, be suspected of a tendency to extend forms of life backward in time, since it has fallen to his lot to be concerned in this process of stretching backward in several cases. He has named and described the oldest true oxygen, and the oldest known pine-tree. He was concerned in the discovery of the oldest known land snails, and found the oldest millipedes. He has just described the oldest bituminous bed composed of spore-cases, and he claims that his genus Hylonomus includes the oldest animals which have a fair claim to be considered reptiles. Still this discovery of old things comes rather of fortune and careful search than of a desire to innovate; and a distinction should be drawn between that kind of novelty which consists in the development of new truths, and that which consists in the invention of new fancies, or the revival of old ones. There is too much of this last at present; and it would be a more promising line of work for our younger naturalists if they would patiently and honestly question nature, instead of trying to extort astounding revelations by throwing her on the rack of their own imaginations."

As history is conveniently divided into *ancient*, *middle*, and *modern* ages, so paleontology may be roughly divided as consisting of *paleozoic*, *mesozoic*, and *neozoic;* that is, old-life, mid-life, and new-life ages.

The *Old-Life* age, beginning with the dawn of minute vitalities, covers the ascending stages of crustaceans, corals, molluscs, fishes, and amphibians. A humble, yet advancing, series of families!

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The *Mid-Life* (mesozoic) ages unfold a scene of gigantic reptiles, with long sinuous bodies, and endowed, by the *savants*, with long, crawling names. These groups of vast living structures, with an under-brush of lower life beneath them, ruled our crude globe for an untold roll of middle ages. But this dispensation went down in night. Under stupendous revolutions nearly every form of its life perished, and the next draw of the curtain reveals a series of new creations.

The *New-Life* age comprises the reign of *mammals*, beings with *nursing milk*. An undertone of mammals had commenced with, and run through, the whole middle age. That undertone was prophetic; but who could have interpreted its beautiful prediction that the soft and milky breast should be the ruling trait of the new life? The earlier mammals of this age were as gigantic as the reptiles of the previous. Either from the marvelous intensity of the vital power, or the existence of unknown conditions, or the fiat of the Supreme, the living forms of brute life were of stupendous magnitude.

This age is divided into four periods, according to their share of the modern life-forms now existing: namely, the Eocene, or Dawning-modern; the Miocene, or Few-modern; the Pliocene, or More-modern; and the Post-pliocene, immediately preceding our entire modern. It was during the second of these periods, the Miocene, that the greatest abundance of gigantic quadrupeds roamed the earth. Dr. Dawson paints the Miocene age in vivid colors, believing that European geologists have not fully appreciated its glory. If man existed at this time, (as the Darwinians are vainly anxious to believe,) Dr. Dawson affirms that he ought to have been a giant in stature. But the glories of the Miocene went down under the wintry blasts of the *Glacial period*. An upheaval of the arctic regions poured the icebergs down upon the temperate zones, while a subsidence of land at our zones invited an arctic sea, for a period of unknown length, over the latitudes of our present civilized life. To the eye of a human spectator, our globe would then have appeared a scene of hopeless desolation. But it was the darkness before the dawn. This severe probation really rendered the earth more fit for man, and it was in the spring which emerged from this winter that man appeared. What was the date of that appearance?

Dr. Dawson's general answer is: "The time involved depends very much on the question whether we regard the post-glacial subsidence and re-elevation as somewhat sudden, or as occupying

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long ages at the slow rate at which some parts of our continents are now rising or sinking."—Page 309. He holds this to have been a paroxysmal period, in which formations proceeded at a rapid rate for which the arithmetical calculation of modern geological progress furnish no analogy. He gives several instances in which the stupendous figures resulting from such calculations have been signally falsified. He denies, therefore, that there is any proof of the antiquity of man invalidating the narrative of the sacred text. Geology, indeed, reveals a great brief deluge, subsequent to the glacial era and to man's appearance, bearing a singular analogy to the Mosaic flood. The biblical narrative of the flood, with its precise dates and minute, formal details, reads wonderfully like the log-book of an adventurer in this geological deluge.

As a clear and popular statement from the hand of a master of the latest aspects of geology, Dr. Dawson's volume may be heartily commended to our readers. It cannot fail to give a sobering check to the unbridled reveries of one-sided men.

The Atmosphere. Translated from the French of Camille Flammarion. Edited by JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S. With ten chromo-lithographs and eighty-six wood-cuts. 8vo., green and gilt, pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The works of Reclus, entitled "The Land" and "The Sea," published by the Harpers, together with this, form three magnificent volumes upon the science of the globe. They are written with a French vivacity and transparence. The present volume, from the nature of its subject, furnishes room for a profuse number of finely-colored engravings. Science is here made to wear its most attractive possible form. The three may serve for very handsome presentation volumes.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century. By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrew's, one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland, Author of "Leaders of the Reformation" and "English Puritanism and its Leaders." 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I, Liberal Churchmen, pp. 462. Vol. II, The Cambridge Platonists, pp. 500. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1872.

In these two remarkable volumes Dr. Tulloch displays great critical thought, expressed in eloquent style, in bringing to view two phases of English ecclesiastical history hitherto much overlooked, but really invested with special interest. Two *groups*, rather than sects or schools, of Christian thinkers are presented: the

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former springing from Oxford; the latter, a little later, from Cambridge. The former are Liberal Churchmen; the latter, rather of Puritan origin, yet mostly Churchmen, are usually styled "the Latitudinarian divines." It was the province of the former to maintain the idea of a comprehensive Church; of the latter to raise and expand Christian thought above and beyond the narrow type of prevalent Puritanic dogma.

Dr. Tulloch preludes his history with a review of the growth of earliest Protestant dogmatism. Early Protestantism was compelled to stereotype her creed in order to meet the positivism of Rome with a counter positivism. The Bible, as against the Pope, was the infallible standard of faith; but then it was the Bible as read and expounded by a man who could not read the Bible except in a translation—Augustine. The right of private judgment was asserted; but then private judgment was bound to judge that the established creed was right. It was the duty of the Church faithfully to maintain the creed, and of the magistrate firmly to sustain the Church; so that liberty of belief was as fast bound under Protestant as under Papal regimen. It required a new reformer to complete the Reformation. The initiator of that new reformation was James Arminius.

Calvinist as he is, so far as logical views are concerned, Dr. T. at this point gives the frankest and most eloquent credit to the great services of Hollandic Arminianism in originating and unfolding the modern doctrine of toleration anywhere to be found upon pages written by a non-Arminian. The Dutch Arminians defined the true province of creeds as simply forms of voluntary concord, and gave an impulse to independent biblical investigation. We should add, too, though Mr. Tulloch would not admit it, that they really found the most logically constructed mode of interpreting the Bible, so as to explain the sovereignty of God in accord with the freedom of man.

From the influence of Arminian thought and from their own reflections, the Oxford men formed their views of a free, comprehensive, Protestant English National Episcopal Church. The leader of this noble group was Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, the most learned and accomplished layman of his age. Around him were grouped Hales of Eton, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and Stillingfleet. The prince of this group was Chillingworth.

Hales of Eton is memorable from the fact that he was present when a young man at the Synod of Dort, and wrote home his reports of that unfortunate body—unfortunate in having so truth

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ful a reporter of its doings. He began his reports a strong adherent of the Calvinistic side, but before he got through he "bade good-night to John Calvin." Dr. T. adds, however, "he did not bid good-morning to Arminius." That is hardly correct. The term Arminianism, in its broad sense, covers the theological territory which lies between Augustinianism and Pelagianism. If Hales abandoned Calvinism and rejected Pelagianism, (as he certainly did in signing the Thirty-Nine Articles,) then he occupied, however vaguely, this intermediate ground. Call that intermediate what you please—Arminianism, Melancthonianism, Liberal Evangelicism—Hales did, in bidding good-night to Calvinism, bid good-morning to this mild region. Dr. Tulloch himself loftily and truly proclaims that "The days of Augustinian predominance are forever ended." Augustinianism is now illustrating the last two lines of Bryant's stanza:

> Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> While Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among his worshipers.*

It is just as certain that the downfall of Calvinism is the ascendency, not of Pelagianism, but of Arminianism more or less definite.

While the Oxford men were thus in accord with the Arminian liberalism, broadening the comprehension of the Church and calming the discord of Christian polemics, it was the mission, next,

* Yet how slender a "predominance" in the entire Christian Church Augustinianism ever has possessed is admirably and truly shown in the following statement, made by Dr. Summers, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in his Introduction to Brandt's Life of Arminius, of the grounds taken by Methodists in regard to Arminianism:

"In common with all who take the Arminian view of the Five Points, they contend that this is the catholic view: that it has always been held by the Eastern Church—that it was held universally in the Western Church, till the unhappy controversy took place between Pelagius and Augustin, when the latter in opposing one error went over to another; that the indorsers of Augustinianism were always a minority in the Western Church down to the time of the Reformation; that it never was cast into logical form until the time of Calvin; that although, through his influence, it was embodied with less or more distinctiveness in many of the Reformed Confessions, yet it was never able to displace the broad, generous, scriptural system which it sought to supplant; and that it has been so modified from time to time as that, in many cases, its avowed supporters can scarcely show any difference between it and that which they professedly oppose; while not a few, missing the *via media*, have gone over to semi-Pelagianism, or what has been significantly denominated New Divinity."

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of the "Latitudinarians" of Cambridge to lift the Christian style of thought above the level of mere creed into the region of a Christian philosophy. The creeds were the formulation of Scripture interpretation on questions at issue between the Reformers and the Pope. The Latitudinarians, mostly Platonists, endeavored to show that Christian doctrines, freely interpreted, were at one with the highest and noblest range of human thought. The principal of this group were Whichcote, Cudworth, John Smith, and Henry More. With the writings of these men we have for years been familiar, and recognize in Dr. Tulloch's survey of them a work most admirably performed which it is strange was not performed long ago. Of this group the prince clearly is Cudworth. His works have been most republished and read, in our day, of all the four. His great work in refutation of Hobbes may be carefully turned over with advantage at the present day, as pertinent in the contests of the present hour. The writings of John Smith* were the first brave effort to show that the great points of the so-called "natural religion," as embraced in Christianity, such as God, immortality, spirituality, are far nobler, sublimer, more worthy to be believed, far more elevating and aggrandizing to the soul, than their opposites. This is true and obvious to the present hour. Materialism is ever and unchangeably conscious of a certain meanness in itself. Whether held by a Hobbes or a Huxley, it seeks to cover its shame with some disguise. The atheist feels a tremor in avowing himself. And so the necessitarians, such as Hobbes and Edwards and Hodge, patch up an effigy which they call *free-will*, and endeavor to cheat themselves with the palpable phantom. And so faith is aspiring and upward looking toward the sublimities, and the excellences, and the divine; while unfaith tends downward toward meanness and depravity and the devilish. It is boldly replied to this, at the present day, that the nobleness of a dogma is no valid proof of its truth. But a true theist refuses such a reply. If there be a kingdom of God, the development of our nature into the good, the true, and the divine, most accord with the divine wisdom and goodness, and whatever tends in that direction shall be true.

The Oxford men above named were the harbingers of a more decided Arminianism in the Church of England. Yet it is to be noted that the true honor due to Arminius personally was withheld from his name. Dr. Tulloch quotes, as indicative of great magnanimity, the words of the accomplished Sir Henry Wotton:

* Wesley introduced John Smith, of Cambridge, into his "Christian Library."

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"In my travel toward Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius—then the professor of divinity in that university—a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And, indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions—as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do—then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be that he was a man of most rare learning, and I know him to be of a most strict life and of a most meek spirit."—Vol. i, p. 200. Wesley, in his tract, "What is an Arminian?" says: "To say 'This man is an Arminian,' has the same effect on many hearers as to say 'This is a mad dog.' It puts them into a fright at once: they run away from him with all speed and diligence, and will hardly stop, unless it be to throw a stone at the dreadful and mischievous animal."—*Works*, vol. vi, p. 133. Our New England Calvinistic pulpit used to belabor "Arminianism" by name with as much vigor as it did Deism, until heroic Moses Stuart, in the "Biblical Repository," with great independence and learning, revealed, to its astonishment, that "Arminius was not an Arminian;" that is, he held no such Arminianism as its ecclesiastical drumstick had for two centuries been beating. Nor is there wanting, even now, a degree of magnanimity in the full and generous justice rendered by Dr. Tulloch to the character of one of the noblest personages of modern Church history.

At Oxford, where the semi-Arminianism of these "liberal" Oxford men became intensified and definite in conjunction with High Churchism, Wesley appears, at a later period, as their lineal heir. He breathed the hereditary spirit of the place, and Jeremy Taylor furnished him his horn-book in spiritual discipline. But as their thoughts and writings dwell solely in the regions of high speculation, it was his mission to go out from the academic sphere and carry the power of these principles, touched with a new life, to the lower strata of society, and quicken the popular heart of England and America with a new reformation, or, rather, with a completion of the old reformation. It is to this point we wish most emphatically to call the attention and interest of our thoughtful Methodist readers. We have long known that these Oxford men and this "splendid Latitudinarian school of divines" (as the celebrated Catholic lawyer, Charles Butler, styles them in his "Reminiscences") were in no small degree our spiritual ancestry. The students in a theological literature suited to our Church will find no field more rich, outside the Bible and our own imme-

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diate theology, than that opened to view by Dr. Tulloch, and the history and productions of the great Arminians of Holland. For this, and for many other reasons, while sometimes strongly demurring to the over-broadness of his Broad Churchism, we tender, at the close of these volumes, our most hearty thanks to Dr. Tulloch.

The Oxford Methodists: Memoirs of the Rev. Messrs. Clayton, Ingham, Gambold, Hervey, and Broughton, with Biographical Notices of others. By Rev. L. TYERMAN, author of "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley." 8vo., pp. 41. Harper & Brothers. 1873.

With modesty and candor Mr. Tyerman says in his preface: "The book is not a series of written portraits. I make no pretensions to artistic skill. I have simply done my best in collecting facts from every source within my reach, and have narrated them as truly and lucidly as I could." We deem it unfortunate that the faithfulness in gathering facts and the skill in handling them do not meet in the same man. Mr. Tyerman has accumulated a mass of "raw material" for history, leaving it almost as raw as he finds it. Yet great thanks are due him for what he has done. He has shed a clear, broad light upon the life of Wesley, and especially, in the present volume, upon the first beginnings of the Oxford movement. He has given body and life to what were heretofore almost mere *names* in the Wesleyan history. Clayton, and Broughton, and Ingham, and Gambold, if not symmetrical characters, are live men. And we trace the misty progress of those *origines*, out from which the figures of the Wesleys and Whitefield emerge with such startling life. As an accompaniment to the life of Wesley this volume is invaluable in Methodistic history.

It is now about one hundred and forty-four years (in 1727) since four young Oxonians, the two Wesleys and Broughton and Kirkham, met to read the Greek Testament with devout purpose. In 1735 Wesley counted his company as "fourteen or fifteen in number, all of one heart and mind." Great were their subsequent divergences both of doctrine and history. Estrangements, and even hostilities, between each other mark the subsequent narrative. But, in some form or other, nearly every one retained an earnest Christian character to the end of his career.

The points upon which they doctrinally diverged were either matters of churchmanship or soteriology. They all began strict churchmen, and the influence of Clayton infused a large share of ritualism into the Wesleys. And Clayton persevered, a high ritualist, a "Puseyite" before Pusey, unto the end; haughtily refusing

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to notice the Wesleys after their fall from high-churchianity, and ready to accept the popish descendant of the Stuarts as his *jure divino* sovereign. Yet who can withhold admiration from his stern, consistent, lofty conscientiousness of life? If severe to others, he was severe to himself, and his rebuke of sin was sharpened by his deep sense of responsibility to God as a minister of Christ. We are unable to say that he had not true justifying faith in Christ. No more do we believe this of Wesley while in his ritualistic era. They did not indeed realize the emphatic place of *faith* in the Christian life. They had not performed that conscious act of entire self-commitment to Christ by which the vivid *evidence* is attained, and the rich communion with Christ, and with God through Christ, is established, so that the soul springs forward with new life and glad obedience in the way of active duty. And hence when Wesley came to that turning-point of self-surrender, he felt his heart "*strangely* warmed;" *strangely*, because in all his ritualistic days he had never felt that warmth. He had long served God by severe self-subduing rule; henceforth he serves him with an abounding will and joy. Yet he had served God—served God trusting in Christ, yet trusting in Christ so distantly that he never came within speaking, loving distance of the lover of his soul. The change was so great that Wesley for a long time believed that it was a change from death to life, a first attainment of justification.

But as it was the doctrine of justification by faith that separated Wesley from the high-churchman, so it was the overstatement of that doctrine which repelled him from Hervey, Whitefield and the Moravians, Ingham, and Gambold. As a student of the early Fathers, by whom predestination was repudiated as a gnostic heresy, and from his kinship with Jeremy Taylor and the other great Arminian and semi-Arminian divines, whom Dr. Tulloch has so eloquently described, Wesley could never believe that faith was other than the free act of the creature, enabled but not infallibly secured, either by the atonement of Christ or the power of God. Hence when Whitefield diverged into the heresy of predestination, he smote the blasphemous dogma with lightning strokes. When Hervey taught the crude dogma that the merit of Christ's holy actions through his whole life was imputed to a certain selected set of mankind, Wesley dealt upon the infantile theology of that gentle-spirited writer a very few, but very decisive, touches of his terse pen. Ingham retired to Yorkshire, married a lady of quality, and raised a flourishing circle of country churches of which he was

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installed bishop. Over that blooming garden of spiritual life came the "northern blast of Sandemanianism," the doctrine that carries Calvinism to its consistent figure, and teaches that the elect is saved with no act of his own, but by the divine force carrying him panoramically through the motions and movements by which he is wheeled into heaven. Under this blast Ingham's Yorkshire diocese wilted. Wesleyan Methodism overspread the shire, leaving, to this day, a few shattered remnants of the once flourishing field of Ingham's evangelic labors.

We thus by comparison see what was the secret of the success of the Wesleyan movement. Rejecting the cumbrous rigidity of high-churchmanship on the one hand, and the ultraistic extreme of the doctrine of justification by faith on the other, Wesley retained an energetic Church polity and a true doctrine of salvation through Christ. To these he added the intensifying doctrines of the conscious witness of the Spirit and entire sanctification, and insisted on their actual realization in experimental life. His entire system of polity, of doctrine, and of life, thereby strangely presaged and harmonized with modern freedom and activity. It was an anticipation of our age. It was the morning-break, in the religious world, of the modern life.

Recollections of My Own Life and Times. By THOMAS JACKSON. Edited by the Rev. B. FRANKLAND, B.A. With an Introduction and a Postscript by G. OSBORN, D.D. 12mo., pp. —. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1873.

Recollections of Thomas Jackson and his Acts. By SAMUEL DUNN. 12mo., pp. 32. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

Mr. Jackson was born in 1783, and died in 1873, in the ninetieth year of his age. So beautiful an evening of life is rare in all our Christian ages. The frontispiece, being an engraved likeness, presents to the eye a face and form of remarkable attractiveness. His intellect was clear, but not brilliant; his reading extensive, especially in old English divinity; his talent was productive, but not eminently original. His piety was a striking trait of his character. Dr. Osborn records his "avowal at one Conference that since he first obtained the favor and peace of God he had not lost it for a single day. No wonder that at times his joys were ecstatic!" He was called by the Church to fill the pulpit on great occasions. He was twice President of the Conference. He was nineteen years connectional editor, and for eighteen years theological professor. He was author of standard biographies of Charles Wesley, John Wesley, and of Richard Watson; but his life of the illustrious Arminian Puritan, John Goodwin, is

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his most remarkable work. It is no wonder that as pulpit orator, Christian statesman, ready writer, conservative theologian, and devoted Christian, his brethren lavished their highest honors upon him living, and upon his memory after his ascension.

The biography is eminently interesting to all who are interested in Methodist history. It is written in the author's pure and manly English style, and marked by modesty of temper. We could wish that the editors had interspersed through the book such statements in regard to him as no man can well make regarding himself.

The pamphlet of Mr. Dunn, which we have received from his special hand, takes issue with Mr. Jackson's chapter which narrates the expulsion of the supposed authors of the "Fly Sheets." Our slight acquaintance with Mr. Dunn while in this country identified him as a genial Christian gentleman and a true Methodist preacher. The events to which his pamphlet refers were never to us a sufficiently attractive subject to bring us to the formation of an opinion. We, in America, are ready to import the talents, the piety, and the intellectual productions of our English and Canadian brethren, but not their quarrels. We generally find enough in each side to love, without hating the other side. Nor can we obtain from the compared narratives of both Jackson and Dunn a sufficiently clear view of all the facts to pronounce upon the whole a responsible conclusion.

The Land of Moab. Travels and Discoveries on the East Side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. By H. H. TRISTAM, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Honorary Canon of Durham. With a Chapter on the Persian Palace of Mashita. By JAMES FERGUSON, F.R.S. With Map and Illustrations by C. L. Buxton and H. C. Johnson. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The learned and veteran Palestinian traveler, Dr. Tristam, has bravely ranged over the wild and weird region of Moab, through scenes but slightly visited since the days of the Roman empire. Starting from Jerusalem southward, he passed around the southern end of the Dead Sea, and decides, on comparison of this region with the northern end, that Usdum is not Sodom, and that the cities of the plain destroyed by the fiery shower were not at the southern, but at the northern, extremity of the sea. Thence pursuing his northern course east of the sea, he visits the ancient fortress of Kerak, the Kir-Moab, or Fortress of Moab, of the prophet Isaiah. A great Roman road from south to north, parallel with the Dead Sea, cuts the region into two almost equal parts. By this he traveled northward to Ar, or Rabbath-Moab, the Areopo-

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lis of the Greeks. He crosses the Arnon, and at Machærus identifies the dungeons in which it may safely be believed that John the Baptist was imprisoned. He visits the warm baths of Herod on the river Callirhoë. At Mashita he discovers the remains of a magnificent temple, which is identified by Ferguson, the distinguished historian of architecture, as built by Chosroes, king of Persia. Approaching the northern end of the Dead Sea, he climbs where Moses stood on Mount Nebo, and, though the atmosphere was, to his great grief, unfavorable, he descries Carmel from Pisgah. Here, also, he recognizes, with great confidence, in the Jordan valley, the large and fertile plain which attracted Lot; in Ziara he finds Zoar, and in the heights back—that is, east—from Zoar he recognizes the mountains in which Lot took refuge, and in whose cavern Moab was born. Crossing the *ford*, now a ferry, of the Jordan, he returns, through Jericho and Bethany, to Jerusalem, whence, about two months before, he had started.

Though a Church dignitary, Dr. Tristam displays much pluck in "roughing it" through the wild scenes he describes, a Yankee sharpness in dealing with the rascalities of natives, and a fine talent at description and humorous narration. The engravings are excellent, the fresh map of Moab is an accession to biblical geography, and the whole book is a rich treat to the biblical scholar.

Literature and Fiction.

Songs of the Soul. Gathered out of Many Lands and Ages. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME, author of "The Alhambra and the Kremlin," "The Power of Prayer," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 661. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Songs of the morning and of the evening; songs of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; songs of the holy seasons, as Advent, Christmas, Easter; songs of the cross; songs of the Christian emotions and graces—form the wide range of this book. They are brought from Latin, Greek, German, Spanish, and English sources. The book is a type of the day when there shall "one song engage all nations."

Foreign Theological Publications.

Sieben Vorträge, etc. Seven Lectures on the Second Article of the Christian Faith. Hanover. 1872.

This is the second installment of a series of popular apologetical essays read by eminent Lutherans in an Evangelical Union at Hanover. The theme of the essays is the Apostles' Creed. The

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first series of six treated of God; the third will treat of the Holy Ghost, the Church, and the Communion of Saints. The second treats of the Son. The subjects are, in order: The Fullness of Time, by Superintendent Rocholl; Christ the God-man, by Pastor Büttner; Jesus Christ in his Humiliation, by Upper Consistorial Counselor, Dr. Uhlhorn; Jesus Christ in his Exaltation, by the same; Christ's Prophetic Office, by Pastor Dr. Ziel; Christ's High-priestly Office, by Pastor Danckwerts; Christ's Kingly Office, by Pastor Meyer. In style, these lectures are lucid and direct; in stand-point, conservative-orthodox. The ablest are those of Büttner and Uhlhorn. Some of the positions taken would not find general Protestant acceptance. Büttner, in speaking of the Incarnation, says: "The eternal God subjects himself to the laws of time; the Omniscient, to the order of progressive growth; the unsuffering One, to the outer and inner afflictions of fallen humanity. It is not merely the human *boy* who increased in wisdom and stature; no, it was the God-man. It is not merely the man who sighs, trembles, quakes, weeps, and dies. It would be a gnostic error to hold that the man Jesus died on the cross, while the divine nature remained impassive." On the subject of the atonement, Pastor Danckwerts uses very extreme words. Apropos to Christ's exclamation on the cross, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" he says: "At this point the entire guilt of humanity rested upon his holy soul, and the Father withdraws from him the comfort of his presence and the feeling of his love, and gives him over into the pains of eternal death. He stands as our representative in the judgment of God, and suffers the wrath of God against sinful humanity, and from the infinite depth of this suffering resounds his wailful cry." In speaking of that difficult subject, the ascension of Christ, Dr. Uhlhorn says: "The Copernican system has nothing whatever to do with the ascension, for it relates merely to the space-relations of the visible world; whereas the ascension of Christ is not a change in place or through space, but a change in state—the transition of the Lord into his supernatural glory. Also his 'sitting at the right hand of the Father' is not to be conceived specially. This would be a very childish view. Christ is not here nor there, bound to a particular spot or space. The right hand of God is every-where, and so is Christ; and that, too, not merely as to his divinity, but also as to his humanity. The divinity is never to be thought of as apart from the humanity, nor the humanity as apart from the divinity. This holds of the body also: the transfigured body of Christ is

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also omnipresent." It is needless to add that these views are intimately related to the Lutheran view of the real presence in the eucharist. Dr. Uhlhorn holds that the essence of the ascension was Christ's withdrawal from under the laws of time and space. The visible ascension was merely a phenomenon to impress this withdrawal upon the minds of the disciples. Christ did not have to pass through space in order to be in heaven or at the right hand of God. Bating their few eccentricities, these lectures are worthy of general circulation.

Friedrich von Hardenberg: eine Nachlese aus den Quellen des Familienarchius, herausgegeben von einem Mitglied der Familie. (An After-gleaning from the Writings and Life of Novalis.) Gotha: F. A. Perthes.

Novalis (Von Hardenberg) is one of the loveliest figures of all history. He belongs no less to humanity's head than to its heart. Combine into a rounded whole the speculative idealism of Shelley, the weird romanticism of Chatterton, and the ardent piety of Kirk White, and you have an approach toward Novalis. But death cut him down in his early dawn—in 1801, at the age of twenty-eight. Ever since then he has been counted as the mildest, gentlest, purest, and fairest star of the German romantic school. Tieck edited his works and sketched his life soon after his demise. But three quarters of a century's search and criticism have discovered many complementing and correcting traits for the general portrait, and brought to light a quantity of valuable letters and fragments. A near relative now edits these into a new work on Novalis, on occasion of the centenary of his birth. The general results are: Novalis was not so near Roman Catholicism as Tieck and Schlegel have represented him. His so-called Mariolatric hymns were not the free expression of his personal religion, but were written as integral parts of his uncompleted medieval romance, "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." His heart ever remained true to his Moravian training, though his theology assumed a less fettered form, somewhat in the (subsequent) manner of Schleiermacher. The suspicion that he was Catholic-minded could only have arisen through forgetfulness of the fact that, at the serene elevation at which Novalis habitually dwelt, the little geometric fences which cut up the great field of Christianity into petty angular sectarian garden-spots were almost invisible. To very many this *Nachlese* will prove very welcome, especially to all who love to see in the Christian life a vital synthesis of ethics and esthetics.

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Der Wunderbegriff des Neuen Testaments: eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung. (The New Testament Idea of Miracles Historico-dogmatically Examined.) Von Dr. WILHELM BENDER. Frankfurt-am-Main: Heyder und Zimmer.

A learned and interesting essay in answer of the three questions: What idea the authors of the New Testament formed of the miracles they relate; The importance they attached to miracles; and the significancy of their view for modern theology. The author's conclusions are: Miracles spring of a relatively new outpouring of the same Divine Spirit which upholds and animates creation as a whole. They are but the climax points at which the power of God enters more fully into the current of world-history. They are conditional on the receptive spontaneity of those who work them. Though the ultimate cause of miracles is the all-pervading might of God, yet the creatural workers of miracles participate in the miracle by virtue of being really gifted with the Divine Spirit, as also through the efficacy of God-determining prayer. As miracles have the same cause as all other phenomena, hence they are, strictly speaking, not supernatural, but simply natural. In fact, the terms supernatural and natural have not a real, but only a relative, difference, all natural as well as supernatural events springing ultimately from the same might of the infinite personal volitional God. The difference between a miracle and a so-called natural event lies in its suddenness and immediateness. The worth of miracles lies chiefly in their force as evidence. Their purpose was the promotion of salvation. The recorded miracles are a rich source for determining the relation of the God of nature to the God of grace.

In style Dr. Bender is clumsy and heavy, but his work is replete with helpful suggestions.

Miscellaneous.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels. For Family and Private Use. With the Text Complete. By Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A., Vicar of Stradbroke, Honorary Canon of Norwich, and Rural Dean of Horne, Suffolk. St. John. Volume III. 18mo., pp. 478. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Mementos of Rev. Edward Payson, D.D., embracing a Sketch of his Life and Character and Selections from his Works. By Rev. EDWIN L. JANES, author of "Wesley his own Historian," and "Character and Career of Francis Asbury." With an Introduction by W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 351. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology. By WILLIAM S. PLUMER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 381. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

Jesus: A Portrait. By Rev. JOSEPH BARKER. 12mo., pp. 264. Philadelphia: Methodist Episcopal Book Room, J. B. M'Cullough, Agent. 1874.

Leaves from the Tree of Life. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., author of "Bible Wonders." 18mo., pp. 320. New York: Robert Carter & Bros

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Sub-Tropical Rambles in the Land of the Aphanapteryx. Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings In and Around the Island of Mauritius. By NICHOLAS PIKE. 8vo., pp. 509. New York: Harper & Bros.

"*She Spake of Him.*" Being Recollections of the Loving Labors and Early Death of the late Mrs. Henry Dening. By her Friend, Mrs. GRATTAN GUINNESS. 18mo., pp. 326. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Gipsy in New York. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. 16mo., pp. 190. New York. Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Historical Souvenirs of Martin Luther. By CHARLES W. HUBNER. 16mo., pp. 155. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

John Richmand; or, A Sister's Love. By T. TAYLOR. 16mo., pp. 248. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Jacqueline. A Story of the Reformation in Holland. By Mrs. HARDY, (Janet Gordon,) author of "The Spanish Inquisition," "Champions of the Reformation," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 201. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Hollywood Stories. Lionel's Courage; or, Clementine's Great Peril. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., author of "The Glen Morris Stories," "My Uncle Toby's Library," "The Lindendale Stories," etc., etc. 18mo., pp. 291. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1873.

Hollywood Stories. Florence Rewarded; or, Priscilla the Beautiful. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq. 18mo., pp. 283. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1873.

Home Story Series. Country Stories. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Home Story Series. Stories for Leisure Hours. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 261. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden,

Home Story Series. Holiday Stories. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 286. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Miner's Son, and Margaret Vernon. By M. M. POLLARD, author of "The Minister's Daughter," "The Two Sisters," "The Old Farm-House," etc. 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

Crooked Places. By EDWARD GARRETT, author of "Occupations of a Retired Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 468. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Winning Souls. Sketches and Incidents during Forty Years of Pastoral Work. By Rev. S. B. HALLIDAY. 12mo., pp. 165. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873.

Against the Stream. The Story of a Heroic Age in England. By the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," "Diary of Kitty Trevelyan." 12mo., pp. 589. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873.

Hester Morley's Promise. By HESBA STRETTON, author of "The Doctor's Dilemma." 12mo., pp. 526. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Truffle Nephews, and How they Commenced a New Charity. By Rev. P. B. POWER, M.A. 18mo., pp. 270. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

The Little Camp on Eagle Hill. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." 18mo., pp. 428. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

From the Appletons we have received, too late for notice in the present number, the following:

Dr. Lord's Life of Mrs. Emma Willard.
Herbert Spencer on Sociology.
Dr. Edward Smith on Foods.
Professor Cowles on the Pentateuch.
Professor Le Conte's Religion and Science.

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JAMES ARMINIUS.

We present in this number a fine engraving of one of the most noble characters of the Church of modern ages. James Arminius (the name is the Latinized form of Herman) was born at Oudewater, Holland, in the year 1560. In his childhood his entire family were slaughtered by the Spaniards during the war for Dutch independence, leaving him a sole survivor. The city of Amsterdam, in view of his manifest promise, adopted him as her *vesterling*, or foster-child, and educated him at public expense, under assumption that his life should be devoted to her service. He was sent to Geneva, where he was educated under Beza; thence to Basle, where he studied theology under Simon Grynæus; and finally to Italy, where he became accomplished in philosophy under Zarabella. So rare were his talents that in Italy he was offered a doctorate at twenty-two years of age, which he declined.

Returning to Amsterdam, he was installed a metropolitan preacher at twenty-eight. His acquirements and abilities immediately secured him a great reputation with the people. His person was manly, his temper mild and amiable, and his manners magnetic. He had a light voice, which nevertheless possessed a peculiarly touching power. His piety was deep and earnest, exhibiting itself in the most faithful performance of his sacred office.

The national creed, which was intensely Calvinistic, having been attacked by a certain ingenious layman, Arminius was called upon to defend it. This task he undertook, but in prosecuting his investigations his own mind became involved in doubt. Reason, Scripture, the voice of the earliest antiquity, seemed alike opposed to the modern dogma. On explaining his views to the public he met with violent opposition. He, nevertheless, gradually unfolded that beautiful system of Christian doctrine which, though essentially held by the large majority of the Christian Church in all ages, has, during the last two centuries, been stamped with his name. Called to the Professorship of Theology in the University of Leyden, he claimed that his views were not a heretical departure from evangelical doctrine, and maintained Christian freedom of opinion. A long and violent controversy ensued. By its violence and danger his health was undermined, and he died the death of the righteous in the year 1609.

Our engraving is copied from the frontispiece of Nichols' "Works of Arminius," where it is recorded as "engraved by Thomson from a scarce Dutch print."

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1874.

ART. I.—NEW YORK STATE SCHOOLS.

History of the Common-School System of the State of New York, from its Origin in 1795 to the Present Time. Including the Various City and Other Organizations, and the Religious Controversies of 1821, 1832, and 1840. By S. S. RANDALL, formerly General Deputy Superintendent of Common Schools, and late Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of New York. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co. 1871.

THE Common-School System of the State of New York is especially worthy of the careful study of any and all who would come to an intelligent appreciation of both the difficulties and the possibilities of maintaining a system of popular education by State agencies. Of the old States of the Union New York was the first, outside of New England, to engage in that work; and since, in both its social and ecclesiastical condition, that State differed very considerably from its eastern neighbors, so it was compelled to strike out for itself a somewhat different course of action in constructing its educational system. The system so originated and brought into practical use has now been in course of successful experiment for more than three quarters of a century; and though still very incomplete, and, indeed, only inchoate in many of its features, yet such has been its success that its history presents a highly valuable illustration of the practicability and efficiency of a State system of popular education. The lessons which it teaches are also scarcely less valuable beyond the borders of the State than within them, since the social and educational conditions of the States westward from New York are in most cases very simi-

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lar to its own, and therefore the results of its experience are equally available for them also.

In the preparation of the volume whose title stands at the head of this paper, Mr. S. S. Randall has made a highly valuable contribution to the literature of the cause of education in America, and made the whole country his debtor. The establishment and maintenance of a thorough and comprehensive system of primary education in a free State, without any thing approaching to a State Church, was an untried enterprise until the State of New York entered upon it. Every step in the process of the system was an experiment, in making which the precedents drawn from elsewhere were often inapplicable, and not unfrequently misleading. The men who engaged in the work were like explorers in unknown seas, whose very mistakes are, in many cases, the most fruitful of good results, and often, too, they "builded wiser than they knew." Probably scarcely any one of them saw from the first to what ends their experimentings would lead them, while not as theorists, but as practical men seeking to provide for present necessities, they laid broad and deep the foundations of a system of popular education that is destined to fill the whole land, and prepare successive generations of American freemen for their high duties, and the whole nation for its exalted destiny.

During the period of its colonial history New York can scarcely be said to have had any system of education for the mass of the people. The early Dutch colonists had the simplest elements of such a system in connection with the Reformed Dutch Church, which they brought with them from the mother country, but this extended to only a very few of the chief settlements. The English conquest overthrew at once their Church establishment and the attached schools, and during the period of British colonial rule in New York very little was done for the promotion of popular education. Four successive generations of British subjects were born and died, for whom only the scantiest and most inadequate provisions were made, even for giving the simplest rudiments of an English education. Schools were maintained by individual or associated efforts in the chief places, though only at intervals of time, and often of only the lowest grades of learning; but

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it is still sufficiently evident that at the time of the coming in of the war of the Revolution a very large proportion of the people of the province were to the lowest degree illiterate, though there were above these a few exceptionally well-educated citizens, upon whom the affairs of the State in its period of transition rested, and by whom, under God, they were brought to a successful issue.

A glance at the educational provisions existing at the period under notice, which is more significant for its omissions than for what it says, is given in the early pages of this history. After sketching in a dozen lines the whole story of the schools as they existed from 1710 to 1773, showing it was provided that in one or more places there should be schools in which the master was expressly directed "not only to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, but to instruct the children in the English as well as the Dutch language," the account continues:

> Similar schools were scattered at wide intervals in the various Dutch and English settlements on Long Island and Staten Island, and on the shores of the Hudson, Delaware, and Mohawk; but in the distracted condition of the colony, harassed by perpetual incursions of the savages on the one hand and the pressure of foreign war on the other, no effort for any systematic organization was possible. And amid the struggles of the pioneers in the pathless wilderness of the North and West for bare subsistence, facilities of even the humblest kind for the education of their children could only rarely have been found. Kings (afterward Columbia) College only, in the city of New York, and private and select seminaries in the most advanced settlements and principal towns, enabled wealthy parents to supply this desirable requisite for their children.—P. 5.

Among the educated men of New York at the period of the Revolution were found a very considerable number of most admirable characters. It was by their influence that the province was carried into the revolutionary movements that brought about the emancipation of the colonies and the independence of the country. And they had the discernment to apprehend the fact that national independence brought with it other and vastly higher responsibilities than had before existed. Till then American social and civil life had largely depended on a people beyond the ocean; but now in its separated condition the newly-constituted State must care for itself. And among the duties thus made incumbent upon the State was its own

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conservation and perpetuation, by raising up successive generations of persons duly qualified for the social and civil functions to which they might be called. The proper education of its youth was accordingly recognized as among the first and highest interests of the State; and while in the monarchical or aristocratic States of Europe it had seemed chiefly requisite that the ruling classes should be thus educated, in this country, whose fundamental political principles were from the first essentially democratic, it seemed necessary that education should be popularized and made as nearly as possible universal.

A scarcely less significant fact in respect to the educational affairs of this country at the beginning of its national independence was the divorce of the State and the Church each from the other. The learning of Europe, and its educational agencies, had been for more than a thousand years essentially ecclesiastical; and at the time under notice, and to a large extent at the present time, the school education of the young is, both theoretically and practically, an ecclesiastical function. That fact has left its impress on the popular education of Europe, and shaped all its educational agencies, though with the changes of the present century there has been a steady tendency toward the secularization of popular education, especially in the Protestant States of Europe, so making it more and more a matter of secular or political administration. In this country the ecclesiastical element in civil affairs has always been comparatively feeble. Even in the Eastern States, where the Church was at first much regarded in public affairs, the matter of education was always a political concern, while in all the other States there was scarcely anywhere any general system of popular education before the Revolution; after which, by reason of the total secularization of the government, the public provisions in favor of education were distinctively secular. In its earliest and feeblest infancy the school system of the State of New York was solely of the State, and entirely separate from all ecclesiastical relations or oversight, so that, formally and directly, the Church, in any of its forms or organizations, can have nothing to do with it.

It is not the least of the duties devolved by Providence upon our nation and people to develop into active forms, at

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once, the complete organic segregation, and the mutual and effective co-operation, of the State and the Church in an enlightened, self-governing Christian society. Cavour's famous apothegm—a free Church in a free State—was never elsewhere so effectually realized. From the conditions of the case the character of the people in their personalities determines that of the aggregate body. If the people are Christians and Protestants, then will the nation be such, and not otherwise; not indeed by legal force, but by the more effective power of personal influences. The silence of our great political charters in respect to matters of religious faith ought not to be construed as either denying or ignoring such faith, just as a theorem in geometry or a maxim in political economy enunciated without any theological accompaniment ought not to be stigmatized as atheistical. In the secularization of our system of popular education there is no denial of nor implied disregard for religion, nor for the healthful influences of religious truth and ecclesiastical agencies in the social community. These may be fully appreciated, while it is also deemed most expedient that in the great business of raising up an enlightened and morally elevated generation of freemen the two agencies shall operate independently of each other.

It must also be remembered that the learning obtained at school is only a part, and that not the most important, which the child, the coming man, receives. The home, with its unrivaled influences and fashioning associations, and indeed all the associations and occupations of childhood — the amusements, the politics, the religious notions and observances, and especially the companionships among which young persons pass the formative period of youth—are the great educating agencies whose aggregate influences form the characters of the future members of society. With all its conceded value, the school is not the only, nor indeed the chief, educator. There are, indeed, large departments of the work of education which lie quite outside of the sphere of school instruction. As a public and social institution the school is necessarily secondary to the family and the Church, with the special functions of both of which even the State may not interfere, though it may co-operate with either in behalf of the common interests of education to whatever extent may be judged expedient. The

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American idea respecting the relations of the State and the Church is not that of mutual jealousy and antagonism, but of separate autonomy, with possible co-operation in the promotion of common interests. This idea appears to have been accepted and reduced to practice by the great and good men of the State, who, having safely guided it through the perils of revolution, came at length to rear the social fabric upon an enduring basis. They carefully abstained from intermeddling with the relations of the family, any further than to properly define and protect them; and, though many of them were earnest Christian men, they chose to leave the Church to order its own affairs, and to subsist by the voluntary benevolences of the people, but for the interests of education they steadily recognized the right and the duty of the State to make all needful provisions, both of pecuniary support and government.

We find, accordingly, that as soon as the new government of the State was fairly settled after the War of Independence, the cause of popular education received a large share of public attention. At the first meeting of the Legislature under the new State Constitution, in 1787, Governor George Clinton called the attention of that body to the subject, and after deprecating the neglect of the education of the youth of the State as among the evils consequent upon the state of war in which they had so long lived, he added:

> Perhaps there is scarce any thing more worthy your attention than the revival and encouragement of seminaries of learning, and nothing by which we can more satisfactorily express our gratitude to the Supreme Being for his past favors, since piety and virtue are generally the offsprings of an enlightened understanding.—P. 5.

This extract is even more remarkable for its implications than for its explicit statements, for it assumes that learning is a promoter of the "piety and virtue" upon which alone the social and civil fabric can rest securely, and also that to promote sound learning is at once a prerogative of the Government and its most sacred duty. The Legislature concurred in these views of the executive, and during that very session an act was passed incorporating the Regents of the University, and giving them a general oversight of all the colleges and academies of the State. Two years later the foundation of the

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State's School Fund was laid in an act requiring the Surveyor General "to set apart two lots in each township of the public lands for *Gospel and school purposes.*" Of course the "Gospel" share of the fund was never used. In 1793 the Regents of the University called attention to the need of "schools in various parts of the State for the purpose of instructing children in the lower branches of education," and suggested the accumulation of a fund for that purpose by the sale of "some of the unappropriated public lands;" and in 1795 Governor Clinton, in his annual address to the Legislature, presented the first rude draft of a common-school system in these memorable words:

> While it is evident that the general establishment and liberal endowment of academies are highly to be commended, and are attended with the most beneficial consequences, yet it cannot be denied that they are principally confined to the children of the opulent, and that a great portion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantages. *The establishment of common schools throughout the State* is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience, and will, therefore, engage your early and decided consideration.

The Legislature heartily seconded the recommendations of the Governor, and accordingly passed "an act for the encouragement of schools," by which the sum of $50,000 per annum was appropriated for five years "for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining schools in the several cities and towns in this State, in which the children of the inhabitants residing in the State shall be instructed in the English language." A method for distributing this fund was also adopted and put into working order, and very soon its beneficial effects were seen in the increase and successful operation of primary schools in all parts of the State. But at the end of the designated five years the law was allowed to expire, though Governor Jay and some of the best men in the Legislature labored hard for its renewal. The withdrawal of the State's bounty proved fatal to a large share of the smaller schools that had sprung up in many portions of the State, though some of them were still kept alive by individual efforts and private bounties.

In 1805 Governor Lewis, in a special message to the Legislature, earnestly recommended the establishment of a common-school system commensurate with the whole State, and the

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creation of a fund for their support out of the proceeds of the public lands. The latter measure was adopted, but not the former, at that time. In 1810, and again the next year, Governor D. D. Tompkins earnestly pressed the subject upon the attention of the Legislature, and in 1812 the common-school system of the State of New York, which, with various modifications, still exists, was formed into a law. The report submitted with the bill, written by Judge Jedediah Peck of Otsego, the father of our common schools, is a most remarkable document, especially for its time, for it presents very fully and clearly the whole spirit and *rationale* of the system, as it has ever since existed and operated. Its elaborate arguments in favor of educating the masses of the people, though they now sound like common-places, were then not only pertinent, but even of startling boldness. The duty of the State to provide a system of schools that should reach to the remotest and sparsest settlements was assumed and emphasized, while it was tacitly granted that for effecting this invaluable purpose the property of the State might both justly and wisely be appropriated. The matter to be taught in these schools was to consist of the elements of secular learning, with due respect in the discipline and precepts of the schools to "virtue and morality," while a significant silence is maintained respecting all specially religious or theological questions connected with the subject.

At this point Mr. Randall closes the first "period" of his history, according to his method of distribution, that ending at this point being the period of "construction." The second period, that of "organization," extended over nearly thirty years, during which the new system grew into form and became practically established throughout the State. Each successive Governor of the State called the attention of the Legislature to the subject. The reports of the State Superintendent informed the public of its progress, and at nearly every session the Legislature made some modifications of the school laws of the State. "Advancement," no doubt, was made, though slowly, and often painfully, interrupted at times by discouraging retrogressions. The plague of political partisanship in the appointment, continuance, and removal of State Superintendents was a serious impediment, as was also the lack of more thorough local supervision than could be obtained through the political machinery

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of the several townships. The proceeds of the School Fund distributed to the various school districts, which required also local taxation to an equal amount, all of which must be used exclusively in paying teachers' wages, operated favorably in securing the establishment and maintenance of schools in nearly all the districts in the State; but since the examination and employment of teachers, and the provision of school-houses and their equipments, and the direction of affairs generally, were devolved upon the local school authorities, and paid for at their own expense, they were often of a kind not best adapted to promote the ends aimed at in the maintenance of public schools. During these years the State enjoyed the services of four most excellent officers as State Superintendents of Common Schools. Gideon Hawley, appointed in 1813, and removed purely on political grounds in 1820, was the practical organizer of the system, and during the eight years of his administration the schools of the State grew to a degree of efficiency that fully justified the system as capable of accomplishing the purpose for which it had been devised. Mr. Randall makes this record of his labors and their results, which not only renders due honor to a faithful and philanthropic public servant, but also presents the actual *status* of the schools in 1820:

To no individual in the State are the friends of common-school education more deeply indebted for the impulse given to the cause in its infancy than to GIDEON HAWLEY. At a period when every thing depended upon organization, upon supervision, upon practical acquaintance with the most minute details of the system, and upon a patient, persevering, laborious process of exposition, he united in himself all the requisites for the efficient discharge of the high functions devolved upon him by the Legislature. From a state of anarchy and confusion and complete disorganization within a period of less than eight years arose, chiefly through his exertions and abilities, a complete and stately fabric, based upon the most impregnable foundations, sustained by an enlightened public sentiment, fortified by the best and most enduring affections of the people, and cherished as the safeguard of the State, the true palladium of its greatness and prosperity. Within this brief period the number of school districts had doubled, and the proportion of children annually participating in the blessings of elementary instruction increased from 140,000 to 304,000, and from four fifths to nineteen twentieths of the whole number of suitable age residing in the State. . . . The foundations of a noble and permanent system of popular education were strongly and securely laid, and we are now, after the lapse of half a century, witnessing the magnificent

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superstructure which has been gradually upbuilt on those foundations.—Pp. 35, 36.

Soon after Mr. Hawley's removal the duties of State Superintendent of Common Schools were devolved upon the Secretaries of State — from 1821 to 1826, John Van Ness Yates; from 1826 to 1833, Azariah C. Flagg; and from 1833 to 1839, John A. Dix—all of them illustrious names in the State's annals. During this period the School Fund was enlarged, and various changes made in the methods of administration, but the system remained substantially unchanged. From 1839 to 1845, which our author styles the period of "Advancement," John C. Spencer and Samuel Young were successively State Superintendents. It was the time when the "sectarian" agitation first became a disturbing force in the school system of the State, intensified by Mr. Seward's recommendation in favor of admitting Church schools, and especially those of the Roman Catholics, to participate in the proceeds of the State School Funds, which, in its ulterior results, has effected the legal secularization of the public schools. The fourth period, from 1845 to 1854, was that of "The Free-School Campaign," during which Nathaniel S. Benton, Christopher Morgan, and Henry S. Randall successively occupied the office of State Superintendent. The policy of giving education in all the public schools of the State without expense to all comers began to be agitated. In October, 1845, the Onondaga County Teachers' Institute declared, by a formal resolution, that "We maintain that every human being has a right to intellectual and moral education, and that it is the duty of the Government to provide the means of such education to every child under its jurisdiction," and with this key-note the campaign was opened. Six months later a State Convention of County Superintendents, at Herkimer, declared in their report "that it is not only a duty, but a wise policy, to adopt the free-school system throughout the length and breadth of the entire State;" and the next year the State Convention of County Superintendents took up the subject and discussed it with great warmth and ability, and with a strong expression in favor of free education in all the public schools. In the State Convention called to revise the Constitution in 1846 the attempt was made, but unsuccessfully, to incorporate a provision in favor

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of making the common schools of the State free, instead of which the ninth article of the State Constitution as it now stands was adopted, which provides that—

> The capital of the Common-School Fund, the capital of the Literature Fund, and the capital of the United States Deposite Fund, shall respectively be preserved inviolate. The revenue of said Common-School Fund shall be applied to the support of common schools, the revenue of said Literature Fund shall be applied to the support of academies, and the sum of $25,000 of the revenue of the United States Deposite Fund shall each year be appropriated to and made a part of the capital of the said Common-School Fund.

Thus ended for the present the free-school movement in unsuccess, but the scheme was not abandoned by its friends, and in 1849 an "Act Establishing Free Schools throughout the State" was passed by the Legislature, which declared all the common schools free to all persons residing in the district over five and under twenty-one years of age, with the necessary provisions for raising, by taxes levied upon the property in each county, township, and school district, the amount necessary, in addition to the proceeds of the Common-School Fund, to pay the expenses of the schools in the several districts. Although the principle of free education had been sanctioned by a large majority of the votes given at the general election of the previous year, yet this new law experienced a most decided opposition immediately after its enactment, and the next Legislature was overwhelmed with petitions for its repeal. The friends of free schools were also awake, and at a State Convention in July they re-asserted the doctrine of the right and necessity of free education for all the children of the State at the expense of the property of the State. In a report read by Mr. Greeley, and adopted by the Convention, it was shown that the arguments used against the new law applied logically against any system of education under the auspices of the State, or in any degree at the public expense, as directly as against this particular enactment. It was argued:

> The citadel of the opponents of this law is that "It is wrong to tax one man to educate another's children," unless it be the children of absolute paupers. This assumption, if conceded, is fatal not to the free schools merely, but to any common-school system whatever. If elementary education be properly and only a parental duty, then the State should leave it wholly to the voluntary and

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unassisted efforts and combinations of parents; then the taxation of a district to build a school-house is a usurpation and extortion. . . . We abide consistently by the principles on which only can any public provision for education be justified, [that is, that the property of the State may be carefully used to any desirable extent for the education of the children of the State.] They stop half way, and in so doing condemn their own course in coming so far.

The Roman Catholics, finding they could not control the schools, nor divide the funds in favor of their own schools, declared earnestly against the new law, and the principle having been resubmitted to a vote of the people, the "Freeman's Journal," of New York city, speaking in behalf of the Catholic hierarchy, raised the cry for repeal, first, of the State free-school law, and, next, to follow this up by repealing the free-school laws of the city. But the frankness with which the ground of this opposition was confessed was not probably the most politic. "In no place," says the writer, "under no circumstances, is there any duty so urgently pressing on our Catholic people as that of having schools subject to the clergy, and where the earnest command of the Sovereign Pontiff, our Holy Father, Pius IX., may be carried out." A Convention of the opponents of the free-school-law, which was held in the southern part of the State, also very earnestly opposed the whole system of free education. It was first of all "*Resolved*, That it is not upon the *details* of the law that we base our opposition. We stand upon first principles. We say that if the life of the free schools depends upon the taking of one man's property for the purpose of educating another man's children . . . they ought not to exist by such support." The argument that had been used against the opponents of the free-school law by its supporters, that the logical results of their assumed principles would prove fatal to any school system established by law, was accepted by this Convention, which "*Resolved*, That *all compulsory* school establishments are as oppressive as Church establishments, and no arguments can be offered in support of the former that are not equally applicable to the latter." The vote of the people, to whose decision the subject had been again submitted, resulted in a decided majority in favor of the law; but the vote was so distributed as to indicate a wide-spread opposition to it. The large cities, in which free schools were already established,

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voted for it very largely, but no less than forty-two of the fifty-nine counties of the State gave majorities against it, amounting in the aggregate to nearly fifty thousand. The result was a divided victory. The obnoxious free-school law was modified by the next Legislature, and the odious "rate bills" restored in a mitigated form; but the friends of free education felt that they had gained a substantial, though incomplete, victory, and could afford to wait for a future opportunity to finish their work. Nor were they compelled to wait very long; the logic of the whole system was in their favor, and at length—though not absolutely till 1867—the last vestige of the old "pay" system disappeared, and the great State of New York decreed that THE COMMON SCHOOLS IN ITS SEVERAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS SHALL BE FREE TO ALL PERSONS OF PROPER AGE RESIDING IN THE DISTRICT, like the air or the sunlight. The funds requisite for this purpose were provided for, in addition to the relatively small amounts received from the State funds, chiefly by a tax of one tenth of one per cent. on all the ratable property of the State, and such additional county, town, and district taxes as should be found requisite to meet the demands of each case. To the pupils attending the schools their whole appointments were as free as the highways over which they passed from their homes to the school-houses.

From that position there is probably no other disposition to go back than such as arises from certain ecclesiastical influences, which are opposed to the whole system of education by the State. The conflict in that direction is probably not yet ended; and though it is carried on in the interests of the most extreme Romanism, yet its most formidable supporters are found among the evangelical Protestant Churches. But the result can hardly become problematical. The same inexorable logic that brought about free education in spite of the opposition of cupidity or narrowness of mental vision, will also triumph over both sectarian bigotry and well-meaning, but mistaken, zeal for religion and morality.

The matter of religious exercises and teaching in the public schools of the State has long been and continues to be a fruitful subject of controversy, and it may be considered above all others the disturbing element in the public mind in respect to our system of popular education. In 1805, seven years before

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the founding of the State common-school system, the Free-School Society of the City of New York was founded and incorporated, under the patronage of some of the principal citizens; and, though not ostensibly a religious organization, it permitted some degree of both religious exercises and religious teaching in its schools. In the early distribution of State funds this Society was made the recipient of a large part of that allotted to the city of New York. Under the general school act of 1812 the schools of this Society were recognized as entitled to their distributive share of the School Fund, as were also certain designated charity schools, and also "such incorporated religious societies in said city as supported or should establish charity schools, who might apply for the same, the distribution to be made in proportion to the number of pupils *on register*." This incautious and unguarded provision presently led to trouble. Several religious bodies, Protestant and Roman Catholic, at once sought to participate in the State's bounty, and their claims were allowed. But in 1822 the Bethel Baptist Church, through their pastor, Rev. Jonathan Chase—a name rather notorious than illustrious in the religious annals of the city—procured the passage of an act by the State Legislature, authorizing them to expend any surplus of their funds received from the State, beyond the payment of teachers' wages, in the erection and maintenance of additional schools, a privilege before granted to the Free-School Society. To this the latter Society earnestly objected, as likely to diminish their portion of the public funds, and to interfere with their special mission as patrons of free education in the city, and a warm controversy was the result. The Legislature was asked to interpose its authority in favor of the Free-School Society, but it only referred the whole matter to the Common Council, with full powers to dispose of it according to their own best judgment. Before that body appeared, on the one hand, the representatives of some of the chief religious bodies of the city, including Pastor Chase; and on the other, as representatives of the Free-School Society, a committee from its trustees, namely, Colonel Henry Rutgers, Peter A. Jay, Cadwallader D. Colden, and Stephen Allen. By these it was contended—

That the principles by which all legislation on this subject had heretofore been guided were palpably infringed, and a fund

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designed for civil purposes exclusively diverted to the support of religious institutions. The Committee of the Common Council, deeming the School Fund of the State *purely of a civil character, designed for civil purposes*, and that the intrusting of it to religious or ecclesiastical bodies was a violation of an elementary principle in the politics of the State and country, reported against the further distribution of any portion of the School Fund to the schools of religious societies, and recommended that hereafter only the schools of the Free-School Society, Mechanics' Society, orphan asylum, and African schools, should share in the public funds; which was unanimously adopted by the Common Council.

The clauses in the foregoing paragraph put in italics are especially significant of the views, not only of those who used them, but of the people of the whole city and State. They were also prophetic of the future policy of the State in its relations to Church organizations, and also, perhaps, in respect to "orphan asylums."

The religious question in the public school now slumbered for about eight years, when it came up again in a shape to illustrate and determine, by an important precedent, the precise limits to which the school system of the State might go in its co-operation with religious associations. In 1833 the "Roman Catholic Benevolent Society" applied for a participation in the public funds by the school in their orphan asylum. At the same time, and probably to checkmate the movements of the Catholics, the trustees of the charity school of the Methodist Episcopal Church presented a similar claim. We avail ourselves of our author's comprehensive statement of the case as a felicitous presentation of the whole subject, and of the principles evolved in its discussion and settlement:

The trustees of the Public-School Society promptly interposed a remonstrance against this demand, alleging that the Roman Catholic Benevolent Society was a close corporation, all of whose members were of the Catholic religion; that the education given in the asylum was strictly sectarian; that its participation in the School Fund would necessarily involve compulsory contributions from taxpayers conscientiously opposed to such instruction; that the decision of the Common Council in 1825, based, as it was clearly and explicitly, on the principle that the public-school money should be exclusively consecrated to the purposes of secular education, and should on no account be diverted to sectarian uses, had been deemed on all hands a final settlement of the question; that the mere fact of orphanage constituted no distinction between the claims of the Catholic and other religious organ-

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izations, as this class of children was provided for by all, and each denomination possessed equal claims in this respect upon the public funds; that such an appropriation would lead to an extensive system of religious proselytism, at variance with public policy; and that, whatever claims the asylum might possess to the generous sympathy and charitable support of the community, such benevolence should be exercised by private individuals and through voluntary contributions, instead of compulsory levies upon a common fund specifically appropriated to a distinct object. On the other hand, it was urged by the Catholic claimants that their right to participate in the advantages of the school-money was, at least, in every way equal to that of the Protestant Orphan Asylum, which had been admitted, under the decision and settlement referred to, to a distributive portion of the fund, and had for many years enjoyed its benefits; that while this institution was purely and distinctively Protestant in its management, its instruction, and its usages, no complaint had been made by any portion of the community, the Catholics included, against a provision so obviously beneficent and proper; that they only claimed to be placed upon a footing of just equality with their Protestant brethren in this regard; and that, while ample provision had been made for the general support, clothing, maintenance, and care, in sickness and in health, of these otherwise friendless and destitute little ones, by private and associated charity, their instruction was equally the duty of the State and city with that of others who had been officially recognized as its beneficiaries. They, therefore, called upon the Common Council to see that these unquestionable rights were no longer withheld. These incontrovertible views were sustained by that body, as in full accordance with the cardinal principles of the ordinance of 1825, recognizing the peculiar claims of *orphan asylums* as a justifiable—and the only justifiable—exception to the general principle, that the public school moneys were applicable only to secular instruction. In conformity, however, with this general principle, the petition of the Methodist Church was denied, and the claim of the Common Council to the exclusive right of distribution of the School Fund of the city abandoned in favor of the Commissioners. The Methodists immediately renewed their claim in behalf of the *orphan* children attending their Church schools, but the Common Council by a unanimous vote decided that exceptions to the fundamental rule of distribution could be allowed *only in the case of those who had no other home than an orphan asylum.*

The points determined in this case were that schools under the direction of ecclesiastical or other voluntary associations, for children abiding at their own homes, cannot participate in the public funds, since they are already provided for in the public schools; but schools kept in asylums for children "who had no other home" might receive such aid. The decision in

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favor of the claim of the Roman Catholics and against that of the Methodists was eminently wise in its discrimination and just in its determination. The precedent then made should never have been lost sight of or departed from. In his report as State Superintendent, in 1838, John A. Dix, now Governor of the State, made some valuable suggestions respecting the subject of moral and religious instruction in the public schools. We give the two last paragraphs, as especially valuable in their suggestions:

Moral cultivation should, therefore, be one of the first objects of common-school instruction. The great doctrines of ethics, so far as they concern the practical rules of human conduct, receive the intuitive assent of all; and with them may be combined instruction in those principles of natural religion which are drawn from the observation of the works of nature, which address themselves with the same certainty to the conviction, and which carry to the minds of all observers irresistible evidence of the wisdom, the beneficence, and the power of their Divine Author. Beyond this it is questionable whether instruction in matters of religious obligation can be carried, excepting so far as the school districts may make the Bible and New Testament class-books; and there can be no ground of apprehension that the schools will be used for the purpose of favoring any particular sect or tenet if these sacred writings, which are their own safest interpreters, are read without any other comment than such as may be necessary to explain and enforce, by familiar illustration, the lessons of duty which they teach. In connection with this subject it is highly gratifying to consider that the religious institutions of the country, reaching, as they do, the most sequestered neighborhoods, and the Sabbath-schools, which are almost as widely diffused, afford ample means of instruction in the principles and practice of the Christian faith. In countries where ecclesiastical affairs are the subject of political regulation there is no difficulty in making religious instruction the foundation of education by arrangements independent of the action of those whom it immediately concerns. But the policy of our law is to leave the subject where it may most properly be left—*with the officers and inhabitants of the school districts.*

The last sentence of the above extract unquestionably gives the key for the solution of this whole vexed question of religious exercises, or Bible-reading, in our public schools.

With the accession of Mr. Seward to the office of Governor of the State of New York the religious controversy broke out anew, and for several years raged with great violence. In his first message, reviewing the condition of the common-school

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system in the State, he spoke of the condition of "children of foreigners in the populous cities and towns" who were, he declared, "deprived of the advantages of our system of public education in consequence of prejudices arising from differences of language or religion." He therefore declared, in language that has become historic, "I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith."

There could be no misunderstanding of the purport of this recommendation, and nobody supposed that the matter of "language" had any thing to do with the "prejudice" which was to be placated, for nearly all the "foreigners" referred to used the English language. It simply meant that the Roman Catholic parochial schools in the city of New York should be allowed their proportionate share of the public money. So both Catholics and Protestants understood it. But though the Legislature hesitated to give effect to the Governor's recommendation, the language of the message awakened an earnest and somewhat acrimonious discussion of the matter, especially in the city of New York. The next year the Governor returned to the subject with evidently increased interest, not unmixed with some little exasperation, devoting a considerable share of his message to its discussion, partly in explanation of his position, and partly in re-affirming at greater length substantially all he had hinted at in his previous message. He thus epitomizes his plans and purposes in a closing paragraph:

> To me the most interesting of all our republican institutions is the common school. I seek not to disturb in any manner its peaceful and assiduous exercises, and least of all with contentions about faith or forms. I desire the education of all the children in the commonwealth in morality and virtue, leaving matters of conscience where, according to the principles of civil and religious liberty established by our Constitution and laws, they rightfully belong.

Mr. John C. Spencer, who was acting Superintendent of Common Schools at that time, entered fully into Governor Seward's views in respect to the religious question in the schools, which, indeed, became to some extent an element in the political platform of the then dominant party of the State. In his report to the Legislature (1841) Mr. Spencer enters into

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an elaborate argument in favor of the proposed measure, insisting that our schools are, and ought to be, propagators of religious opinions, and, therefore, inferring that there should be schools to meet the religious opinions and prejudices of all classes of religionists in the State. He proceeds:

> To this plan objections have been made that it would enable different religious denominations to establish schools of a sectarian character, and that thereby religious dissensions would be aggravated if not generated. It is believed to have been satisfactorily shown that there must be some degree of religious instruction, and that there can be none without partaking more or less of a sectarian character; and that even the Public-School Society has not been able, and cannot expect to be able, to avoid the imputation. The objection itself proceeds on a sectarian principle, and assumes the power to control that which it is neither right nor practicable to subject to any domination. Religious doctrines of vital interest will be inculcated, not as theological exercises, but incidentally, in the course of literary and scientific instruction; and who will undertake to prohibit such instruction?

This controversy in a particular manner affected the city of New York, because that city contained a large Roman Catholic population, and also on account of the anomalous position in which the schools in that city were placed by the exceptional legislation in respect to them. *The Public-School Society*, which was made the chief agency through which the State provisions for popular schools were dispensed, though not in form a religious body, was in fact, by virtue of its relations and methods, a Protestant corporation, and therefore the Romanists disliked it; and under the leadership of Bishop Hughes a determined onset was made against it and in favor of their own parochial schools, into which not less than eight thousand children had been gathered. Acting simultaneously, and in real, if not by prearranged, concert with the State Government, the Romanists of New York in 1840 applied for an equal participation by their schools with those of the Public-School Society in the State funds. The fact that that Society was virtually a Protestant institution, and that it was a self-governing corporation, (though its schools were subjected to the most thorough supervision by the State authorities,) were points that made strongly against it in the controversy; and as both the political parties in the Legislature were solicitous to please the Roman Catholics, it is not strange that its positions could not be successfully

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maintained. But the settlement was not as the Romanists desired. They would not have objected to the Protestant character of those schools could they have been allowed equal privileges. But, instead of such a division of the funds, the school law of the State was made to apply to the city as to all other parts of the State—except that the schools of the Public-School Society were, till some years later, left under its own special charge, while all new ones were to be "ward schools," to be held and governed by trustees elected by the people. By this and subsequent acts, by which at length the Public-School Society ceased to exist, the religious question was at least partially quieted, though, as will be seen, the seeds of conflict were still retained. Nor are they yet entirely removed, since the law as it now stands provides, after forbidding in the most sweeping terms the teaching of "the religious doctrines of any particular Christian or other religious sect," that "Nothing herein contained shall authorize the Board of Education to *exclude the* HOLY SCRIPTURES *without note or comment, or any selection therefrom*, from any school provided for in this act." This whole attempt at legislation in favor of incompatible opinions and interests could result only in confusion, nor could it fail to be productive of discord and dissatisfaction. The only shred of the religious question retained by law was in the above provision in respect to the use of the Bible in the schools of New York city. As to all other parts of the State the law was entirely silent on the subject, and so left the practice in each case to be determined by the local school officers, or by the preferences of the people in their several districts. And yet this trifling matter was sufficient to keep open the controversy.

The policy into which the State had fairly settled, of maintaining its own schools in every part, and of giving its funds to no others, effectually debarred the Roman Catholic schools from their coveted share of the public funds. They accordingly inveighed against the Bible-reading as an offense against their consciences to which they could not submit, and attempted to raise the cry of Protestant propagandism in the schools. The insincerity of the pretense was patent, but in the absence of any thing better it served its purpose. On the other hand, not a few Protestants, with more zeal than wis-

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dom, began to manifest increased interest in the use of the Bible in the common schools, and at one time the most violent protestations against its exclusion might be heard in political harangues from lips not unused to other than the purest forms of speech. In a Convention of County Superintendents for the State held in 1845 the subject was canvassed with much warmth and real ability by some of the best friends of public education in the State. Professor Potter, of Union College, (afterward Bishop of Pennsylvania,) took an active part in the discussion, and while insisting upon the value of the Bible as the best possible exponent of sacred morality, and expressing a strong desire that it should be introduced into all the schools of the State, qualified his position with the caution that "the time and manner in which this object is to be accomplished is a question which ought to be decided by the inhabitants of the districts; and that in all measures for the promotion of moral and religious culture in schools sacred regard ought to be had for the rights, and tenderness manifested toward the scruples and prejudices, of all." This was earnestly opposed as fatal to morality and religion, among others, and most earnestly, by Dr. D. M. Reese, of New York, who for several years filled the office of County Superintendent, who declared, among other things, that "if we tamely surrender the Bible at the clamorous bidding of those who would drive it from our schools, we shall soon see it driven from our Churches also"—the relevancy of which is not so apparent.

Dr. Potter, in reply, observed that he advocated the introduction of the Bible into all the schools, as soon as practicable by *persuasion*, but not by *compulsion;* that the superintendents and others should *recommend* its introduction, but not *exact* it; that the superintendents, as officers, were merely advisory ones; that no resolutions of theirs would be compulsory, but that all measures of this nature must, after all, be referred to the people as the proper tribunal to decide upon them. . . . In the city of New York its use was provided for by a law of the State. No such law existed in respect to the country; and in its absence it was almost too obvious for argument that the people—the inhabitants of the several districts—were the proper arbiters in the premises. The resolution affirmed the great desirableness of introducing the Scriptures where they were not now used, and declares the inhabitants to be the proper judges as to the time and manner of such introduction. Was not this better and wiser than coercive legislation—more in harmony with the genius of our institutions

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and the spirit of the common-school system? That system made the people the governors of the schools in the several districts. The State Superintendent had only an appellate jurisdiction; the County Superintendents were only advisory officers. The whole theory of the system involved the idea that the people were to administer it—the State, through its officers, acting the part of patron and supervisor. For a country like ours was not this better than the centralized absolutism of Prussia or Austria, where the people do little for education and the government almost every thing? . . . When proper prudence was used no objection would usually be encountered, and the objections of a small portion of the inhabitants would by no means render it the duty of the majority to resolve upon exclusion. Wise and good men would, however, always be more anxious to subdue opposition by kindness and persuasion than to overthrow it by the mere force of majorities. They would bide their time.

If they were unable to secure the introduction of the Bible peaceably they would wait, consoled in the mean time by the reflection that through the singing and reading books in the schools, the example and precepts of the teacher, as well as through the daily discipline, they could do much for moral and religious culture, even though the Bible were not read in school hours. It was an end which they would keep steadily in view, but there was a still higher end which could still be attained—even that for which the Bible itself was given—the imparting of its influences and principles through the inculcations of living expounders of its truths. *Nor should we, in discussing this subject, overlook the aid we derive in this good and great work from the clergy, from Sunday-schools and Bible-classes, and from parental instruction.*

It is the office of enlightened and liberal minds like Dr. Potter to seize upon great truths and to follow them out to their logical results; while inferior ones, though equally well disposed, are stumbling among half-truths and stopping midway in their courses. Nearly every important element of the question at issue in the discussions of the present time is noticed and disposed of in the extract just given. The value of the Bible as a religious teacher is conceded, and, therefore, the desirableness of its use in the schools; but equally on grounds of right and expediency he objects to compulsory measures in the case. Coercive legislation for the promotion of religion is opposed to the genius of our institutions. If the Bible cannot be peaceably used in schools where all classes have the same rights, it were better to submit to its disuse than to embroil and thus destroy the schools; but in such a case all moral instruction is not necessarily excluded, for the

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books used and the examples and precepts of the teachers will still be effective teachers of duty; and, above all, though the schools, like the work-shops, and the farms, and the political and social gatherings of the people, are without formal religious services, yet those attending such schools are not necessarily without religious instruction and exercises. The Churches, the Sunday-schools, the Bible-classes, and, best of all, the Christian families, are still available and abundantly sufficient for that which the school can at best perform only very partially, and which as usually attempted is scarcely to be preferred to their entire disuse.

When the common-school system was ordained by law for the whole State, though the conditions necessary for the working of such a system were not in existence, yet for some of the most important of them no provision was attempted. In the course of a very few years there was a demand for several thousand school teachers, which certainly were not to be improvised in adequate numbers, or with the requisite qualifications. The want of competent teachers has been, and still is, a weak point in the practical working of the common-school system of the State. A legal arrangement for the maintenance of such schools, although it might carry with it the necessary pecuniary provisions, among a people who knew nothing of what they should be, would almost necessarily fail of success, and especially so if the teachers were little better qualified than the multitude about them. From the beginning down to the present time, the constant complaint has been for a better class of teachers for the common schools; and though, doubtless, great improvements have been made, it is the chief practical defect of the system. The reason for all this is obvious, but the remedy is not easily found out. The wages paid to teachers in most of the schools in the State are less than persons having the necessary qualifications can earn in other pursuits; and while this is the case, it must be impossible to raise the calling of common-school teachers to a permanent and self-respecting profession. The recognition of this want led, at an early date, to efforts to supply the lack. In his annual message in 1826, Governor De Witt Clinton called attention to the subject, and the words of wisdom he then used are scarcely less pertinent at this day than they were

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then. The time allowed to each child and youth as the school age would suffice, under a proper teacher, to bring him well along in a course of elementary and somewhat advanced education, but to secure that end there must be a sufficient number of teachers capable of so advancing their pupils; and yet it cannot be denied that very many of those teaching these schools are able to instruct in only the lowest rudiments. A seminary for the education of teachers was named as the remedy, with a semblance of confidence in its sufficiency that indicates the entire sincerity of the recommendation; and this is coupled with the no less important suggestion that a more thorough system of *visitorial oversight* was necessary to the successful working of the system. The Literature Committee of the Senate, headed by its chairman, Hon. J. C. Spencer, appears to have entirely agreed with the Governor as to the need of better qualified teachers, but was scarcely so sanguine as to the efficiency of the proposed remedy. The difficulty was shown to consist not altogether in the want of a sufficient number of persons in the community duly qualified for school teachers, but rather in the want of the means and the disposition among the people to make their services available. The Literature Committee of the Senate in their report, through their Chairman, Hon. J. C. Spencer, say, with much directness and force: .

From the observation of the Committee, and from the best information they can obtain, they are persuaded that the greatest evils now existing in the system are the want of competent teachers, and the indisposition of the trustees of districts to incur the expense of employing those who are competent when they can be obtained. It is a lamentable fact that, from a mistaken economy, the cheapest teachers, whether male or female, and generally the latter, are employed in many of the districts for three fourths of the year, and a competent instructor is provided only for one quarter, and sometimes not at all, during the year. Teachers are licensed by town inspectors, themselves generally and necessarily incompetent to determine upon the qualifications of candidates, and willing to sanction such as the trustees feel able or disposed to employ. This is essentially wrong; and the State, which contributes so large a portion of the compensation of the teacher, has a right to direct its application in such a way as to effect the object of procuring useful instruction. The remedy must be found in the organization of some local board vested with the authority of licensing teachers and of revoking the license, and charged

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with a general superintendence of the schools within the prescribed limits. The division of the State into counties affords a convenient distribution of territory for this purpose.

In respect to the proposed seminary for teachers, the Committee appear to have had a more adequate conception of its insufficiency for the purpose intended than the Governor. They say:

It is obvious that the suggestion of the Governor in his message, respecting the establishment of an institution especially for the purpose of educating teachers, will not answer the exigencies of the case. It is entitled to much weight, however, as a means, in conjunction with others, to effect the object. But in the view which the committee have taken, our great reliance for nurseries of teachers must be placed in our colleges and academies.

And while thus recognizing the availability of the colleges and academies of the State for the purpose indicated, the Committee strongly urged a more liberal policy on the part of those institutions, in respect to students pursuing the English and scientific branches, as distinguished from the classical, than had been their wont.

Governor Marcy, who was at the head of the State Government from 1833 to 1839, with John A. Dix acting as Superintendent of Common Schools, entered fully into the school question with marked zeal and liberality of purpose. The acting Superintendent was admirably fitted for his work, both by his tastes and the breadth of his views on all matters affecting the welfare of society, though evidently he had much to learn as to the practical working of the system with the oversight and direction of which he was charged. Of the needs and the difficulties connected with the matter of securing a proper supply of competent teachers, Mr. Randall very fairly presents the case as it then appeared:

With respect to the preparation of teachers for the common schools, General Dix concurred generally in the views of his predecessor: that the several academies of the State, aided by liberal appropriations for this purpose from the Literature Fund, would be found abundantly adequate to the accomplishment of the object in view; that the establishment of teachers' seminaries, devoted exclusively to this subject, would be impracticable, without at the same time requiring the district to employ such teachers when prepared, and to provide them with an adequate

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compensation, neither of which measures would for a moment be tolerated; and that the *demand* on the part of the districts for teachers of a higher degree of qualification will be met by a corresponding *supply* from the academies, whenever sufficient inducements are held out to the latter to devote a large portion of their attention to the preparation of such teachers. An enlightened appreciation on the part of the inhabitants of districts generally of the functions and duties of teachers; a determination to secure the highest order of ability, and to provide a suitable compensation; and a disposition to elevate the character and advance the social rank of the teacher, by assigning him that station in the regards of the community which is due to the dignity and utility of his profession—these were regarded as indispensable prerequisites to the success of any system which contemplates the specific preparation of teachers.

The hinderances to the full success of the common-school system as here glanced at are those of to-day. Good schools require good teachers; good teachers require moderately good pay and constant employment, and these the district officials will not grant. A year or two later Mr. Superintendent Dix, following out the Governor's earnest recommendation for the adoption of some suitable provision for supplying competent teachers, and for improving the instruction given in the common schools of the State, turned his attention especially to that subject. A valuable suggestion is given in respect to the community of interest among the various grades of school institutions in the State, and the wisdom of cherishing the higher with especial reference to their beneficial influence on the lower:

It may not be improper to remark in this place that the necessary connection which exists between our common schools and the literary institutions of the State, including those of the highest grade, has been too frequently overlooked. The academies have already been in effect, without receiving from the State any direct pecuniary aid for the purpose, nurseries for common-school teachers. The great body of those who have either temporarily or permanently devoted themselves to teaching have been prepared at the academies with a view to that occupation or to some professional employment. The instructors of the academies have, in their turn, been educated in the colleges; and but for the latter or some other system of classical and scientific education, the academies would obviously be destitute of the necessary supply of tutors. Thus all our incorporate literary institutions minister to the improvement of the common-school system, on which the great body of the people are dependent for their education.

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The practical measure proposed to carry out these suggestions was that one academy in each of the eight senatorial districts should be selected, in which there should be a special teacher's course maintained, and for which each should receive four hundred dollars from the Literature Fund of the State. The measure, no doubt, resulted in good, as does any measure tending to advance learning, and especially to allure into learned pursuits any of those who otherwise would have remained uneducated; but as a means for supplying teachers for the common schools its effects were necessarily scarcely appreciable. After a few years' trial a thorough inspection of the working of the plan was made by a Committee headed by Dr. Potter, one of the best and ablest promoters of education ever produced in this State, whose report, though on the whole favorable, still conceded both its defectiveness and its inadequacy. That report is especially notable for two suggestions made in it. The first outlines briefly the apprentice or "pupil teacher" system—a subject that demands much more attention than it has received in this country, while in England it is relied upon as the one agency through which the system of primary instruction can be maintained. The second suggestion gives the original draft of our normal school system as it now exists, with certain suggestions in reference to securing for the schools of the State the services of those whom the State has educated for teachers—this last being precisely the point at which our normal-school system now so evidently fails. Dr. Potter remarks:

> In Prussia and France normal schools are supported at the public expense; most of the pupils receive both board and tuition gratuitously; but at the close of the course they give bonds to refund the whole amount received unless they teach under the direction of the Government for a certain number of years. That such schools, devoted exclusively to the preparation of teachers, have some advantages over every other method, is sufficiently apparent from the experience of other nations; and it has occurred to me that as a supplementary to our present system the establishment of one in this State might be eminently useful. If placed under proper auspices and located near the capital, where it could enjoy the supervision of the Superintendent of Common Schools, and be visited by the Legislature, it might contribute in many ways to raise the tone of instruction throughout the State.

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A few years later, in a State Convention of County Superintendents, the subject of normal schools was very fully discussed, when Dr. Potter, while freely conceding the value of these institutions, earnestly insisted that they were not the sole agencies for that purpose, nor could they by any possibility supply the State with the necessary number of teachers. He was especially solicitous that the existing academies and seminaries of the State should be utilized for the benefit of the common schools; and since teachers are best made by being well taught, he considered every well-ordered academy really, though not formally, a training-school for teachers.

The normal-school policy has become fully engrafted upon the common-school system of the State, and it has grown to very large proportions. Some ten or twelve schools located in various parts of the State are in practical operation—in fact they are valuable academies supported by the State, and educating yearly some two thousand young persons of both sexes. We are not disposed to examine the details of expense very closely, since a grand end is reached in that so many young persons—most of whom would not otherwise be nearly so well taught—are thus educated into a high plane of moral and intellectual character. That the funds of the State are not in all cases the most wisely used is not improbable; but where the best possible cannot be had we must accept the best available. It is a good thing to raise up an educated body of young persons whose associations have always been with the common people, and whose poverty will compel them to accept such employment as they are qualified for, at such compensation as their services will command. Such young men from the normal schools will teach school for longer or shorter terms, using that calling as a stepping-stone to more permanent and better remunerating professions; and the young women so educated—and they make up the great majority of the whole—having less temptations toward other professions, will continue to teach longer than the men, unless, indeed, and that event is neither unlikely to occur nor yet to be deprecated, they shall be transferred from school-teaching for the public to housekeeping for themselves and their own families. We accept the system as likely to do good, but without the extravagant expectations that seem to have inspired some of

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its advocates. It will increase the number of educated persons, and some of them will be school-teachers for longer or shorter terms.

But the principal difficulty in this business of supplying the schools with teachers seems to have been persistently overlooked by those who have discussed the subject. *It is not so much in finding persons competent to teach as it is in offering them the necessary pecuniary inducements.* It cannot be expected that young men educated for teachers will continue in that calling when it pays less than other available positions, and opens up nothing better for the future. In a comparatively small proportion of the schools of the State—those in the cities and considerable towns—such wages may be paid to principal teachers as will justify a man in continuing in the profession; but in a large majority of the schools of the State that cannot be. Of the twelve thousand districts in the State probably two thirds are in rural regions, with a population each of two or three hundred, with from fifty to a hundred children of the school-going age. The wages for teachers in these schools will range from ten to fifty dollars a month—averaging less than half of the larger sum—and in a large share of them the schools are kept up just as few months as the law allows. For such schools educated and duly qualified teachers could not be had, though every county had its normal school supported by the State, and the community abounded with just the class of persons desired. While every department of skilled industry, down to the mechanic trades and shop-clerkships, command much higher wages than school-teaching, of course the teacher's calling must go begging, and accept such as can be commanded by its rates of payment. All that we usually find in the able discussions of our educationists, professional, political, or amateur, relate almost exclusively to the schools of the towns and cities; while the great body of the people reside in rural neighborhoods, and away from the conditions supposed in those learned essays and reports. How to provide competent teachers for the six or eight thousand schools scattered by the roadsides all over the State, among comparatively poor populations, most of whom have very faint notions of what constitutes a really good school, is a problem to which comparatively little attention has been devoted. The

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subject is not an inviting one, except as great need is always attractive to the truly benevolent or philanthropic. If, as was said by Governor Seward in respect to another point in this subject, "no system is perfect that does not accomplish what it proposes," and "our system is deficient in the proportion of the children it leaves uneducated," surely our system of public education is not yet *perfect*. A great and good work has been done by it in its career of three quarters of a century, but very much remains yet to be done before it will be true that a moderately good elementary education is placed within the reach of every child and youth in the State.

Any system of government is capitally defective that does not contain in itself the necessary provisions for executing its own purposes. At the first our system of popular education was little more than a project, for whose realization no adequate measures could then be adopted. But the ideal was set up toward which the community, legislatively and administratively, and, better still, by moral and social influences, has been steadily pressing. The providing of the requisite funds for its prosecution has proved to be the least difficult part of the problem to be solved, for we are richer in money than in the higher qualities of head and heart by which alone money can be made to serve its highest ends. Through much tribulation, and by the enlightened and liberal action of the best men in the State, our school system has pretty effectually got beyond the theological and ecclesiastical entanglements that so long and so painfully embarrassed it. But to give practical effect to the purposes of our wise and enlightened legislative and State administration in favor of popular education, there must be always and every-where a corresponding local administration of the system. No school law, however wise in its conception and minute in its details, can execute itself; that can be done only by those charged with its local administration. This fact was recognized from the first, and the execution of our school laws was given to the people of the several school districts and of the towns and townships through proper officers to be chosen by the people. But because nobody can do better than they know how, and very few of the people knew how a school should be managed, and fewer still how a public-school system should be worked, it is not at all strange that

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these multitudinous local democracies have not always wisely administered their schools. It was seen from the first that some kind of superintendency was necessary, and for sixty years past scarcely any other question has so much exercised the thoughts and perplexed the ingenuity of our wise men as that of providing an effective superintendency for our schools. The far-seeing mind of De Witt Clinton detected this, and spoke of the absolute necessity for "*a visitorial authority* for the purpose of detecting abuses in the application of the funds, of examining into the modes and plans of instruction, and of suggesting improvements;" and the idea thus briefly enunciated was further elaborated by Hon. J. C. Spencer, then a member of the State Senate. A law providing for county superintendents was afterward enacted, and a large number of able and devoted friends of education in the various counties of the State accepted the positions of County Superintendents, and rendered much valuable service; but from their limited powers and the comparatively little time that they could devote to the details of their duties, and especially because the work given to most of them was vastly more than one man could do, the local oversight of the County Superintendents was very little felt in the rural schools—just where something of the kind was especially needed. The town commissioners and inspectors of common schools, three each in each rural township, which for a long period of years had the charge of school affairs, proved in nearly all cases almost absolutely useless as a local superintendency. Still later the superintendency was increased by substituting assembly districts for counties as the constituency of each Superintendent, and in that shape the matter now stands. That the office as now administered is of great utility we are not disposed to deny; that it fails to do what ought to be done to quite as great an extent as it performs what is needful, nobody acquainted with the facts of the subject will think of denying. That a thoroughly effective system of visitorial superintendency is necessary to the practical effectiveness of the system, is affirmed or conceded by all who know the workings of the system; that the present plan of Assembly District Superintendents fails to afford that is obvious. Those districts have an average population of a little over thirty thousand, which, with an average of three school districts to

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a thousand people, would give a hundred schools to each superintendency. The amount of supervision that could be possibly given to each school can be faintly conceived of. It is, however, better than none at all by just as much as it is more than none. It must, however, of necessity fail of the desired results.

The plague of the school system all along has been its subjection to party politics. It might have been hoped at first that, with an interest so sacred, the harpies of the caucus and the hustings would not interfere; but that was quite too much to be realized. At its source it necessarily depends on the power of the State, but in its administration every thing like partisanship ought to be ignored. And yet in 1820, the "Council of Appointment," the great political guillotine of the State, under the Constitution of 1787–1821, removed Gideon Hawley, who had literally created the Common-School system as a practical reality, and managed it to universal satisfaction, simply because he was not of the same political complexion with the State Government. After that time, for a long series of years, the duties of State Superintendent were devolved upon the Secretary of State, whose office is purely political, to be changed with each change of power from one to the other party. The County Superintendents were appointed by the Boards of Supervisors of their several counties; and though at the first, to a very good degree, party politics were disregarded in the selections made, and a most valuable set of men put into the several superintendencies, yet very soon the spirit of party triumphed, and men were appointed with almost entire disregard of their fitness for the duties required, until such became the unpopularity of the office that its repeal was a necessity, though the necessity of such an arrangement as it contemplated was universally conceded; and that which afterward took its place, the Assembly District Superintendents, chosen by the people, is scarcely, if at all, better than the other. So also in the various arrangements of Commissioners and Inspectors chosen by the people in the townships and villages the same virus of partisanship appears, making their promises of public oversight a delusion and a snare.

Each school district is also made a self-governing democracy, for which the numerical majority of the voters may dictate

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a policy, and where an accidental or preconcerted majority in attendance at a school meeting, though only a minority of the whole of the people, may overturn the policy by which the better class of the district were laboring to render the school what it should be. With this vicious system of political management, it is wonderful that our common schools have prospered even as well as they have; their further improvement and elevation to the high level required by the necessities of the case demands their removal, as far as may be, from political machinations and the madness of petty democracies. The State needs a Central Board of Education, chosen originally by the Legislature without respect to parties, perhaps afterward filling its own vacancies, holding office during good behavior, and serving without compensation, into whose hands its educational interests should be given, with only the fewest limitations of power. These should nominate the local or district officers next below them, and then these yet lower down to the governing committees of the several school districts—all to serve without pay. A system of superintendency beginning with a chief officer at the seat of Government, and extending downward to each local subdivision, sufficiently numerously manned to secure efficiency, and kept at work by the local commissioners, makes up the ideal of a plan of common-school management for the State that might avoid some of the present evils, and remedy the glaring defects of that under which the State has so long suffered.

Having already exceeded the limits allowed us at the beginning, we must here stop in the middle of the subject taken in hand. Possibly we may return to it in a future number.

Art. II.—TISCHENDORF'S NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament: the Authorized English Version. With Introduction, and Various Readings from the Three Most Celebrated Manuscripts of the Original Greek Text. By Constantine Tischendorf. Tauchnitz Edition. Pp. 1,000. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston.

The history of this book, as one of the celebrated Tauchnitz Library, is briefly this: For the sake of making up a collection of some of the more valuable works in English and American literature in a uniform edition, Mr. Tauchnitz selected and

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issued, as the last and crowning volume of the series, the result of Professor Tischendorf's labors, on the basis of the authorized version of the New Testament, as they are found in the foot-notes in this volume. The notes are not of the nature of personal opinions nor comments. They consist of only the various readings as found in the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine manuscripts as far as they severally or unitedly differ from the common version, and for the sake of showing, as nearly as may be, just what the evangelists and apostles did write. "These three manuscripts undoubtedly stand at the head of all the ancient copies of the New Testament, and it is by their standard that both the early editions of the Greek text and the modern versions are to be compared. . . . The three great manuscripts alluded to differ from each other both in age and authority, and no one of them can be said to stand so high that its sole verdict is sufficient to silence all contradiction."*

The *Sinaitic Codex* was discovered by Professor Tischendorf, in parts, in 1844 and 1859, at the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. It contains the Old and New Testament—the latter perfect—as also the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas. It belongs to the middle of the fourth century; was probably one of the fifty copies which the Emperor Constantine, in A. D. 331, directed to be made for Byzantium, and thence sent to the monks of St. Catherine by the Emperor Justinian, who founded the convent. The relative ages of these three manuscripts are: the Sinaitic first, the Vatican next, the Alexandrine last. The Sinaitic agrees more nearly than the other two with the Itala, made in the second century; with the Syriac of the same date, and of late removed from the Nitrian Desert to the British Museum; and with the Coptic version of the third century, as also with the oldest of the Fathers.†

The *Vatican Codex* ‡ is a manuscript of nearly the entire Greek Bible, belongs to the library at Rome, and is assigned to the fourth century. How and where it was acquired by

* Tischendorf's Introduction, p. 9 † Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

‡ The name Vatican is from the hill on which the palace is built, and which itself is thought to be from *Vaticanus*, the god of the first rudiments of speech.—*Harper's Monthly*, July, 1872, p. 180.

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this library is not known, but it appears in the catalogue of 1475.*

"The *Alexandrine Codex* was presented to King Charles I. in 1628 by Cyril-Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, who brought it from Alexandria." † It is assigned to the middle of the fifth century, though the product in its present form of several transcribings from the fifth to the tenth centuries.

The attention of the reviewer was first called to this work by a gentleman who was at the time emerging from a life of skepticism as to the inspiration of the Scriptures and the truth of Christianity, and was therefore embarrassed by an allusion to the book which he found in "Appleton's Journal," as follows:

> The Tauchnitz edition of the New Testament, recently issued, is the first attempt to exhibit, in popular form, the additions to the original text that have crept into the ordinary editions of the Bible. These are more numerous than are usually supposed, and some of them are even startling. The whole narrative of the woman taken in adultery; the rebuke of Christ to those who wanted fire to be called down from heaven on the Samaritans, when they refused him entrance to their village; the appearance of the angel to Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane; the last twelve verses of the Gospel of St. Mark; the conversation of the Pharisees on the morning and evening sky; and many other equally characteristic passages, prove to be modern additions, and to have had no place in the original Gospels. In the Epistles some of the most frequently quoted verses are spurious. A doctrinal bias is manifest, as in changing "The Father" to "My Father." How these additional passages gained a place in the text is of course unknown, but it is surmised that they were marginal commentaries on the early manuscripts, which were mistaken by later copyists for the original text.‡

Though there are many other old manuscripts of great value, yet these three are thought to be the most reliable. The design of Professor Tischendorf is not to invalidate the Holy Scriptures, nor to depreciate their authority, much less to embarrass ordinary readers, but to show the variations of the authorized version from the above described manuscripts. §

* Introduction, p. 10. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, Art., New Testament, p. 714.

† Introduction, p. 11.

‡ The substance of our reply to these several points, which we made to our friend, will be found in their places in this article.

§ Tischendorf's Introduction, pp. 10, 11.

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Their design is laudable, and is welcomed by all Christian scholars, some of whom are ever busily at work comparing manuscripts, noting their variations, and compiling corrected editions of the New Testament. They each and all rejoice in the fact that, however many and great are the variations, the manuscripts essentially agree. These various readings arose in this way: From the time of the original publication of the Gospels and Epistles down to the invention of printing—a period of fourteen hundred years—the only way of multiplying copies for general use was by transcribing them. As every copyist knows, this was a precarious method. Letters were liable to be exchanged, omitted, or improperly inserted; syllables to be transposed, words to be misspelled, and clauses to be left out or repeated, but not the *same* by different copyists. But the existence of many manuscripts, and the comparing of them by jealous and watchful scholars and by sectarists, tended strongly to prevent the introduction of new matter, as well as the omission of important truths and facts. The various readings arose, therefore, in the same manner as did those under the labors of the literati of Greece and Rome in multiplying copies of their classics; and, indeed, are far less important, because of the better religious qualifications of the transcribers of the Bible.* It is the life-work of some biblical scholars to examine and compare manuscripts, and to arrange the results of their labors into "corrected and revised editions." And they agree in saying "that the sacred writings have not, in any essential thing, been obscured or hurt by all the changes which have been passed upon the original text."

The first complete and critical edition of the Greek New Testament in one volume was by the learned Erasmus in 1516, and was made up of, and founded on, four other Greek manuscripts, aided by the writings of the Greek Fathers and by the Vulgate. The history of the ENGLISH BIBLE is briefly this: Early copies of the New Testament in Saxon were made in Great Britain, and into what is called the Anglo-Saxon, from the original Greek. It is a generally current tradition that Joseph of Arimathea was sent to that country by the Evangelist Philip about A. D. 61 or 63, and that he settled with his associates at Glastonbury, England; that he founded

* See Tischendorf's Introduction, pp. 8–16.

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a Church, built a house of worship on the spot where the Abbey of Glastonbury was afterward erected, the remains of which are still seen. Whatever was the language of that people, it is known that the old English is a composite of the Saxon, Celtic, Norman, and Latin, among which peoples Christianity was introduced in the first and second centuries. The copies taken by Joseph of Arimathea to England were soon translated for the convenience of that people; and those were followed in Saxon times by translations from the Vulgate by Adhelm, A. D. 706, by Egbert in 720, by Bede in 735, by King Alfred in 901–935, and by Elfric in 995.

The history of the English Bible is more truly traced from Wiclif in 1390; through Tyndal in 1530; Coverdale, at the suggestion of Cromwell, in 1535; and John Rogers, under the name of Matthews, in 1537. The basis of King James' version was the Bishops' Bible, so called because suggested by Archbishop Parker about 1568. It is well known that King James I. was not satisfied with the Bishops' copy, and that he was instrumental in securing what is now known as the Authorized Version. The labors of biblical scholars are not yet ended. No book secures such scholarly and critical study as does the Bible. Just now able men are arranging for another and more accurate translation under the lights of modern discovery, scholarship, and investigation.

Instead of adding any thing to the ample fund, this volume is an exhibit of the labors of Tischendorf in a form and style convenient for popular use. In it we find that the various readings of the three oldest manuscripts extant, as compared with the Authorized Version, are in Matthew alone about four hundred, the average of twelve for each page. At this rate, and it is a fair ratio, the number of variations in the whole New Testament is about five thousand. Some of these are in only one of the manuscripts, some are in two of them, and others are the same in the three. The readings of the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts are thought to be most reliable. By far the greatest number are so slight as not to affect in the least the sense of the writers. Others modify very slightly; while some improve the rhetoric, but leave the sense unchanged. In no case, however great the variations by additions or by omissions, are the doctrines and facts materially

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affected. And though some beautiful and instructive incidents, which we have been accustomed to associate with the public life of Christ, are shown to be apocryphal, yet his real teachings, as also those of the apostles, remain unimpaired. In our opinion these variations tend strongly to substantiate the authenticity of the original Scriptures. No ancient record in Grecian or Roman literature, subjected to the same searching ordeal, could endure the test as well. Instead of avoiding criticism or suffering from it, the holy Record is confirmed thereby.

These variations from the Authorized Version, of sufficient importance to be particularly noticed, are few. We take them in their order. THE GOSPELS: The Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts render Matt. i, 25, "Had brought forth *a* son." Taking this as the true reading, the argument commonly based on the compound word "first-born," against the *perpetual virginity* of Mary, as taught in the Rhemish New Testament, is unnecessary. The reading of Matt. iii, 16, in these manuscripts, is beautiful: "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went directly from the water; and, lo, the heavens opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, lighting upon him." The omissions from Matt. v, 44, by the Sinaitic and the Vatican manuscripts, of the clauses, "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you," "despitefully use you," do not detract from the meaning and force of the precept. And the omission of the sentence, "And sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," keeps the tenor of the discourse in better harmony with the single idea of Christian character and usefulness as represented by "light." The reading of the same in Matt. v, 48; vi, 1, is not only more graceful, but keeps the thread of thought unbroken by the division into chapters and our punctuation: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect; but take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them." Christian maturity should not be marred by the desire of praise. In pressing the same tenses of the verbs in Matt. vii, 8, the Vatican vindicates the elegance of our Lord's style, and shows the harmony of his teachings in reference to the results of human efforts in prayer: "To him that knocketh *it is* opened." The two oldest manuscripts make a

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change in the phase of idea, though not in doctrine, by putting Matt. xi, 23, in the form of a question: "And thou, Capharnaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? thou shalt be brought down to hades." The omission from Matt. xvi, 2, 3, of all that relates to the signs of the weather, leaves the sentence more direct and harmonious: "He answered and said unto them, a wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of Jonas." This concise way of stating a fact seems characteristic of the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts. As an example, we cite Matt. xvi, 8: "When Jesus perceived this he said, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves, because ye have no bread." The words "unto them" and "brought" are omitted. The form of verse thirteen in both these manuscripts, namely, "Whom do men say that the Son of man is?" instead of "I the Son of man am," brings out more strongly the humanity of Christ, in that the clause is unlimited by the pronoun "I," as though no others were sons of God in the same sense as he, and leaves the phrase "Son of man," here and elsewhere, to be applied distinctively to Christ for the purpose of showing his exalted sonship. Why the authorized version should have in Matt. xvii, 27, "shalt find a *piece* of money," instead of a *stater*, the required amount, is not clear, as not only the *textus receptus*, but "all manuscripts," give the name of the piece. However important and encouraging may be the fact stated in Matt. xviii, 11, "For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost," whether it apply to mankind in totality or to adult manhood lost by actual sin in *propriâ personâ*, the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts omit it, and thus leave the connection of thought more intimate and natural. Though the law and teaching of Christianity in reference to divorce are not essentially changed thereby, yet the wordings of these oldest manuscripts vary from our version in Matt. xix, 9. The Vatican omits "and shall marry another," and introduces "causeth her to commit adultery." The Sinaitic omits the whole of the remaining part of the verse, and says nothing about him who marries the divorced woman.

As to the unity and infinite goodness of God, these manuscripts differ in the forms of sentences, though not in doctrine,

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from the common version of Matt. xix, 17, thus: "Why askest thou me concerning what is good? He who is good is one, that is, God." The radical idea is the same as in the ordinary rendering. Our word God is an abbreviation of Good, and is applied to the Supreme, because he is *the Good.* In the Gothic, Danish, and Swedish languages the words God and good have the same derivation and idea. The Greek *ἀγαθός, good,* may come from *ἄγαν, very,* and *θος,* an abbreviation of *θέος.* Or it may come from *ἀγάω, to admire,* and *θεος,* the admirable Good. Plato derives from *θεω, to run,* referring to the courses of the sun and moon worshiped by the ancients. They also omit from verses twenty-two and twenty-three so much as relates to a baptism of suffering, namely, "and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" The New Testament meaning and use of *βαπτίζω,* in all its inflections, relate only to a literal or a typical purification, so that a baptism of suffering seems a forced and incongruous use of the word. To a Christian, suffering is a means of chastening, and therefore of discipline and correction, but not of purification.* Baptism with water and with the Spirit are the only two known in Christianity. Under the Mosaic covenant there was baptism with blood, figuring the blood of atonement by which Christians are "sprinkled from an evil conscience," but only in the sense of the procuring cause of the "one baptism" of the Spirit, of which the only type is baptism with water. The omission of verse fourteen from Matt. xxiii by the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!" etc., not only relieves the discourse from a seemingly severe denunciation, but also leaves the connection more intimate, and the teaching in reference to the proselyting disposition of those sects more direct. And the omission of the word "new" from Matt. xxvi, 28, is significant, inasmuch as the covenant of God is but one, though there is a propriety in calling the two editions of it "old" and "new." There is a singular beauty in the reading of the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts,

* We use the word purification to express the work done for and in us by the Holy Spirit with the truth, through faith in the atonement, and not that broad and widely practical holiness which St. Paul says is a result of the Father's chastening, "that we might be partakers of his holiness," *ἁγιότητος.* Heb. xii, 10.

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thus: "This is my blood of the testament (διαθήκη), which is shed for many for the remission of sins." We admire the rendering of Luke vi, 40, in these oldest manuscripts: "The disciple is not above the master, but every one shall be perfected as his master," or, "let him be perfected as his master." "According to these manuscripts, the sin against the Holy Ghost (Mark iii, 29) exposes not only to eternal condemnation as the penalty, but to eternal *sin*, making the condemnation eternal because sin is eternal—"shall be in danger of eternal sin."

We now take up those variations in the Gospels which have been adduced as evidence against the reliability and inspiration of the Scriptures.

According to the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts, the Gospel of St. Mark closes at verse eight of chapter xvi. The Alexandrine has the remaining twelve verses slightly modified. How came so large a paragraph to be appended to this Gospel? Or, if originally there, how was it omitted from the oldest manuscripts extant? It *is probable* that Mark closed his treatise, as did Matthew, with the statement of the resurrection of Jesus. Not being one of the apostles, he may not have been an eye-witness of the ascension and its associated events. Dropping his Jewish name *John* for the sake of influence among the people abroad, he was known mostly after his conversion by his Roman name *Marcus;* and he is thought to have written his Gospel, at the instigation of St. Peter, for the gratification of the Gentile part of the Church at Rome. For these reasons he made no reference to the genealogy of our Lord, to the law, nor to the ascension and its associated events.* The early insertion of the section was easily made by copyists, who were innocently desirous of making this treatise more complete in historical facts, and more in harmony with the records of St. Luke. Such emendations are common in both ancient and modern history, and without detracting from their accuracy or reliability. Professor Tischendorf says: "The ordinary conclusion to the Gospel of St. Mark, namely, xvi, 9–20, is found in more than five hundred Greek manuscripts, in the whole of the Syriac and Coptic, and most of the Latin manuscripts, and even in the Gothic version. But by Eusebius and Jerome (the

* Smith's Dict. Bible, Art., Mark. Pressensé's Early Christianity, Book II. chap. ii, p. 219.

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former of whom died in the year 340) it is stated expressly that in nearly all the trustworthy copies of their time the Gospel ended with the eighth verse, and with this, of all existing known Greek manuscripts, only the Vatican and Sinaitic now agree." * And yet this supposed interpolation is found in many old manuscripts, and its genuineness is affirmed by many learned scholars. † ‡

Among "the modern additions" claimed "to have had no place in the original Gospels" is "the rebuke of Christ to those who wanted fire to be called down from heaven on the Samaritans when they refused Him entrance to their village." Aside from the *prima facie* evidence that the writer of this assertion is pleased with seeming or real discrepancies, we here convict him of error, for the narrative referred to is in Luke ix, 54–56, save some unimportant variations that do not affect the integrity of the narrative, nor detract from the pointedness of the rebuke given. It is well understood by biblical scholars that this clause has strong claims to genuineness. "There is no more reason to suspect the genuineness of this clause than of the preceding. The manuscripts in which the *latter* is not found are, with few exceptions, the same as omit the former. And there is little doubt but that in these manuscripts the words were omitted by the carelessness of the scribes, whose blunder, I suspect, was occasioned by the two *καὶ's*, each of which probably commenced a line in the very ancient originals of the Uncial manuscripts." §

Though we regret to find that the statement of "the appearance of the angel to Christ in the garden of Gethsemane" for the purpose of strengthening him, as also the reference to the terrible agony of Christ there and then, are omitted by these three manuscripts from Luke xxii, 43, 44, yet the omission leaves the narrative just where the other evangelists leave it. Our only loss is the idea of that consolatory strengthening which we had loved to think the agonized Jesus received in the severest hour of his life. By referring to John xii, 27, and to Heb. v, 7, we see how great were his sufferings, and that he

* Introduction to Tauchnitz's New Testament, p. 13.

† Smith's Bib. Dict., and Bloomfield *in loco*.

‡ Does not all this indicate that the passage is a later addition by Mark himself?—Ed.

§ Bloomfield *in loco*.

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was somehow and somewhat relieved amid "strong crying and tears" in that he "was heard" by the Father, "because of his piety"—not "in that he feared," as it is wrongly rendered. He may have been strengthened by an angel. "The external evidence for the omission of these verses is next to nothing, and the internal very slender and precarious; and as their omission is far easier to account for than their insertion, they may justly be regarded as genuine."*

The form of our Lord's Prayer given in the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts of Luke xi, 2–4 is: "Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation." In reference to the omissions a competent annotator† says: "The words ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς are not found in eight manuscripts, with the Vulgate and Persian versions. But that authority is too slender to claim any attention. The reasons for the omission may readily be conceived, though it were vain to imagine reasons for *all* the innumerable alterations which were introduced by the Alexandrian biblical Aristarchs." The other omissions he regards as in part "unintentional," and in part because of "some speculative doctrinal reasons" held by the transcribers.

At such a time as this, when some scholarly but infidel writers, as Strauss, "the Tubingen Fantasy-Builder;" Renan, the "Parisian Romancer;" and John Fisk, an "American Positivist," are diligently at work disparaging Christianity, and denying the genuineness of John's Gospel in particular, it is encouraging to find this beautiful treatise in the Vatican and Alexandrine, and in the recently found Sinaitic and Nitrine manuscripts, which date back to the fourth century. Professor Tischendorf argues at length, and unanswerably, we think, against Renan and his school in defense of the genuineness of this Gospel, and urges, in harmony with the testimony of Chrysostom and others,‡ that it was written by St. John about the close of the first century.

We like the reading of the Sinaitic Codex in John i, 4: "In him *is* life." It accords better not only with the tense of the

* Bloomfield *in loco*. † Ibid., *in loco*.

‡ Origin of the Four Gospels, pp. 11–62. See Pressensé's Early Years of Christianity, Note M, p. 509.

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clause, "And the light *shineth* in darkness," but with the self-existence of the Word who was in the beginning with God, and was God. "Origen states, and the statement is confirmed by various quotations before his time, that some copies contained 'in Him *is* life,' instead of 'in Him *was* life.' That reading is now found only in the Sinaitic manuscript, and in the famous copy of the Gospels known as the 'Codex Bezæ,' although it is shown in most copies of the Italic version, in the old Syriac, and the oldest Coptic version."*

An important omission, but not at all affecting any doctrine of Christianity, is found in the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts of John v, 4, in reference to the waters of the pool of Bethesda being troubled by an angel. The Alexandrine says: "An angel of the Lord washed at a certain season." But the three agree in omitting the clause, "waiting for the moving of the water;" and the two oldest omit verse four. Nevertheless the completeness and beauty of the incident remain unimpaired.†

One of the chief discrepancies between the Authorized Version and the two oldest manuscripts is the omission of the entire section relating to the woman taken in adultery, John viii, 1–11, a fact particularly noticed by "Appleton's Journal." Its introduction into the *textus receptus* cannot be accounted for by regarding it either a parenthetical or a marginal note made by an early copyist or annotator, nor from a desire to make this Gospel agree with any other. Is it an interpolation? Is it spurious? If so, does it introduce any new doctrine and vitiate the Gospel? Are not the sentiments of the section fully in harmony with Christian teachings? Dr. A. Clarke thinks the passage spurious, though in harmony with Scripture teachings.‡ Dr. Bloomfield gives an outline statement of the evidences both against and for the authenticity of the paragraph, the sum of which is that, "while it is not found in fifty-six manuscripts, in thirty-three Evangelisteria, nor is it treated on by several of the Fathers, it is found in two hundred and sixty-four manuscripts and six Evangelisteria; and though there is internal evidence against the paragraph, yet none is equal to the fact that no tolerable reason can be assigned why the story should

* Tischendorf's Introduction. Compare John v, 26.

† Pressensé's Jesus Christ: his Life and Work, p. 94.

‡ Dr. Clarke's Notes concluding John vii.

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have been *fabricated at all*, or if so, why fabricated with the present circumstances; and how it could, amid so many objections, have found its way into five sixths of the manuscripts." * It differs widely from fabricated stories found in the apocryphal gospels. "When properly understood, there is nothing in the paragraph that militates against the character of Christ, or that can give the least encouragement to crime. On the contrary, the whole is perfectly consistent with the gentleness and benevolence of our Lord, while at the same time the censure itself is sufficient for the purpose." † Pressensé ‡ makes an admirable reference to it, and gives succinct arguments *for* and *against* its authenticity, and in defense of the morality of its teachings, in the appendix of the volume cited below:

It is well known that the account of the woman taken in adultery is wanting in the oldest manuscripts of the fourth Gospel. It is also evident that it breaks the thread of the narrative between John vii, 52, and viii, 12, which are closely connected. Verse 12, which tells us that Jesus is addressing himself to the Pharisees, is not reconcilable with verse 9, which says that the Pharisees had retired to their homes. If this touching story forms no part of the Gospel of John, it is yet no less authentic in substance. It is clear from the writings of Papias that it formed part of the earliest traditions of the Church. §

The Peshito-Syriac New Testament, which existed in the second century, omits this paragraph, but it is found in the Syriac published in 1631. ¶

What a reader of the Greek readily sees to be true in John x, 16, is properly inserted by Tischendorf: Instead of "one fold," it is one *flock*. All Christians have the same distinctive characteristics, and belong to the same flock of Christ, "the good Shepherd." They are represented by πρόβατα, *sheep*. There was a Jewish αὐλῆς, *fold;* but now this distinct fold is done away, and the πρόβατα constitute μία ποίμνη, *one flock*, under εἷς ποιμήν, *one shepherd*.

Before leaving the Gospels we notice the imputations of unfairness in the form of "a doctrinal bias," made against the translators of the Authorized Version "in changing the phrase 'the Father' to 'my Father.'" Having carefully compared

* Greek Test. *in loco.* † Bloomfield. ‡ Jesus Christ, etc., p. 246.

§ Pressensé, Note 1, p. 247. [See, however, the note on the passage in Whedon's Commentary.—Ed.]

¶ Smith's Dict. of the Bible, Art., Versions, pp. 1156, 1157.

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the *textus receptus* with the notes in the Tauchnitz Edition, we affirm, 1. That there is no evidence that such a change was made because of "a doctrinal bias." In every instance it is evident, from the scope of thought and from the context, that the meaning is the same as though written *my* Father. 2. That the two phrases are used interchangeably, the same as are the words "the disciples" and "his disciples." 3. "My Father" occurs often in the discourses and prayers of Jesus in both the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts, as in Matt. x, 32, "before my Father;" Luke xxiv, 49, "of my Father;" John vi, 40, "the will of my Father." It is clear, from the scope of thought in other places, that the relations of Fatherhood and Sonship in the highest sense are taught, as in John viii, 27, "They understood not that he spake to them of the Father, God;" in x, 29–38, and xiv, 7, where a knowledge of Jesus Christ implies a knowledge of his Father, but more clearly in xvi, 27, 28, where Christ is said to have come forth "from the Father," and "out of the Father," as truly a son comes from the loins of his father—the "*only*-begotten of the Father." There is an important confirmation in Col. ii, 2, where the Sinaitic and Alexandrine versions say, "the acknowledgment of the mystery of God the Father of Christ." In Heb. i, 5, 6 the exalted relations of Christ to God the Father are said to be superior to the creature-sonship of any angel, and because of which he bears a "more excellent name than they," that is, "my Son." He is therefore declared to be the "first-begotten," whom "all the angels of God" are commanded to worship. By *first*-begotten we are not to understand first in order of time or of events, but of importance, that is, the *chief*-begotten, the "*only* begotten" of the Father, except when the phrase refers to his resurrection.* The difference between this divine Sonship of Christ and the sonship of man is seen in the relation of Moses, a "*servant*," and of Jesus, a SON.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—A careful examination of these several versions shows that this earliest Church history is a monument of accuracy in our common Bible. The variations are many but slight, not affecting the facts of history nor the doctrines of Christianity. Professor Tischendorf corrects the translation of Acts ii, 47: "The Lord added together daily

* Col. i, 18, "The first-born from the dead;" Rev. i, 5, "First-begotten of the dead."

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such as *were saved.*" We give the most important variations of these manuscripts from King James' edition. They omit verse 37 from chapter viii; but as it refers to the *minute* faith of the eunuch preparatory to his baptism, the integrity of the historical fact remains. The clauses, "it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," (chap. ix, 5;) "who, when he cometh, shall speak unto thee," (x, 32,) are omitted. They transpose and translate xiii, 10, 20, thus: "He distributed their land to them for an inheritance, about four hundred and fifty years. And after that he gave unto them judges until Samuel the prophet." They render xvi, 7, "the Spirit of *Jesus* suffered them not."

APOSTOLIC EPISTLES.—To the Appleton assertion, "In the Epistles some of the more frequently quoted verses are spurious," we now direct attention.

The Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine manuscripts agree in rendering Rom. vii, 6, "Now we are delivered from the law, being dead to that wherein we were held." Without impairing the logical connections or the practical truth of Rom. viii, 1, the two oldest manuscripts omit, "who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," because the same is fully expressed in the context. The thought in Rom. ix, 28, is more beautifully expressed by these manuscripts thus: "For the Lord will perform his word upon the earth, finishing it and cutting it short." Without a loss of the completeness of idea, they omit from Rom. xi, 6, "But if of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise work is no more work;" and from xiv, 6, "and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it"—the same idea being immediately after stated. As a matter of rhetorical taste they wisely omit from 1 Cor. x, 28, the clause repeated in verse 26, "For the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof." The idea that Christians are the temple of God (2 Cor. vi, 16) is better expressed by the Sinaitic and Vatican thus: "For *we* are temples of the living God;" and ix, 10, is rendered, "He that ministereth seed to the sower and bread *for eating*, shall minister and multiply your seed sown, and will increase the fruits of your righteousness." In the three manuscripts, 2 Cor. xii, 6, 7, is transposed: "But now I forbear even the abundance of the revelation, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me: for, lest I should be exalted above measure, there was given

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to me a thorn in the flesh." Their record of Ephes. v, 9, "the fruit of the light," instead of "the Spirit," accords better with the succeeding verses, which represent error under the figure of darkness, and truth of light. The last ten verses of this chapter representing the relations of the Church to Christ by those of a wife to her husband, whom he loves as himself, and individual Christians as members of the body of Christ, it seems better, with these manuscripts, to omit in verse 30, "of his flesh, and of his bones," as adding nothing to the beauty nor force of the illustration. The rendering of Col. i, 6, "Which is come unto you, as in all the world it is bringing forth fruit and increasing, as it doth also in you," is better than in the Authorized Version. The omission of the clause, "From such withdraw thyself," (1 Tim. vi, 5,) leaves the sentence more complete, and more in accordance with St. Paul's logical precision. These three manuscripts agree in rendering James iii, 5, "How great a fire, how much wood it kindleth;" and the Sinaitic gives verse six thus: "The tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity is the tongue among our members, both defiling the whole body, and setting on fire the course of our nature, and is set on fire of hell." In 1 John v, 7, 8, the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine read: "For there are three that bear record, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one." The parts omitted add nothing to the apostolic argument or statement. The concluding of the Epistle of St. Jude in the words of these three manuscripts is a fitting ending of the apostolic epistles: "To the only God our Saviour, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and power, before all the world, both now and ever."

THE APOCALYPSE.—We admire the form of the Sinaitic and Alexandrine versions of Rev. i, 5, 6: "Unto him that loveth us and freed us from our sins by his own blood, and hath made us (or, for us) a kingdom, priests unto God," etc.; and v, 10, "a kingdom and priesthood." The form of the last clause of chap. iii, 14, "the beginning of the Church of God," instead of "creation of God," relieves us of the controversy, on the ground of this text, as to whether Christ is the first of created beings, as Arians say, or the beginner of our faith, or, indeed, the *chief* of the creation of God. The Sinaitic gives increased beauty and harmony to verse twenty, thus: "If any man hear

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[regard] my voice, I will both open the door and come in to him." And it also brings xix, 13, into harmony with the visible mode of purification by blood and by water, and with the mode of Spirit baptism, as also with the mode of staining the garments of Jesus, as described in Isaiah lxiii, 3, in that this manuscript uses words that mean "sprinkled with," rather than "*dipped in*," blood.

We sum up our examination of this book with a few conclusions: 1. We find nothing to shake, but much to increase, our confidence in the Authorized Version as a noble and trustworthy monument, both in general style, and accuracy in all things essential to historic facts and Christian doctrines.

2. Most of the variations are merely verbal and slight, often consisting of transpositions of words and clauses, of a dropping of unnecessary words, of a greater precision and brevity, and of such other modifications as leave the sense unimpaired. They are such as all transcribers are liable to, and consist largely of the marginal notes and interlinear comments that were made by the early copyists. And the particular value of these very old manuscripts lies in the fact of their showing how the Scriptures read in the fourth century.

3. The very close agreement of the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts shows that they are of nearly the same age. Of course the oldest were in Greek, and from them were translated the Itala, Vulgate, Syriac, Coptic, Cyprian,* and old Saxon.

4. That variations should innocently occur in such very old, and often transcribed, manuscripts is not strange. The wonder is that they are as few and slight as they are. But that matters wholly foreign and irrelevant should be introduced was not an easy matter until the "Dark Ages," when the papists had every thing pretty much their own way. Even then, however, the means of correcting them existed in the older manuscripts that were preserved in the libraries of the learned, the rich, of colleges and monasteries. Every important item stated or omitted is confirmed or corrected more or less fully by these and other venerable documents. And though any one evangelist may not have written in every particular what the authorized version assigns to him, yet the

* The *Cyprian Codex* was found in the ninth century, and was taken to Paris in 1673. It contains the Gospels entire.—*Harper's Monthly*, July, 1872, page 193.

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same fact or the doctrine of the matter being elsewhere stated, the reliability and integrity of the treatise remain essentially unimpaired. The several histories of Rome, of Greece, or of the General Church, though drawn from the same original records, do not consist now of the same incidents and inferences; and yet they so far agree that we credit them, and treasure them as valuable records of the past. And when an annotator, for the purpose of correction, explanation, or of enlargement, makes marginal notes of some historical facts —*a la mode* Dr. Maclaine in Mosheim's History—should such notes by and by become parts of the printed text, the true historic value and reliability of the history will not be impaired thereby. Neither is the Authorized Version of the Bible really invalidated by the slight changes that may have been wrought in the original records, as these three oldest manuscripts abundantly attest. "Providence has ordained for the New Testament more sources of the greatest antiquity than are possessed by all the old Greek literature put together." *

The several instances of diversity, therefore, in reference to which the cry of alarm is often given, do not so affect the teachings nor historic accuracy of our time-honored translation of the Bible as to render it untrustworthy. They rather show that some few incidents, which are commonly thought to have occurred in the life of Jesus, may not in literal fact have transpired. The same is true in the traditions and written biographies of George Washington, and yet every thing essential to his life, character, and doings remains for the instruction of posterity.

Do our ordinary editions of the Bible not contain the genuine and true text? Every one of these translations has its own more or less rich text-history, and there is no one which has not enough of the original to insure the degree of faith necessary to salvation. But if the effort be made to see how closely each follows the original, how truly each has preserved the text as it was given by the apostles, it must be compared with the original text. We know that the Greek is the original text of the New Testament. The Sinaitic manuscript is coincident with the oldest Latin translation, the Itala; and the oldest Syrian text, lately discovered in the Nitrian desert, is quite analogous to the Itala, and must have been written about the middle of the second century, when the Four Gospels underwent an undoubted common

* Tischendorf's Introduction, p. 8.

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translation. The Gospels of Luke and John were in existence at that time in the same form in which we now have them.*

The conclusion to which Tischendorf comes is, that "the establishment of the evangelical canon must be set at the close of the first century.* No single work of ancient Greek classical literature can command three such original witnesses as the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine manuscripts to the integrity and accuracy of its text. That they are available in the case of a book, which is at once the most sacred and the most important in the world, is surely a matter for the deepest thankfulness to God." †

Unlike the learned and acute Schleiermacher, ‡ who admitted the sinlessness of the man Christ, a teacher of absolute truth, but who eliminated the Gospels of all supernatural character; unlike Strauss, a Hegelian in philosophy, who taught that Christ was only a man somehow possessed with the idea of his Messiahship; unlike Bauer, who admitted the genuineness of but four of the Epistles of St. Paul, and who thought the Gospels were made up of exaggerations and myths; unlike Renan, whose "Life of Christ" is a romance in lively French style; and unlike American Rationalists, Tischendorf is not less scholarly, nor less profound, but is far more evangelical and reliable. Of his extensive and scholarly researches, the book under review in these pages is a compact summary worthy careful examination.

Art. III.—FINE ART: ITS NATURE, NECESSITY, AND OFFICES.

Fine Art may be comprehensively defined as The Orderly Activity of Man's Æsthetic Faculty, and the Fruits of that Activity. Being such, fine art is normal and necessary to man. The æsthetic faculty is as actual and valid a part of man's nature as is his reason or his ethical faculty. Without this faculty man must be an alien and stranger in the universe of beauty where he finds himself. In all that is beautiful in the

* Origin of the Four Gospels, pp. 203–209, 213.

† Introduction, New Testament, p. 16.

‡ Parke Godwin's "Cyclop. of Biography."

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expression of matter or mind he could not have even a receptivity, much less an intelligent delight. He could only partially know the works of God, even in their most manifest qualities. In fact he could have no comprehension of one of the noblest attributes of God himself. God is not alone the infinite, intellectual, and ethical being; he is also the infinite, æsthetical being. The universe of his works is an infinite art-gallery—not of imitative, but of original and expressive art. Heaven itself is not only infinitely holy, but also infinitely beautiful; the æsthetic as well as the ethic climax of the universe. Moreover, God has planned our present life upon the same idea. He made man in two persons—the pair together constituting the masterpiece of the beauty and majesty of this terrestrial creation—and put them into the grandest and loveliest landscape garden that earth ever saw, planted by his own hand, emphatically a *paradeisos*, the *park* of all the earth. And that first pair, and their home in Eden, represent all the human race, and the æsthetic harmony between man's faculties and his situation, which the race forever strives to realize, wherever it has wandered over the globe. Thus man originally possessed, and still possesses, a *faculty* to comprehend and enjoy the sublime and beautiful, and to that faculty they are a necessary, divinely-appointed, and only end of being. Deprived, therefore, of the development of this faculty, man is deprived of the exercise of one of the noblest endowments of his nature; one of his finest capacities for happiness; one of his highest qualifications for adoring his God. It is not enough to know our Maker as infinitely holy and beneficent. He is also the infinitely beautiful, the highest object of admiration as well as of adoration. In the highest æsthetic sense he is "the chiefest among ten thousand." He who worships God only as the infinite Utility, does the highest injustice both to his God and to himself. Such worship turns on what God is, or may be, to the worshiper, not upon an unselfish and adoring love for what he is in himself. The æsthetic culture of the mind has, therefore, profound religious bearings, and tends to capacitate man for a glorious and godlike immortality.

The bearing of the fine arts upon man's development in this life must, however, be that which most strongly impresses the mass of men. This relation is twofold: *first*, as *Effect*, a *record-*

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ed product and a record of the expression of mind; and *secondly, as Cause, reacting upon, refining, inspiring other mind.* Taken in their widest range, from the most material to the most spiritual, the fine arts include landscape gardening, architecture, sculpture, engraving, painting, gymnastics, music, oratory, and poetry; the later including all literature, prose as well as verse, whose chief aim is æsthetic. Besides these nine noble and beautiful arts, several subsidiary ones, of lesser distinction, might be mentioned. Beauty, not utility, is the immediate aim and end of fine art; but so has this universe been tempered together by Infinite Wisdom that, in their profoundest essence, these two are one and identical. The Greeks crystallized this truth in their saying, *τὸ καλὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν ἐστιν—the beautiful is the good.* Beauty is the highest truth and the purest goodness, but so incarnated and presented as to pass through and beyond the intellectual and ethical faculties up into the æsthetic, and there to minister to immediate delight in feeling. In a holy being, æsthetic delight from an untrue or unholy counterfeit of beauty were as impossible as fire from ice, or a five-cornered triangle.

But fine art seeks to record and perpetuate this delight-producing beauty, and so it gives it an objective and abiding form in permanent works. These works are also expressions of the state of life and grade of development enjoyed by their creators. Hence comes *the power of fine art as an expression and record of civilization.* This power has been one of the mightiest influences in human history. The history of mankind might be as truly written by *art-epochs* as by military, political, or philosophical epochs, and even more so. The art-life of a people records and perpetuates their most secret thoughts, their sublimest aspirations. Their victories, their culture, their philosophy, their religion, are all chiseled in marble, or graven in eternal bronze. The inmost intuitions of their faith, the inmost secrets of their morals, the mightiest heart-cries of immortal man, breathe in marble, glow in painting, climb in architecture, or warble in song. What these cannot tell and commemorate, the historian and the critic may despair of at once.

A few rapid glances at some of the great Art-epochs will disclose and illustrate our principle. If we look backward to the dateless past we find the monuments of a *Prehistoric Age of*

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Fine Art, stretching a vast and probably well-nigh contemporaneous art-empire from the Ganges on the east to the western shores of the American continent. Of this primeval age and civilization all literary records—if it had a literature, as doubtless it had—have long since perished. Not a nation, whose annals have come down to us from eldest antiquity, has any information for us concerning this great prehistoric civilization. If ever the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis shall give up their secrets to ethnological and historical investigation, then we may know a little, but only a little. The painting of this epoch is entirely gone, and its deep-cut inscriptions are almost eaten away by the corrosion of ages; but much of its gigantic architecture and sculpture still remains, among which are to be found some of the most impressive material monuments of man. This epoch gives us the colossal rock-cut temples of India and Java, with those of Upper Egypt or Ethiopia; the giant temples of Bashan and other Phœnician and Syrian remains; the Pelasgic and Etrurian ruins of Greece and Italy; the Druidic, or, perhaps, ante-Druidic structures of Scandinavia and Britain; and the mighty and mysterious architecture of ancient Mexico, Central America, and Peru. Several elements indicate that all these works belong to substantially the same period, which might be named the *Bethel-age*, from the Hebrew name of Jacob's monumental pile, and which is the same word as the ancient Celtic *bothal*, applied with exactly the same meaning to the stone circles or cromlechs of the British Isles. Some indications that all these remains belong to contemporaneous and co-ordinate civilizations, probably to affiliated and communicating races, are the following: (1.) They are all colossal—among the most truly so, in conception and execution, of any existing works of man. (2.) In their materials and forms there is so strong a general resemblance that their architecture and sculptures can almost be reduced to an independent and harmonious order. (3.) Their preservation and present condition (climate, history, since known, and other elements being considered) point to a comparatively contemporaneous origin. (4.) Their almost uniform design was apparently, we may say evidently, religious; and they all evidence the first stages of departure from some common original stock of religious ideas and form of religious thought.

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After the lapse of unscored centuries they still stand to testify the giant gropings of the blind Samson of human-nature toward the heavenly light it had lately lost, and shuddered at the dread of losing forever. Scarce a lingering gleam of divine revelation shines through these huge and hideous forms; but they cry, through all the ages, the yearning of the human soul toward that immortal strength and Infinite Being, the memory of whose nature was fast fading from the human mind. Thus has the recording power of art, in this vast prehistoric epoch, proclaimed its capability as a form of expression from race to race and from soul to soul, across gulfs of time, where civilizations have sunk out of history, and languages and literatures have failed and ceased.

If we turn to the *historic epochs of art* we shall find the same commemorative power every-where displayed, with the additional advantage of a surviving written literature, whose time-worn sentences and inscriptions corroborate the language of art.

The *First Historic Epoch* (whose dawn is lost in prehistoric darkness) is that which produced the older pyramids and sphynxes, labyrinths and memnoniums, of Egypt; the Ninyan and Semiramid structures of Assyria; and the now crumbling, yet amazingly rich, Brahmanic and Boodhistic temples of ancient India: the seeming prototypes of Gothic forms, unless both are from an older Aryan model. The details of much of the art of this period have survived in such perfection that they seem to introduce us into the very ante-chambers of human life in that era. And every-where, from Egypt to India, they tell the same story of mighty religious longings, of profound moral debasement and deified immorality, and of a prodigality of human labor and life, of which nations, taught by Christianity the value of man, can scarcely form a conception. Yet this very prodigality of labor now seems almost akin to a divine inspiration. It made every brick carry a sentence or symbol stamped upon it, and covered every slab and pillar with elaborate volumes. And now these strange inscriptions, older than any profane history; these deathless books of brick and stone, are rising from the dust of forgotten ages by scores, and corroborating as by a miracle the histories given in the Bible. In like manner the Hindu, Aztec, and Peruvian picture-writings, sculptured in imperishable granite, some of the latter still

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wonderfully sharp and perfect, may yet be compelled to yield up their mysterious secrets.

The great Greek Era in fine art stands alone and peerless in all art-history in its expression of the harmony and beauty of the human form. The Greek civilization, beyond all others, was purely and intensely human. The strongest elements of Greek national life were the great national games for cultivating and displaying the perfections of the human frame. Man, in his intellectual and æsthetic qualities, was the true god of the Greek, under whatever divine name worshiped. Greek architecture also expressed the supreme æsthetic development of a national mind, which had gone through all the passionate periods of culture, like those in which Hindu art stopped and became stationary, and had reached a state of ineffable repose. Of the recording power of Greek art little need be said, though volumes might be written. The great Homeric poems were the climax of the world's intellectual fine art, and they commemorate and perpetuate a whole period of history, civilization, and culture, of which scarcely any other original monuments subsist; and that period, thus embalmed and preserved, becomes the germ of all the material and intellectual progress of modern Europe, as the Bible is the germ of its moral progress. Even of the golden age of Greece, the age of Pericles, her poets, painters, architects, and sculptors have given us a far more vivid and impressive record than her matchless historians themselves have left. Gloriously as Grecian liberty and philosophy shine in the world's history, still her arts outshine all else, and will ever shine as the brightest lusters in her crown of many splendors. Roman art added nothing to Greek principles but some expansion, and also some corruption of them. The gift of Rome to the world was law and government, not art. In that she was, like all succeeding nations, a borrower from Greece.

Mohammedan Art stands in history like the marvelous dream of a midsummer's night. In the west, its Saracen branch gave us some wonderful mosques and Moorish castles, and that entrancing vision in stone, the Alhambra. In the east, its Mogul branch left such unrivaled creations as the great Minar of Delhi and the peerless Taj Mahal, the wonder-tomb of all the earth, to which even the immortal Mausoleum must

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bow in reverence. This era of art stands alone in history, as solitary and as incapable of reproduction as was the weird and magical genius that created it. It is the true expression and most impressive memorial of the most airy, imaginative, and romantic civilization the world ever beheld.

The grand Epoch of Christian Art needs, for us, no interpretation of its meaning. Divine Christianity furnished its subjects. Italy contributed its painting and sculpture, which she, as a devout student, had learned from Greece and Rome. She also created its first architecture, based on the substructure of the classic. All these were, however, penetrated and modified by the new spirit which expelled the more sensuous and earthly elements of Gentilism.

But Christianity must have new material forms in which to embody her new and sublime contribution to human thought. The celestial inspiration could never abide to wear the cast-off garments of its conquered foes. Out of the contact of Christianity with the grand and solemn genius of Northern Europe was born the heavenward-tending Gothic architecture, which elementally, though perhaps not historically, is a completely harmonious blending of the Brahmanic spires and passion with the Greek repose and strength, resulting in the most sublime and perfect material embodiment of religious thought and feeling that ever came from the hand of man. It is a Nirvanna in stone—not, however, of unconscious self-negation, but of conscious, happy, immortal adoration; a worship that mounts to heaven by vertical lines, carrying the beholder with it. It is the true artistic utterance of the only real and infinite religion of man.

As to *Music*, in its complicated and sublime power of expression, Christian art may justly claim to have created it. The lyre of Orpheus and the Greek dithyramb were matchless in the simplicity of nature; but the comprehensive grandeur of the organ and the oratorio are as truly the creation and expression of Christianity as the Gothic cathedral to which they belong.

Nor is the case otherwise with "*Poetry*, the loftiest mood of mind." Homer can sing the wrath of Achilles and the craft of Ulysses, and fire the hearts of all generations with his battles of gods and men; inspire them by the creations of his

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genius, and subdue them by the resistless harmony of his numbers. Virgil can follow the much-enduring Æneas as, from flaming Troy to Carthage, from Carthage to Sicily, and at last to Italy, he is borne onward in the hands of the fates to become the founder of Rome. But these, and the chorus of deathless singers and songs that cluster around them, are all songs of the human. They are "of the earth, earthy." Nay, they are not for all the earth. They are ethnic songs, race epics, in whose scenes one people shine as a race of heroes and demi-gods, while all mankind besides are barbarians or brutes. But when the grand world-chorus of a one-blood humanity is to be sung through all its changes; when the mighty problems of the origin of sin, man's awful fall, and his glorious redemption, are to be fathomed and celebrated; when the joy of the saved and the anguish of the lost are to be portrayed; when the history and triumphs of redemption are to be warbled in strains that swell through earth and skies; then Christian Art must wake the lyre, and her myriad-minded Shakspeare, her sublime Milton and Klopstock, her awful Dante, and her Luther, Watts, and Wesley of seraphic flame, these must sing for all nations, for all time, for eternity itself!

Thus we climb at last to the grand realization that every great climax of human history has found its most expressive and imperishable utterance and record in fine art; in works of human hands and human minds, not made merely to meet the rough and evanescent utilities of the passing age, but works born out of agonies and transports of human labor and genius, each created and dedicated to be "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever." The poems of Homer; the Cryselephantine Jove, Parthenon, and Panathenaic frieze of Phidias; the Orations of Demosthenes; the Dialogues of Plato: these are Greece—a Greece that shall survive and be brighter two thousand years hence than it was two thousand years ago! Titian and Correggio, Raphael and Michael Angelo, Dante and Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso: these are Italy, as Virgil and Cicero are Rome. Goethe and Schiller and Klopstock, Handel and Mozart and Beethoven: these are a Germany whose empire is grander than the Rhine ever bounded, and will endure when the kaiser's scepter has turned to ashes. Milton and Shakspeare will still rule the world when the navies of

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England are forgotten, her empire dismembered, her island itself, perchance, a desert.

But, it may be urged, *Has not the written art of the mind made the plastic art of the hand unnecessary as an expression of the æsthetic faculty, and as a recording and commemorative power?* To this the answer is twofold: First, as a mode of expression the arts of design can never become obsolete. They speak what written language never can speak—speak alike to all grades of intelligence, and speak volumes in a single instant. We know how this principle has recently been illustrated among us in the influence exerted by a certain pictorial newspaper. The notorious candidate of an illiterate and largely criminal constituency, himself now expiating his crimes under the sentence of the law, is reported to have said that he cared little for what was written and printed by the party opposing him, as but few of his constituents could read, but that "those pictures" told terribly against him, for every voter could read them at a glance. Compared with such expressive power of graphic art the force of language is feeble to impress large classes of men in the living present, as it likewise is to hand down to coming days a clear impression of the mechanical appliances and outward manners of mankind. What would the world not give to-day for reliable drawings of Noah's ark for the shipbuilder's use, of the tower of Babel and the temple of Solomon for the architect, or of the walls of Troy for the military engineer? How great have been the losses to the world's progress for want of such a record as fine art only can make of many marvels that have been, and have perished? One element of the rapid progress of modern civilization is the representative and preservative power of modern graphic art.

But, great as is the mechanical value of fine art in external life, this is neither its truest nor its noblest office. For that we must look to *its power as a culture for man himself.* In this field true art can no more become obsolete than can its subject, the immortal mind; for, as the man-culturing power of art-work is its noblest, so also is it its most enduring potency. Great works of art may, and often have, outlived their commemorative trust, and forgotten the tale they were created to perpetuate. How long did the world ask in vain, Who built the pyramids, or what was the purpose of their erection? But

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their nobler, though unconscious, mission never was and never can be forgotten. They have preached repose and strength to human souls for forty centuries, and they will silently and sublimely preach on, while their granite vastness resists the wear of time. Those elaborate miracles in stone, the great cathedrals of Europe, will awe and refine and inspire the souls of men until they dissolve again to dust. Indeed, time only adds to the inspiring power of true art-conceptions. That grandest incarnation of mind in marble ever chiseled by mortal skill, the Moses of Michael Angelo, is a mightier teacher now than when it came from the master's hand three centuries ago. Were the golden, composite shield of Achilles an entity, its world-portraying sculptures would draw more students to-day than when silver-footed Thetis, in the imagination of Homer, bore it from the forge of Vulcan.

The ruling power of works of true art survives even the works themselves, and lives as long as their history lives among men. The Doryphorus (lance-bearer) of Polycletus perished long ago, but the perfectly symmetrical human proportions which made that statue the "canon" of Greek statuary have given law to every sculptor from that age to this. Chares, the Lindian, and his Rhodian Colossus, are no more; and Sostratus, the son of Dexiphanes, with his light-house, and Ptolemy's, on rocky Pharos, are not. But while sailors plow the sea the torch of the Colossus and the flame of Pharos will inspire the navigator, and stimulate those who benevolently light him along the deep. Yet the Colossus and the Pharos had long ago been forgotten, with all their benevolent inspirations, had they not themselves been works of sublime and daring art.

We have now briefly glanced at the great art-epochs of the world, and caught a few glimpses of the meaning and power of time-defying art. It is not enough for Americans, however, that other peoples and ages have filled the world with their art and its renown, and that we enjoy their immortal productions. Creation is an infinitely nobler joy than mere possession. The creator gains most by his work, for creation creates the creator. Making makes the maker. The age that best teaches others, best teaches itself. As in all things else, so in art, the reflex effect of high exertion is its greatest possible reward. Great

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as is the culturing power of art over other men, it is greatest over the artist himself. And this is why *America especially and imperatively needs a development of fine art.*

We are one of the most thoroughly realistic and materialistic peoples of all history. Our vast country to be occupied, the marvelous expansion of all our industries, our intense political and business life, the flood of raw immigration thrown upon both shores of our continent: these things have naturally, and almost totally, absorbed the civilizing energy of the nation. Our alternative has been that of an overfed animal, digestion or death. We have succeeded in an enormous digestion, and have spent our time in growing, and in measuring our growth, and boasting over it.

But it is time we understand that civilization is not wholly material and mechanical. Something more than agriculture, city building, and railroading is necessary to civilized man. Nor can Churches, school-houses, and printing do all that needs to be done. An era of types may be a poor typical era, and growth in grace does not always involve the growth of the graces. There is nothing which the intellectual life of America so needs, and begins to feel its need of, as an æsthetic inspiration. Nothing else of human origin can so smooth out the hard lines of our national character, and refine our national thought. And why should not America become the favorite haunt of all the Muses? Certainly no country is richer in the natural elements for art-conceptions than our own. Mighty mountains, awful canyons, vast inland seas, picturesque rivers, thundering cataracts, boundless prairies, solemn forests, unique wild men, noble wild beasts, sapphire skies, golden sunsets, with autumnal dyes and an Indian summer matchless elsewhere in the world; where are the natural teachers of sublime art, if not in America? Personally, the American is not the best art-subject, but he is far from being the worst. He approaches more nearly to the Greek type than does any other living race. Give him another century of intellectual and Olympic culture, and he will rival the Hellenes themselves.

Nor are the subjective conditions for art-culture wanting in the American people. With all his calculating energy, the American has also a devout and serious mind capable of the

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noblest invention and the most exalted fervor. With all his practical qualities, he has likewise imaginative and mystical capabilities, which need only a profound and deliberate culture to make him one of the boldest and sublimest, though not, perhaps, the most exquisite of all artists. To be sure we have not a mythological history behind us, nor a moldering antiquity rearing its picturesque ruins around us; but we have a past baptized in illustrious sufferings for liberty, and the atmosphere of freedom about us, which, only, can be breathed by the sacred Nine. We have also a maturity in the tributary mechanical arts, and a versatility in their application, which puts the most perfect implements possible into the hands of art. Why, then, may not some American statuary temper bronze to the tints of rose and pearl, like Lysippus; or bid it blush with seeming life, like Praxiteles? Why should Scopas' Niobe grieve alone in marble through all the ages, with a weight and sublimity of woe which no other chisel dare attempt? Why should the Parthenon for proportions, and St. Peter's for majesty, be at once the inspiration and the despair of time? Shall America, with her matchless autumns and sunsets, forever go on pilgrimage to Venice to learn coloring of Titian? Shall Correggio's Ecce Homo be always, comparatively, "the only head of Christ in existence?" Shall Thorwaldsen, from frozen Iceland, compel all classic art to bow to his divine Saviour and the Twelve Apostles, and America win no equal homage? Why shall the Flemish school still reign unmatched in the depth, breadth, and brightness of Rubens, or Rembrandt's solemn power? Why may not England's Flaxman and Reynolds and Wren be as well reproduced here, as her Hogarth and the world's is by our prince of caricaturists? Nay, why, under the mighty inspirations of a new, free, and triumphant civilization, may not Angelo the giant, Raphael the seraph, and Phidias the god of art, all yet be called to lay their crowns at the feet of some supreme genius of the young Hesperides? Of course this is unpardonably bold; but not to be bold were not to be American, and, being American, I shall be pardoned by Americans.

America has already demonstrated artistic capacity enough to warrant the warmest prognostications. The Greek Slave and the Heart of the Andes alone, not to enumerate a noble

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host of later works, have put the matter of capability out of the question. But what America needs is a grand original genius, who shall strike out a new school of art suited to interpret nature and man as they exist in America. We need a new order of architecture, expressive not alone of the repose of antiquity, but also of the infinite energy of to-day. Why shall we always servilely copy the productions of other ages, races, civilizations, religions, from the other side of the globe? Why shall not America, as well as India or Assyria, Greece or Europe, model her temples of commerce and justice to express the genius of her climate and institutions; and her temples of learning and religion to embody the breadth of her thought, the inspirations of her faith, and the practical wants of her people? Why shall not American art copy nature in America? Are the papyrus and the lotus-flower of the Nile, the carved log of the Greek frontiersmen, or the frost-arches of the Northern forests, the only models which nature has furnished for pillar and arch? Have the live-oak, the cane-brake, and the stalactite no hints for the architect? America must rear her own great masters, who shall consecrate her own models and materials, and create an essentially and characteristically American fine art! Is the fertility of human genius spent? Are the forms of beauty all discovered, the tints of coloring all displayed, the harmonies of music and poetry all exhausted?

Has not America been content, rather, with slightly, or perhaps seriously, studying the works of the past, and of other lands, instead of wrestling with nature and the human soul for new secrets and new inspirations from her own clime? One indication of this fact appears in the meager amount of study which has been given among us to the real science of fine art. There have been no schools of fine art in this country worthy of the name. There has been a little dabbling in oil and water-colors taught as a harmless accomplishment in young ladies' schools, and some progress in drawing and designing has been made in some of the leading schools of technology in the country; but the grand principles and laws of art have never been thought of in these schools, much less expounded. The great masters of classic art were, in many eminent instances, worthy to rank among the most encyclopædic scholars

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of their times. They laid on the shrine of art a wealth of anatomical, historical, scientific, and æsthetic learning which enriched their works with all the meaning of mind. But our tyros, with a few noble exceptions, have dabbled on in sublime unconsciousness that these fields belonged to art, and never dreaming of their conquest. But these fields must be possessed by American art before American artists can interpret their country or their times. The recent effort of Syracuse University to found a college of the fine arts, where the science of fine art is laid out in a course of study of something like university breadth and thoroughness, is a step in the right direction. It was to be understood at the outset, that such a movement must be content to be largely of a missionary character for some time to come, and that it must count itself fortunate if it should be sustained enough to live in that character. But its accomplished dean, Professor Comfort, may be thankful that he is permitted to be a herald preparing in the wilderness a highway for an advent of art and beauty yet to come.

This pioneer work must be done. The art-school, the art-culture, must prepare the way for Art herself in all her celestial charms. Shallow geniuses may become mannerized by the schools, but their mannerism will generally be more tolerable than their originality could be. Great geniuses need the schools, to correct their faults and to familiarize themselves with all the greatness that is and has been in art, that they may make the past the pedestal of a still more glorious future.

Lastly, America needs *a profound veneration for true art, and a munificent patronage of it.* I say, *true* art; for one of the most paralyzing and perverting influences in art development is a rich, popular, and vulgar patronage of unworthy art, no matter whether the unworthiness be in the design or in the execution. And such a patronage is the prime temptation of a people whose artistic discrimination is only half cultured, and who are not entirely certain whose art should rank highest, the art-painter's or the upholsterer's, the poet's or the cook-book maker's. But the building up of colleges and schools of art, and the gradual dissemination of their influence among the people, will do much to correct and educate taste, and banish mere rubbish from a noble profession. We need a severity of

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public taste akin to that represented in the Theban law, which imposed a heavy fine upon the professed artist who should violate the truth and beauty of his subject. A wise and conscientious criticism is indispensable to a healthy growth in art. Above all things, let it be insisted upon that art shall be separated from mere quackery by an impassable gulf. Architecture, for instance, has been in America but little more than an empirical trade. It must be elevated to its true and noble position as the most scientific of arts and the most artistic of sciences. Reverence for real art will come with correct knowledge of it; but we must shun extremes. We must avoid, on the one hand, the shocking barbarism of Baldwin, the crusader king, who broke up the noblest monuments of Greek bronze art, which centuries of care had accumulated at Constantinople, and coined them into money; and, on the other hand, we must reject the false enthusiasm of the king of Bavaria, who multiplied churches at government expense beyond the wants of his people, simply that he might fill Bavaria with the glory of fresco painting.

We must, however, have such a reverence and zeal for fine art as made the Carians of Cnidus refuse the offer of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to liquidate the heavy public debt of their city on condition that they would surrender to him the immortal statue of the naked Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles, of which the Venus de Medicis is a copy; that induced the Amphictyonic Council to decree the freedom of Greece, and his support at the public expense wherever he went, to Polygnotus, whose art had so nobly commemorated the victories of his country; that made the Venetian Senate decree the penalty of death to any one who should propose the removal from Venice of Titian's Death of Peter Martyr; that inspired the aged Pope Julius II. to lay hold of Michael Angelo, when he had never painted a line in fresco, and literally compel from him that awful and glorious ceiling of the Sistine Chapel that portrays the moral history of man from creation to the judgment-seat of Christ. We need something of this spirit in America. Americans must say, Art America needs, and art she must and shall have! and then we must work with our might until she has it. We must demand and hope for grandest things from art teachers and artists in America. We must demand a race of

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artists. The first race of artists may fall far short of perfection, but the artist's renown through his pupils may be greater than through his own works. The works of Ageladas are almost forgotten, but he is immortalized in his pupils. Three immortal geniuses—Myron in bronze, Polycletus in marble, and Phidias, supreme alike in every walk of art—were taught by him. Geniuses are God's gifts, but discipline is man's; and we must honor the discipline that we may prepare the way for the Genius and his creations.

Art. IV.—THE NEW YORK RIOT OF 1863.

The Great Riots of New York. By J. T. Headley.
The American Conflict. By Horace Greeley.
The American Annual Cyclopedia for 1863. Appletons.
The Lost Cause. By E. A. Pollard.
Mayoralty Documents. 1862, 1863. By George Opdyke.

There are dark periods in the history of every city and nation, particularly while pressing through the exhausting struggles of a gigantic war. The collapse of large branches of industry and commerce, the curtailment of individual liberty, and the rude sundering of esteemed relationships, exasperate; while the wail of ten thousand families, occasioned by their costly contributions to the gory fields, covers a people with sackcloth and fills it with consternation. Divided sentiments, springing from education, interest, and political factions, maddened by controversies, defeats, and losses, introduce a conflict of ideas only less exciting and deadly than the martial duel on the plain. The strife concerning national policies has seldom been as intense and bitter as during the late war, dividing life friends, and leading men of highest standing in Church and State to range themselves with sternest purpose on either side of the line.

War is always a dark problem; but when the rapid march of an invading army spreads its fangs over the life arteries of a republic, and the Government, in attempting to recruit its depleted columns, is confronted by a mob eighty thousand strong, contending successive days and nights for the control and plunder of the great political and moneyed center of the country,

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the picture becomes truly appalling. The solid interests of the country, both in peace and war, have always centered in New York. The insurgents counted on New York from the outset more than on any city south of Mason and Dixon's line, and the Federal Government also expected and received from it the most herculean support. Scarcely any calamity could have been so disastrous to the national cause during all those anxious years as the wreck of New York city. Besides the princely contributions of many of her citizens to the national cause in vessels, troops, equipments, and money, and the general revenue, (which during the war vastly exceeded that collected in all the residue of the country,) it furnished the Government one hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy-six troops, and loaned it during the same time *two hundred million dollars in gold.* It was also the center in which were collected the vast stores of ammunition, arms, food, clothing, and supplies of all kinds, to render effective the forces in the field. The city of Washington was always guarded with a vast army; but though Washington was the head, New York was a large and important part of the body, and the brain would soon have been useless without the "bone and sinew."

The war was fiercer, more expensive, and continued much longer than the masses had anticipated. The prospects of the Republic went up and down in the scale for years, so that for ten months previous to the July riot the whole loyal populace felt weary and discouraged, and the disloyal element clamored loudly for a suspension of hostilities. It was claimed that the rebel Government had more than held its own during the second year, covering portions of 1862, '63. Great plans had been formed by Federal commanders, but nothing decisive had been accomplished. The vast army of the Potomac had not been in sight of Richmond, and the repeated changes of its generals had brought only the bloody repulse of Burnside at Fredericksburgh and the fruitless fight of Hooker at Chancellorsville. Grant's scheme for the opening of the Mississippi by the capture of Vicksburgh and Port Hudson had not succeeded, and it was loudly asserted never could. Many earnest friends of the Government wondered whether the right man was at its head, and the rival political tide (which in this country returns

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about every two years) rose very high. Horatio Seymour, an inveterate opposer of the war for the Union, was elected governor of New York in November, 1862, over General Wadsworth, an esteemed officer of the Union army. The elections occurring in the spring of 1863 showed the same drift of public sentiment, New Hampshire, a pronounced Republican State, electing a Republican governor by its Legislature, having failed to secure him a plurality vote from the people. In Rhode Island and Connecticut the Democrats, though not successful, exhibited far greater strength than had crowned their exertions for years. These results were considered a rebuke to the administration in prosecuting the war, and the Democrats loudly urged an armistice, to be followed by a National Convention to adjust existing troubles.

Foreign nations, including their embassadors at Washington, very generally considered the Union of the States practically and finally at an end, and in this faith the emperor of the French, on Jan. 9, 1863, made a diplomatic proffer of his kind offices as mediator between the belligerents in the American Republic. Volunteers during the first eighteen months of the war supplied the Government with all needed forces; but the exhaustive and apparently fruitless winter of 1862, '63, depleted our ranks—which volunteering at that state of the public mind could not supply—and Congress, on March 3, 1863, passed an act providing for the enrollment of the national forces by Federal provost-marshals, all able-bodied citizens, including aliens who had declared their intention to become naturalized, between the ages of twenty and thirty-five to constitute the first class, and others between the ages of eighteen and forty-five the second class; from which the President was empowered, after July first, to secure by draft such numbers as were needed to serve the national cause for terms not exceeding three years. An exemption clause released the heads of executive departments, governors of States, Federal judges, the only son of a widower or of aged and infirm parents dependent on that son's labor for support, the father of dependent motherless children under twelve years of age, or the only adult brother of such children, being orphans, or the residue of a family having already two members in the service. A commutation of three hundred dollars was also to be taken in lieu of field service.

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This measure of the Federal Government to provide for its defense greatly exasperated all Southern sympathizers, who had expected to see the administration bend to the opposition pressure, and the act was at once pronounced "tyrannical," "unconstitutional," "an unnecessary stretch of governmental control," an "outrage on State rights" and the "constitutional liberties of the people," to be resisted and defeated. Democratic justices in the States, including McCunn of the Supreme Court of New York and a majority of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, made haste to pronounce the act "unconstitutional and void," insisting that the Federal authorities had no power to recruit armies otherwise than by voluntary enlistment.

It appears now almost incredible that so suicidal a theory should have been urged by governors, judges, and editors all over the country when the Republic was on the verge of hopeless disruption. Preservation is certainly the first law of a State; and while volunteering, encouraged by reasonable bounty, is preferable, the intrinsic right of Government to secure by draft the forces needed to repel invasion and preserve domestic order, is *undeniable*. Exorbitant bounties encourage cupidity rather than patriotism, filling the land with "bounty jumpers," who exhaust the treasury and bring no strength to the front. The insurgent Government at Richmond, as early as April, 1862, had passed a sweeping conscription act, placing all white males in their territory between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five at the absolute disposal of the executive, and retaining through the war all then in service who had enlisted for a brief period only. Their subsequent acts were rigorously exacting on their population. The act of the Federal authorities was much milder, and not to be enforced until a year and a quarter later than the one passed at Richmond, yet the malcontents at the North who believed in no "coercion" "save of the Lincoln administration by the rebels," uttered no word against the legislation of the latter, while they were uproarious in condemnation of the former.

But the country was now destined to reap some of the bitter fruit of its own folly. Our chief disaffections are, and ever have been, (the great rebellion excepted,) among our adopted citizens. A more suicidal policy could scarcely be adopted

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than our system of wholesale enfranchisement of ignorant, vicious foreigners, who have fled the restraints and escaped from the armies and prisons of the Old World. Granting that enfranchisement is a means to elevation, still, this boon should not be purchased at the extreme peril of a Republic and the extinction of liberty. Our Government was an experiment, and Americans owed it to themselves, to their peers, and to posterity, to have more carefully guarded the liberties of this infant commonwealth. Instead of granting citizenship to enlightened, virtuous strangers, we have foolishly proffered it to all, making law-makers and judges of the lawless.

We have also long felt the influence of an army of political demagogues, controlling a portion of the press and mounting the rostrum, ready to pander to these suspicious, misguided elements for personal ends. Happily, Americans have thus far been able to hold the balance, though they have suffered many local defeats inflicting disgrace on the fair fame of our institutions. Thousands sharing the full advantages of the country think themselves at liberty to keep law or break it, to assist in the defense of the nation they have adopted or otherwise. It was the fanning of these lawless embers that produced the flame.

The exemption clause, also, in the Conscription act was immensely unpopular. That a rich man could escape for three hundred dollars was considered the climax of tyranny. It was the old (and often *senseless*) quarrel of labor against capital; as if capital did not play as important a part in the war and *every-where* as labor. There are laborers besides those who wield the sledge and follow the plow. And does not the world need manufacturers and bankers, as much as operatives and hod carriers? If wealth brings its exemptions it has also its burdens, which the poor cannot carry; and if no one accumulated there would be little in a country to enjoy or defend.

Independence Day dawned upon a distracted country—a wearied and irritated people. Gen. Rosecrans had stood still half a year in Middle Tennessee; Grant had toiled six weeks around Vicksburgh; Banks nearly as long before Port Hudson; Milroy had been driven out of Winchester, losing vast stores and half his army; Hooker had given place to Meade, a comparatively unknown general, on the eve of a great battle;

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and Lee's triumphant march, with over one hundred thousand troops and two hundred and eighty cannon, into the heart of Pennsylvania, had caused all disloyal hearts to beat high and the nation's defenders to tremble. On that day ex-President Pierce, at a great Democratic mass-meeting at Concord, N. H., pronounced it "futile to attempt to maintain the Union by force of arms;" and Governor Seymour, addressing a similar meeting at the New York Academy of Music, denounced the policy of the Government, and sneered over the unfulfilled prophecies of Federal military triumphs. An incendiary anonymous hand-bill, calling on the people to rise and vindicate their liberties, had been widely circulated through New York on the evening of July 3, preparatory, as some believe, to a simultaneous uprising, as we shall show hereafter.

The Provost-marshal, with some opposition, had completed the enrollment, and the draft was finally ordered. The disloyal press of New York teemed with incendiary articles up to the very hour the affray began. The Government, absorbed with Lee and Vicksburgh, certainly did not perceive the temper of the masses in New York, and the appalling risk it was taking in commencing the draft on so inopportune a day. Lee's brilliant *debouch* into Pennsylvania had startled the country, and New York was called upon to send twenty thousand militia to Harrisburgh. It responded promptly with fifteen thousand, sending every organized regiment from the city, and nearly all from the fortifications in the harbor. This uncovering of the greatest hot-bed of treason north of Baltimore was sufficient without testing the metal of those who had counseled resistance to a draft when nothing but the ordinary police force could be relied on. The documents of the Mayor show that he apprehended serious disorder, but his cautions to the Secretary of War were not heeded. The draft began on Saturday, July 11, and proceeded quietly in the Eleventh and Ninth Districts. With regard to the time, Mr. Headley says, justly, "Saturday, of all days in the week, was the worst. It was a new thing, and one under any circumstances calculated to attract universal attention among the lower classes, and provoke great and angry discussion. Hence to have the draft commence on Saturday, and allow the names to be published

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in the papers on Sunday morning, so that all could read them and spend the day in talking the matter over and lay plans for future action, was a most unwise, thoughtless procedure. If there had been any choice as to the day, one, if possible, should have been chosen that preceded the busiest day of the week. To have the list of twelve hundred names that had been drawn read over and commented on all day by men who enlivened their discussions with copious drafts of bad whisky, especially when most of those drawn were laboring men or poor mechanics, unable to hire a substitute, was like applying fire to gunpowder."

Still, it was not generally believed that any rank opposition would be encountered until the conscripts were required to muster for service. The air was full of threatening indications as the draft officers began their toil on Monday morning. Superintendent Kennedy, hearing that the State Arsenal was to be seized, sent fifty policemen to occupy it, and dispatched small squads to preserve order in the drafting districts. Early in the day it became known that large gangs of men, employed by street contractors in the Nineteenth Ward, were not at work, and soon a very threatening aspect of affairs spread through the north-western portion of the city. Groups of men were gathering in every direction, and in a short time all the workshops and factories in that locality were forcibly stopped and the *employés* compelled to join their ranks. Proceeding northward in separate divisions, sweeping several avenues, this wild and savage mass of Irish laborers found at length a rendezvous in a vacant lot near Central Park, and after consultation marched in two divisions, one down Fifth and the other down Sixth Avenues, until they reached Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh streets, when they turned toward Third Avenue, where the draft was being conducted. Soon a huge paving-stone went crashing through the window, knocking down two or three bystanders, upsetting an inkstand on a reporter's table, and producing general consternation. A second and a third stone followed in quick succession; then the doors of the building were wrested from their fastenings, and, while the drafting officers and reporters escaped through the rear entrance, the mob entered the front, smashing furniture and destroying the papers, after which the building was set on fire.

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The mob had already assumed vast proportions. One wing of it, passing down the avenue, completely filling it and moving rapidly, had been observed by a gentleman to be nearly twenty-five minutes in passing a given point. Mr. Headley, in his felicitous style, thus describes its appearance immediately after the destruction of the Provost-marshal's office: "The scene in Third Avenue at this time was fearful and appalling. It was now noon, but the hot July sun was obscured by heavy clouds, that hung in ominous shadows over the city, while from Cooper Institute to Forty-sixth-street, or about thirty blocks, the avenue was black with human beings—sidewalks, housetops, windows, and stoops, all filled with rioters or spectators. Dividing it like a stream, horse-cars, arrested in their course, lay strung along far as the eye could reach. As the glance ran along this mighty mass of men and women, north, it rested at length on huge columns of smoke rolling heavenward from burning buildings, giving a still more fearful aspect to the scene. Many estimated the numbers at this time in the street at fifty thousand."

The brutal defeat of the small corps of invalid troops, who fired a volley of blank cartridges over the heads of the rioters, about this time, and the swift discomfiture of some squads of policemen, who charged bravely on these frenzied masses only to be crushed and beaten to death by overpowering numbers, emboldened the miscreants, who from this time deliberately took the offensive, saying little more about the draft, while they planned and undertook the most enormous schemes of destruction and plunder. A gun-factory on Second Avenue and Twenty-first-street was wrested from the police and workmen in charge of it, furnishing large numbers of fire-arms, and separate mobs now spread confusion simultaneously in many directions. Mayor Opdyke's house on Fifth Avenue was attacked; the Bull's Head Hotel, the Colored Orphan Asylum, and some other buildings, were sacked and burned. Emboldened by victory and maddened with rum, they now planned the most daring *coup d'état* of the entire movement, the success of which would have quickly ruined the city and made bankrupt the country. They resolved to destroy the Police Headquarters in Mulberry-street, after which they proposed to deal with the *Tribune* and other fated buildings. Mr. Headley says:

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When the news of this movement reached head-quarters the Commissioners saw that a crisis had come. The mob numbered at least five thousand, while they could not muster at that moment two hundred men. The clerk, Mr. Hawley, went to the Commissioners' room and said, "Gentlemen, the crisis has come. A battle has got to be fought now, and *won too*, or all is lost." They agreed with him. "But who," they asked, "will lead the comparatively small force in this fight?" He replied that he thought "Sergeant Carpenter should be selected, as one of the oldest and most experienced officers on the force." "Well," they said, "will you go down to his room and see what he says about it?" He went and laid before him the perilous condition of things, and that an immediate and successful battle must be fought. Carpenter heard him through, and taking in fully the perilous condition of things, paused a moment, and then rising to his full height and lifting his hand, said, with terrible emphasis, "I'll go, and I'll win that fight or *Daniel Carpenter* will never come back a live man." He walked out and summoned the little force, and as "Fall in, men; fall in," was repeated, they fell into line along the street. When all was ready Acton turned to Carpenter, every lineament of whose face showed the stern purpose that mastered him, and quietly said, "Sergeant, *make no arrests.*" "All right," replied Carpenter as he buttoned up his coat and shouted, "Forward!" Solid and silent, save their heavy, measured tread on the pavement, they moved down Bleecker-street toward Broadway. As they turned into the latter street, only a block and a half away they saw the mob, which filled the entire street far as the eye could reach, moving tumultuously forward. Armed with clubs, pitchforks, iron bars, and some with guns and pistols, and most of them in their shirt-sleeves, and shouting as they came, they presented a wild and savage appearance. Pedestrians flew down the side streets, stores were hastily closed, stages vanished, and they had the street to themselves. A huge board, on which was inscribed "No Draft," was borne aloft as a banner, and beside it waved the stars and stripes. The less than two hundred policemen, compact and firm, now halted, while Carpenter detached two companies of fifty each up the parallel streets to the right and left as far as Fourth-street. Coming down this street from both directions, they were to strike the mob on both flanks at the same time he charged them in front. He waited till they had reached their position, and then shouted, "*By the right flank, company, front, double quick—charge!*" Instantaneously every club was swung in air, and solid as a wall and swift as a wave they swept full on the astonished multitude, while at the same time, to cut the monster in two, the two companies charged in flank. Carpenter, striding several steps in advance, his face fairly blazing with excitement, dealt the first blow, stretching on the pavement a powerful ruffian who was rushing on him with a huge club. For a few minutes nothing was heard but the heavy thud of clubs falling on human skulls

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thick and fast as hailstones on windows. The mob, just before so confident and bold, quailed in terror, and would have broken and fled at once but for the mass behind, which kept bearing down on them. This, however, soon gave way before the side attack and the panic that followed. Then the confusion and uproar became terrible, and the mass surged hither and thither, now rolling up Broadway, and again borne back or shoved against the stores, seeking madly for a way of escape. At length, breaking into fragments, they rushed down the side streets, hotly pursued by policemen, whose remorseless clubs never ceased to fall as long as a fugitive was within reach. Broadway looked like a field of battle, the pavements strewn thick with prostrate bleeding forms. It was a great victory, and decisive of all future contests. Having effectually dispersed them, Carpenter, with the captured flag, marched up to Mayor Opdyke's house, but finding all quiet, returned to Head-quarters.'

The vast crowds of rioters that blackened the Park around the City Hall as night stole on promised evil to the "Tribune," whose editor they had sought for in vain during the day. The terrible repulse they had received on Broadway from Carpenter had crippled many of the leaders, and delayed for several hours the intended attack at Printing House Square. Early in the evening came the crash of stones and brickbats through the windows of the building; then a general assault forcing the doors, and scores of rioters poured in, smashing every thing within reach, after which they applied the match. But the blue-coats again interfered with their programme. Captain Warlow, of the First Precinct, after much marching and fighting reached his station-house, where he met a dispatch from Head-quarters ordering him to fly to the rescue of the "Tribune" building. A few moments brought him and his little force to the scene of tumult. Here he was fortunately joined by Captain Thorne's force of the City Hall, and one hundred and fifty clubs cut a wide and rapid swath up Nassau-street in front of the "Tribune" office, putting thousands to flight across the Park, and through every available street. The building was soon emptied of rioters, and the flames extinguished. But while the crowds rushing across the Park escaped Warlow, they encountered a still more formidable enemy. Carpenter, with two hundred policemen, had also been dispatched down Broadway to protect the "Tribune" building. They had just crossed Chambers-street when they met

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the advance of these rushing thousands. Quickly forming his men, he charged at double-quick, bearing down every thing before him, and literally swept the Park as with the besom of destruction.

This ended the hard fighting of the first day. Carpenter spent the night with a considerable force at the City Hall. The Custom-House and the Sub-Treasury were garrisoned with armed men, and the weary policemen remained on duty all over the metropolitan district.

Thus far the police force had singly confronted these enormous masses, and, though taken by surprise, had suffered no crushing defeat to the force, and the day closed to them with decisive victory at all points; yet it was clear that re-enforcements must be obtained for the morrow. Lee had been glad to find the Potomac, but the city regiments were still under General Couch at Harrisburgh. Mayor Opdyke, comprehending fully the perils of the situation, had during the forenoon called on General Wool, Federal Commander of the Eastern Department, for aid; also on Major-General Sandford, of the State Militia; and on Admiral Paulding, of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Each had responded, like gallant officers, with such forces as they could muster, General Sandford taking possession of the State Armory on Seventh Avenue, which he held securely, though he appears to have performed no other service during that eventful week. The fortifications around the harbor were now laid under contribution, and a rigid denudation furnished about seven hundred troops, which were collected in the vicinity of Police Head-quarters. The Mayor had in the mean time sent several telegrams to Governor Seymour, then at Long Branch, and had advised Secretary Stanton, at Washington, of the state of affairs.

But while these battles between the police and rioters were being waged, a conflict of military etiquette was raging in the parlor of the St. Nicholas Hotel. General Wool having taken up his temporary head-quarters here, a meeting, consisting of Mayor Opdyke, President Acton, General Sandford, General Brown, and some other citizens, undertook to organize a plan of action for the morrow. Brevet Brigadier-General Harvey Brown, of the United States Army, had, by special order of the War Department, been made commandant of the city and

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of all its troops and fortifications, save Fort Columbus. General Wool decided that Sandford, a major-general, though not in the United States service, ranked Brown, a brigadier-general of the regular army, and required the latter to obey the orders of the former. This Brown very reasonably refused to do, urging that as he, and not Sandford, was amenable at Washington, he must have control of his troops or withdraw entirely. For a time a ruinous disagreement seemed inevitable, but through the earnest persuasions of the Mayor a compromise was reached, and General Brown assumed command of all the troops except those at the State Arsenal.

In the basement of the Central Police building is the Telegraph department, with lines of thought extending to the station-house of each precinct. By this arrangement the Superintendent is enabled to converse with every department of the force, and dispatch promptly such numbers as are required to quell disorder. On Monday all patrol duty had been suspended, and a large force had been collected at Head-quarters for hard service. These were hurried here and there as Acton learned through the wires of riotous demonstrations, and through the station-houses he kept up communication with them in all directions. Some idea of the value of this system may be inferred from the fact that nearly six thousand messages passed over the wires during the four days of the riot. The mob early saw the importance of destroying this system, and on their way across Fourth Avenue, on Monday, tore down the telegraph poles and wires before they attacked the office of the drafting officer. The same morning the Superintendent of the Telegraph Bureau, going from his residence in Yorkville in a Third Avenue car, was surprised to see men cutting down telegraph poles. Hurrying up to one he commanded him to desist. A ruffian recognized him and announced him as an operator, when, amid cries of "Smash him!" "Kill him!" he was seized, and but for his skill as an adroit policeman he would have lost his life. During Monday over sixty poles had been cut down, and upward of twelve miles of wire rendered useless. If they could have burned Police Head-quarters, and thus destroyed telegraphic communications on Monday afternoon, their sledge-hammers and iron bars would have smashed the safes of Wall-street before Tuesday, as neither the Nation

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nor the State had any available force to have arrested their progress. The Police authorities resolved at all hazards to keep up telegraphic relations with every precinct. Hence on Monday night, in the midst of a dreadful storm, the two principal officers of the telegraph department were set at work to repair the broken wires. It was a delicate undertaking, requiring all the tact of a Jesuit. The mob would have speedily butchered them if they had not artfully concealed their operations. Wires were carried over housetops and around buildings, and every artifice employed to conceal their undertakings. Disguised as Irish rioters, they came near at one time being clubbed to death by a detachment of policemen. By persistent effort, toiling day and night, these brave officers kept up the lines of communication to every precinct during that dreadful week.

The chief demonstrations of Monday, as we have seen, occurred in the central and lower portions of the city, and from the thorough punishment administered, or other causes, the masses concluded to operate farther from the seat of authority. At five o'clock on Tuesday morning the mob were burning buildings at Eighty-sixth-street, and a little later all the northern sections were "alive with gathering crowds, while from Sixth Avenue to Second Avenue, and down almost to Broome-street, the streets were black with excited men." Manufactories were again arrested by force, and all the *employés* turned into the streets; places of business, except the ten thousand rum-shops, were closed; stone-yards were robbed of hammers and iron bars, and every available weapon, from fire-arms to pitchforks, brought into requisition. Thousands of coarse, ferocious women and ill-kept children mingled with swaggering men, who pressed up and down the streets in angry discussion. The rioters were better armed and more courageous than on the previous day. They fought with a coolness and desperation not often evinced by a mob. Several armories and gun-factories were broken open and their contents appropriated, the Mayor's house was sacked, and many private residences and scores of stores and other business houses were attacked and plundered, including the immense store of Brooks Brothers, and others nearly as large. Policemen and soldiers operated unitedly, and with great success. In the fiercest con-

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flicts the rioters not only carried guns and filled the streets, but the dwellings on either side and the roofs of them, from which they rained brickbats and bullets incessantly on the passing columns. When the military could not pick off these assailants, the policemen charged the buildings with clubs, forcing the doors, cutting their way from floor to floor, clearing each as they proceeded, until the roof, through a narrow scuttle, was reached, which they swept in a merciless manner. Fierce rioters in some instances leaped from windows and housetops down several stories, to be cut in fragments on the iron fences, or to crush others and themselves on the pavements. It was eye for eye and tooth for tooth.

The "reign of terror" had now come, and no one knew what an hour would bring forth. The chief public buildings and armories were held by armed bodies; many special policemen had been sworn in, and an effective military force with field batteries swept the streets. No mob could stand long before the charge of these veterans; yet, as the city was thronged every-where with these murderous, plundering bands, it was impossible for the authorities to prevent perpetual pillage and violence. Citizens by thousands fled from the city, packing the steamboats and extra trains hastily organized, but the rioters soon tore up the tracks of most of the roads, rendering escape impossible. Lee's army could scarcely have undertaken more destructive measures. They tried to cut the Croton Aqueduct, to destroy the gas-works, to burn the ferry buildings, and the Harlem Bridge. They barricaded the streets and avenues with carts, cars, and telegraph poles, lashing them together with broken telegraph wires. Behind these they collected, raining stones and bullets on their assailants, and could only be dislodged by the troops, who gave them round after round of musketry. Gay and brilliant centers were deserted. Business was hushed as with the quiet of Sunday. Cars and stages disappeared, or were driven by armed men. "The blood flowing through the thousand arteries of this great mart seemed suddenly frozen in its channels, and its mighty pulsations to stop at the mandate of lawless men. The city held its breath in dread" of existing violence and a fearful future. A meeting of merchants and bankers resolved to suspend all business and organize in companies to serve under the

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military, and William E. Dodge was soon a captain under orders.

On Wednesday morning it was hoped that the rioters, admonished by the memory of fallen comrades, would cease from their mad undertakings. Governor Seymour, in his famous speech at the City Hall on the previous day, had informed them that he had sent his "adjutant to Washington to have the draft suspended and stopped," and the Common Council had made haste to appropriate two and one half millions to pay the commutation of the poor if they should be drafted. But the rich plunder of the two previous days stimulated to further demonstrations, and this proved also a day of much pillage and bloodshed. Mobs were surging through Harlem and Brooklyn, and at nearly all intermediate points, burning buildings, hanging negroes, and bearing away plunder. The darkness of evening only intensified the disorder. Negro dwellings in York-street were pulled down and fired amid the screams of the affrighted inmates; numerous other incendiary fires occurred at distant points; heavy bodies of troops and rioters were in deadly collision until late at night; so that, amid the roar of cannon, the ringing of bells, the rush of troops, policemen, and engine companies through the dimly-lighted streets, and the wail of the wounded and dying, the city presented a scene of unusual anxiety and horror.

On Thursday the mob did not assume such proportions as on the previous days, yet there were fierce battles and considerable bloodshed. The return of the troops from Pennsylvania gave a sense of relief to the authorities and the people. Early in the morning the Seventh Regiment, coming by special train, marched up Canal-street, and took position in front of the St. Nicholas Hotel. In the afternoon came the Fifty-sixth New York Regiment, and late at night the One Hundred and Sixty-second and others. The streets, usually so brilliant in rich adornments by gas-light, were now dark and cheerless. Block after block of "blank dead walls emitting no ray of light, rendered the darkness made by the overhanging clouds still more impenetrable." One regiment marched through a violent thunder-storm, at a late hour of the night, up to Police Head-quarters, and were stowed away for rest. Never were the march of troops and the bristling of bayonets more grateful

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to the eye and ear of man than to the citizens of New York and its weary defenders. And as cold water poured on the head of a man cools his excited brain and lulls him to repose, so this drenching shower assisted greatly in dispersing the numerous crowds. The rioters sought their homes to rally no more.

Archbishop Hughes on Friday addressed several thousand who, by his invitation, appeared before his balcony on Madison Avenue. His counsels would have saved many lives if they had been earnestly given at the proper time, as the rioters belonged almost exclusively to his fold. But he was believed to sympathize with their movements, and so his published letter and speech went for nothing. The Germans, always among the best of our adopted citizens, resisted the rioters nobly, and formed companies to preserve order in their localities.

The highest praise is due the police force and the few hundred troops who confronted so bravely scores of thousands of rioters, holding them in check successive days and nights. Strange to say, but one policeman was killed during the week, though some died afterward of their injuries. Mr. Acton, chief of police, remained in his office without sleep nearly one hundred consecutive hours. The discipline of the troops was also remarkable. Retained on duty day and night, with drinking saloons all around them, but one was known to fall a victim to his appetite. No less than twelve hundred rioters are believed to have died from the casualties of this memorable week. The riot over, the search for plunder began. In miserable, dingy shanties around Central Park, and in cellars and hovels in every direction, were found upholstered furniture, rich pictures and mantel ornaments, marble top tables and stands, and piles of groceries, dry goods, and clothing. The women were still fierce, cursing and threatening the officers, none of whom, however, were assaulted. Though the prisons were apparently full, the work of arresting the miscreants still continued. The Grand Jury entered bills of indictment against many of the prisoners, and, at the August term of that year, twenty were tried and nineteen of them convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. It is perhaps superfluous to add that justice was largely robbed of its victims, multitudes escaping through insufficient evidence and the venality of the judges.

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The destruction of property was simply enormous, whole blocks of buildings in several instances being destroyed by fire before the rioters would allow the firemen to extinguish the flames. Long and tedious litigations followed in adjusting claims, and the expense to the City Government was at least three millions. Many property owners saved their buildings by a liberal use of money with the ringleaders, and many others by armed defense. The heavy showers of rain, also, which appear to have been blessedly frequent during that week, saved the Harlem Bridge and a multitude of other structures.

Some may wonder how intelligence could be obtained by the authorities concerning the designs of so many prowling bodies of rioters, who were furiously rushing through different parts of the city. This was mainly furnished by fifteen skillful detectives. These sagacious officers played the most bold and successful part of the entire force. Artfully disguised, they threaded every part of the city, gaining knowledge of every important movement, giving warning to citizens, and sending through the various station-houses intelligence by telegraph to head-quarters. They gave the information that led Carpenter and his few brave supporters to meet the mob on Broadway and thus save the city. At times they disguised themselves like Westchester farmers; sometimes they drove carts or hacks, sometimes they rode in coaches like gentlemen, or appeared as clerks; and often, as bold rioters, with cudgel and brickbat, they mingled in the crowd, shouting, and conversing with the ringleaders until they obtained knowledge of their plans, which they quickly dispatched to the Superintendent. If a ringleader could be drawn out of the crowd, these detectives pounced upon him and ran him into the nearest station house; and during one night they arrested thirty of the most noted thieves, burglars, and garroters in the city.

The fiendishness of human nature as displayed in these dreadful frays is too shocking to contemplate, yet we must glance at it in presenting a faithful exhibit of this tragic period. Inoffensive citizens, even children, were inhumanly butchered, and vast amounts of property uselessly destroyed, simply to gratify the spirit of pandemonium which had seized the rioters. The women were as brutal as the men, being

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omnipresent, urging on their husbands and brothers, gloating over the miseries inflicted, loading themselves with spoils, and sometimes taking part in the encounters. When the mob was driven out of Mr. Gibbon's house, an athletic Irish woman, unwilling to relinquish her plunder, "fought like a tigress." She seized the policeman by the throat, tried to strangle and bite him, and would not yield until clubbed into submission. When the Provost-marshal's office was set on fire—John A. Kennedy, Superintendent of Police, who was on a tour of observation, quietly entered the crowd in citizen's dress. "There's Kennedy," soon fell on his ears, which was quickly followed by such a succession of blows and surgings of the crowd around him that he fell and rolled down the embankment into a vacant lot, pursued by a score of blood-thirsty assailants. Regaining his feet he fled across the lot, but was met at the opposite bank by a crowd, where he was again knocked down and horribly beaten with clubs. With great presence of mind he defended his skull, which they were as determined to break. Thinking to drown him, they next plunged him into a deep mud pond, but he fell with his face on a pile of stones, where he was again beaten with clubs. Springing once more to his feet he leaped into the center of the pond, and with a struggle for life quickly waded through and gained the bank into Lexington Avenue. But he was weary, mangled, and encumbered with muddy garments, and his pursuers with shouts were close upon him. A moment more and all would have been over; but at that instant he caught the countenance of a friend and shrieked, "John Eagan, come here and save my life!" Eagan did not recognize him, but he responded bravely to this cry of distress. The rioters withdrew, and Kennedy was saved. From this time the control of the police force fell upon Acton. Kennedy never entirely recovered from these injuries.

Sergeant M'Creadie, of the Fifteenth Precinct, with a small force attacked a vast mob on Third Avenue immediately after the flight of the Invalid Corps. Soon hemmed in, in every direction, by angry thousands, and battered with every conceivable weapon, they sought to escape. "At the outset of the charge the sergeant was struck with an iron bar on the wrist, which rendered the arm almost useless. In the retreat four men assailed him at once. Knocking down two, he took refuge

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in the house of a German, when a young woman told him to jump between two mattresses. He did so, and she covered him up just as his pursuers forced their way in. Streaming through the house from cellar to garret, they came back and demanded of the young woman where the man was hid. She quietly said he had escaped by the rear of the house. Believing she told the truth, they departed. Officer Bennett was knocked down three times before he ceased fighting. The last time he was supposed to be dead, when the wretches stripped him of every article except his drawers. He was picked up and placed in the dead-house of St. Luke's hospital." When the sad intelligence reached his wife she flew to the hospital and fell weeping over his prostrate form. Believing him still alive she laid her hand over his heart, and found, to her great joy, that it still throbbed. Restoratives were successful, though he remained unconscious for several days. "Officer Travis, in his flight down the avenue, saw, as he looked back, that his foremost pursuer had a pistol. Wheeling, he knocked him down and seized the pistol, but before he could use it a dozen clubs were raining blows upon him, which brought him to the ground. The infuriated men then jumped upon him, knocked out his teeth, breaking his jaw-bone and right hand, and terribly mutilated his whole body. Supposing him dead, they stripped him naked and left him on the pavement." Officer Phillips ran the gauntlet for many blocks, was shot at by a rioter, and after many narrow escapes encountered in the crowd a fierce woman, armed with a shoe knife, who seemed bent on his butchery. Her first slash missed his throat but riddled his ear. The next stab pierced his arm. He was bleeding profusely, was exhausted and overcome, and would soon have died had not a brave stranger, in passing, instantly sprang to his relief, threatening to kill the first that advanced.

Officer Kiernan, receiving a blow on his head with a stone, another on the back of his neck, and two more on the knees, fell insensible, and would have been killed but for the wife of Eagan, who saved Kennedy. This noble woman, seeing the dreadful plight of this brave officer, ran out of the house, threw herself over his person, crying, "*For God's sake, don't kill him!*" and her noble defense saved him. How touching to see policemen, who constantly brave every danger for the order of

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society, saved in their deadliest encounters by the hand of a cultivated, heroic woman.

But the murder of Colonel O'Brien, of the Eleventh New York Volunteers, was perhaps the most brutal of all. Though an Irishman of some wealth and reputation in the city, he was too loyal to please his Irish neighbors. He had entered the National service, and was at this time raising a regiment for the war. He had taken an active part against the rioters in an engagement on Second Avenue during the early part of Tuesday, and had done good service. Having sprained his limb, he relinquished his command and returned to the vicinity of his dwelling, where he encountered the clubs of the rioters, stunning him to the earth, after which he was dragged over the pavements, beaten and trampled and kicked about for hours, until near sundown, when they rolled him into his own yard, a clotted, ghastly fragment of unsightly humanity, a crowd of men, boys, and even women, committing every fiendish violence, and gloating over his agonies to the last.

A reporter of the "New York Times" was surrounded by a party of rioters on the corner of Forty-sixth-street and Third Avenue, and robbed of his watch, chain, diamond pin, and wallet, after which some one cried "*Abolitionist!*" This brought a general assault, when he was knocked down, kicked, trampled upon, and dragged by the hair of his head up and down the street. Some firemen at length interfered, and carried him to an engine house. But his mangled appearance attracted another crowd, which broke every pane of glass in the building with their missiles; but being at length drawn in another direction, the wounded man escaped. But the poor negroes were objects of perpetual search. They were hanged on trees and lamp-posts, their hair and garments filled with camphene and set on fire. They were pursued almost incessantly in some localities. Some were driven into the rivers and drowned, but the masses took refuge in the armory and the police buildings. At least twelve are known to have been murdered.

The reader may now very naturally inquire, "Was the riot a part of a definite plan, or simply the spontaneous outburst of Irish passion?"* Mr. Greeley believed that it was carefully

* The following incident affords some aid in answering this question. At the time of the riot a niece of ours was residing in the upper part of the city whose

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planned, and was to have occurred on the *Fourth*, but that the great victory of Meade created such joy among loyal men, who thronged the streets by thousands every-where, that the plan failed. We know that the insurgents confidently expected the speedy triumph of their cause in the early summer of 1863. The army of Northern Virginia, having choice of position, had several times beaten the army of the Potomac, and on that side they had come to believe that it could do it anywhere. After Hooker's repulse, instead of strengthening Bragg and crushing Rosecrans, they resolved to transfer the war to Northern soil. Jefferson Davis, in the United States Senate, had long before said, that *on the wheat-fields of Pennsylvania should be carried the contest for the rights of the South.* He believed that that time had now come, and looked for a speedy peace from two combined sources, namely, the triumph of their arms north of the Potomac, and from a popular and simultaneous uprising in the North against the Lincoln administration. The Emancipation policy was proudly in the ascendant at Washington. The insurgents knew this to be thoroughly obnoxious to the great Democratic party, and believed the laboring classes, particularly foreigners, would resist it because of its tendency to cheapen labor. It was not believed in the South that Northern laborers would submit to a draft, which would make permanent this detested policy. The draft being expected about the first of July, Lee's stealthy march northward began early in June. That his movement was political as well as military he intimates in his report of the campaign, where, after giving the military reasons, he significantly adds: "It was hoped that other valuable results might be obtained by military success."

We should do injustice to the vigor of the Richmond authorities to doubt that the best possible correspondence with the peace Democracy of the North was kept up, and that efficient emissaries were constantly employed in so fruitful a field as New York. A triumphant riot in the latter, destroying all drafting facilities, the Police Department, the obnoxious newspapers, the Croton and gas works, the connecting railroad and

father and husband were both Democrats. As the noise of the mob approaching her house alarmed her, she was forthwith assured by her Irish servant girl with "O, ma'am, you need not be afraid; they know you. You are Democrats."—ED.

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telegraph lines, coupled with the rout of the army around the National Capital, leaving New York, Harrisburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington at the mercy of the conqueror, would, it was believed, end the struggle. Vicksburgh still held out, and the vitals of the Confederacy remained uncut.* Confident of these successes, Alexander H. Stephens was, on the second of July, dispatched toward Washington with plenary instructions from the Richmond chief to propose conditions of peace. On reaching Fortress Monroe he learned that Lee was defeated, and his peace mission ended.

But the blood of Erin had been too thoroughly inoculated with the virus of disorder to allow this delectable programme to be utterly wasted; and the news of the fall of Vicksburgh and Port Hudson, of insurgent losses at Helena and Morris Island, coming in rapid succession, could not quench the smoldering fire. Private meetings were held on Sunday, the 12th, in various parts of the city, to organize operations, which began with considerable regularity, as we have seen, on Monday. But the Irish nature is poorly adapted to exact discipline, and, as rum and plunder were obtained, the main issue was forgotten, and a storm of miscellaneous plunder and violence followed.

There were men of talent and culture in the riot. One rode a fine horse about Tenth Avenue on Monday morning, sounding a bugle, and giving directions to the gathering crowds. On Tuesday a man rode a gay cavalry horse through the crowds, brandishing a sword, giving orders like a field officer. In the desperate struggle for the wire-factory containing the carbines, on Second Avenue, there appeared a leader of desperate courage. His garments were filthy, and he was bleeding profusely from a club wound, yet he rallied the rioters, and charged with great heroism. Deserted by his comrades, a policeman's club sent him reeling against an iron fence, where a sharp picket penetrated the chin to the roof of his mouth. There he died, and hung for several hours. When taken down he was found to be "a young man of delicate features and white, fair skin. Although dressed as a laborer, in dirty over-

* John M. Daniels, editor of the "Richmond Examiner," often remarked, that when Lee's army stood on the heights of Gettysburg, on July 3, 1863, the Confederates were within a *stone's throw of peace.*—POLLARD.

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alls and filthy shirt, underneath these were fine cassimere pants, rich vest, and fine linen shirt." He was not an Irish laborer, but whence he came, or what his connections, could not be ascertained, as his remains were carried away by his friends.

ART. V.—THE OLD FAITH AND THE NEW.

By DAVID FREDERICK STRAUSS. Translated by M. BLIND. Asher's Collection of English Authors. In two volumes.

MR. STRAUSS has spent the greater part of his life in telling the world what he does not believe. At last, however, he has reached a positive creed; and now, in his old age, he appears with a confession of faith. It is a matter of interest to know what that faith is, and the grounds on which it rests. No one ought to know better what evidence is than the author, and no one ought to see more clearly the need of a strong, scientific foundation for a faith which is to claim the assent of men. Judging, then, from the author's fame, and from the fact that this book has already received several translations into English, we seem justified in expecting some valuable determinations both in philosophy and in religion.

What the new faith is will appear in the course of the discussion. There is a large number of cultivated and thinking people, Strauss says, who have broken entirely with the old faith, and indeed with all the old modes of thinking. The advance of natural and critical science has made the old conceptions obsolete to all who are acquainted with the facts. For this class, which he calls "we," Strauss assumes to speak. And, first, though we can no longer accept the old faith, we bear no enmity against it. "We wish for the present no change whatever in the world at large. It does not occur to us to wish to destroy any Church, as we know that a Church is still a necessity for a large majority." This is the language of a humane and considerate man. The old faith is, to be sure, a superstition; but still it is a necessity and a comfort to many. Therefore he will not obtrude the disturbing views which a higher knowledge gives upon their unsuspecting peace. Nor does he intend any propagation of the new faith; "For a new

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constructive organization the times seem to us not yet ripe. We would only work in silence, so that a new growth should in the future develop of itself from the inevitable dissolution of the old." In proof of his unwillingness to molest the old faith, he makes a violent attack upon it. In proof of his determination to "work in silence," he publishes his book. Hail, Master! and he kissed him.

In spite, then, of the profession of peace, the author is plainly upon the war-path; and so bent is he on scalping the old faith that we cannot help asking, What has the old faith done? What inexpiable crime against humanity has it committed? One feels as he reads Strauss's argument that this old faith must have lain like a nightmare upon the race, paralyzing energy, crippling effort, and debasing humanity by enjoining beastly grovelings before the deified conceptions of selfishness and fear. The various religious wars fill him with indignation. The dreadful statements of some false creeds put him almost beside himself. It makes no difference to him that the old faith really does not enjoin persecution and bloodshed. It is entirely beneath him, as a critic, to notice that all the things complained of were in direct opposition to the letter and spirit of the old faith. If we look away from Strauss's diatribes to the facts, and remember Butler's pregnant remark, that Christianity did not make the ills it seeks to relieve, it does not seem so atrocious after all. Listen to its words. The law and the prophets are all summed up in the one command: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself. It hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another. Now in the face of these facts, in the face of its past history and its present outlook, it would be the depth of absurdity to defend the old faith from Strauss's reckless charges. We have taken notice of them with no purpose of disproof, but only to show what a marvelous power of

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unreasoning aversion is possible. Such a spontaneity of hatred as to need no evidence whatever, nay, as to be superior to all opposing fact, surpasses even the judgment of the Pharisees on the same question: He hath a devil, and is mad; why hear ye him? Not even the scene in Pilate's judgment-hall betrays a more settled purpose than does the author's criticism. And Pilate answered and said unto them, What will ye that I shall do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews? And they cried out again, Crucify him. Then Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? And they cried out the more exceedingly, Crucify him. The old faith commands unselfish love and inner purity; but it must be represented as authorizing all kinds of enormities in order to strengthen the case. The work of ignorance and passion must all be laid at its door. Its doctrines must be distorted, its spirit overlooked, its history pushed out of sight, and a calm superiority to all facts maintained. If we ask, with Pilate, What shall we do with the old faith? we get the answer, Crucify it. If we inquire what evil it has done, we get only a more vehement demand for its crucifixion. But the spread of its principles would be the greatest boon that our earth could ask! nay, crucify it. But it has been the chief source of humanizing and civilizing influences! nay, crucify it. But it is now the most active agent in carrying good tidings to the nations that are crushed under a load of superstition! nay, let it be crucified. We say it plainly, this is the only argument which Strauss has to offer in support of his pretended criticism. He quotes at length from Ritmarus to the effect that Moses was ambitious, unscrupulous, and deceitful. David was a dreadful character, etc., etc. He glorifies the progress of science, and adds the childish remark that piety looks upon the steam-engine and the telegraph as the work of the devil. (Vol. ii, p. 58.) It would be an insult to the intelligence of the reader to consider such stuff seriously, but one cannot repress a feeling of deep shame as he thinks of this poor old man gathering up the worn-out utterances of an outgrown infidelity, and peddling them off as a new and well-grounded faith. It is pitiful to the last degree, and must move every humane heart with feelings of profound compassion. We have said that Strauss's assertions are entirely unsupported. This deserves qualification, however. There is a certain person

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who often makes his appearance in the course of the argument, and who evidently could tell us a great deal if he only chose. This is the "cultivated man," "the critic," "the scholar," "the philosopher." We have Strauss's word that this superior being is well assured of the truth of his principles. His name and residence are not given, but the lofty bearing of this exalted person is more than warrant enough for accepting his oracular decisions. We have secret suspicions at times that if the great medicine-man's wigwam were carefully searched his charms would lose their power; but this only proves, first, that we are not "cultivated;" and, second, that we are "priest-ridden." This laughable assumption of superior wisdom and culture reminds us of a very worthy gentleman with whom we once had the honor to board. On one occasion, having entertained the company by a ridiculous story of a miraculous cure, and a physician present having remarked that it was entirely new to him, he completely squelched the latter by observing that all eminent physicians were acquainted with the fact. It is somewhat strange, not to say contradictory, that a religion of reason should make such wholesale use of the appeal to authority. For ourselves, however, not having the fear of the "scholar" before our eyes, we shall view this lofty personage as a myth until we get more accurate information as to his whereabouts, and shall regard the oracles which he is said to pronounce as ventriloquial utterances, which, though seeming to proceed from some awful majesty behind the vail, do really come from the author's own stomach.

But not alone Christianity, but theism in general, all forms of religion which recognize a personal God, come in for condemnation. Strauss closes the chapter entitled, "Are we still Christians?" with a decided No. What this establishes we utterly fail to see. That "we" are not Christians we knew well before; but how this proves that others who are not "we" are not Christians is clearly one of those things which it would require great acuteness to discover. He continues by inquiring, "Have we still a religion?" In this chapter he inquires after the origin and development of religious ideas, and engages in a polemic against theism in general. "We are in the habit of regarding the capacity for religion as a prerogative of human nature, nay, as its most illustrious pre-emi-

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nence," (p. 108,) and hence the author "is all the less inclined to reply in the negative without further examination." The examination results as follows:

Hume is undoubtedly correct in his assertion that mankind have originally been led to religion, not by the disinterested desire of knowledge and truth, but by the selfish craving for material welfare; and that pain has contributed more potently than allurement to the propagation of religion. The Epicurean derivation of piety from fear has, incontestably, a good deal of truth in it. For if man had all he wished, if his needs were always satisfied, if his plans never miscarried, if no painful lessons of experience ever constrained him to regard the future with apprehension, the notion of a higher power would hardly have arisen within his breast. He would have thought that thus it must be, and would have accepted his lot with stolid indifference.

As things are, however, his first perception in regard to nature is, that of being confronted with a weird, sinister power. True, nature has a side which may appear friendly to man. . . . But terrible indeed is the reverse of this kindly countenance. Beside and behind the narrow border-land on which nature gives him free play, she reserves to herself an enormous predominance, which, bursting forth unexpectedly, makes cruel sport of every human effort. The hurricane overwhelms the boat and the boatman; lightning consumes the hut, or inundation sweeps it away; a murrain ravages the flock; heat parches or hail annihilates the produce of the fields; while man himself knows he is exposed, without permanent protection, to chance and calamity, disease and death.

This indifference of nature to him; his constant dealing with a power which is alien to him, and to which he himself is alien; and with which, in a word, nothing can be done—this it is which man finds unbearable, against which his inmost being rises in resistance. The only deliverance from nature is to invest her with the attributes of which he is conscious in himself. She is only then not inhuman when she becomes a power in the image of man. Even the destructive natural forces are then no longer so pernicious as they seemed. The simoom of the desert, the pestilence which stalks through the land—if they are only conceived of as blind impersonal powers, then man in regard to them is a helpless cypher. Conceived of as persons, as higher beings, as demons or divinities, although still evil, nevertheless much has been gained—a hold upon them. Are there not also wicked, cruel, and malignant men, and such, moreover, as like those natural forces, are at the same time so powerful as to be irresistible? and nevertheless there are means to come to an arrangement with such—at least, to escape their clutches with but passable damage. Let submission be duly made, be not chary of flattery and gifts, and behold, they show themselves more tractable than one dared

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to hope. So it comes to pass with those destructive natural forces, as soon as it is settled that they are endowed with reason and will—beings, in short, resembling man. Now people go forth to meet Typhoon with prayers and sacrifice; they offer up appropriate gifts to the God of the plague; they are comforted by the reflection that, from a human point of view, they may hope to have influenced these beings in their favor, to have appeased their wrath by such means.—Vol. i, p. 109.

These statements have often enough been offered as argument before, and have often been plainly refuted. A brief criticism will suffice to show their weakness. First, it is not true that the personification of nature's forces arises from fear. No statement could be more psychologically untenable; and no one acquainted with the first principles of psychology would venture such a theory. A belief in external power arises only from the knowledge of internal power. The law of causation it is which stands sponsor for nature's forces. No power is seen in nature; its existence rests entirely upon this law of our thought. But what kind of a power exists in nature? At first we know only personality as a power. We are conscious of effects as flowing from our conscious purpose and determination. This is the first form in which we gain any knowledge of power, and the only one which we know until a considerable power of abstraction has been acquired. We see this in the case of the child. His playthings are all alive. The stone against which he bruises his foot meant to do it, and he vents his wrath upon it accordingly. The stick which obstinately refuses to accommodate itself to his wishes is wicked, and he beats or breaks it. To him every thing is alive, not through fear, but because personal power is the only form of force which he knows, and the only one of which he can form a conception.

The case was the same with primitive men. The law of causation necessitated some cause for the activities of nature; and as they knew the reality of personal activity from their own consciousness, and knew nothing of any other, they made the activity of nature personal also. In bush and flower, in mountain and sea, in sunshine and storm, men detected the working of other wills like their own. To them nature was alive, and all its movements were but the fulfillment of an invisible purpose. This was not the second view of nature, but

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the first; and with this view fear had as little to do as sound logic has to do with the new faith. The favorable or unfavorable aspects of nature may have had much to do with determining the moral character or disposition of these invisible beings, but the belief in their existence is demonstrably independent of both. Instead of the personal conception of nature being the successor of the impersonal, the relation is the exact converse. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the earlier conception was not far truer to psychology and to fact than is the latter doctrine of an impersonal force. The essence of that idea was that effects must be attributed to a will, a person. The application of it in a time when nature had no unity nor coherence, resulted, of course, in a multiplicity of wills; but, as experiences accumulated, nature began to disclose its uniformities and its unity. Distinctness of division began to fade between different classes of phenomena, and it became apparent, as the traces of unity grew more clear, that nature was the work of one will or none. But meanwhile the belief in nature as the activity of a person had faded, and yet there is no sufficient reason for it. The uniformity of nature does not disprove the fact, but supports it. It is surely no argument against an intelligent, personal activity in nature to say that nature works rationally. But we can account for this activity by the hypothesis of mechanical forces! Can we? It must be borne in mind that these mechanical forces are pure hypotheses. It may be objected that a spiritual force is also a pure hypothesis. If it were so, it would become a question which hypothesis best explains the facts. But in consciousness we know ourselves as self-determining activities, and to this extent spiritual forces exist. But the bare existence of mechanical forces is a pure hypothesis, which is burdened with many objections. We say their existence is hypothesis because of the inner nature of force; science knows and can know nothing. The sum of our observations is this: We find an orderly, intelligent working in nature. Science and observation can discover nothing more. What is its cause? There are two hypotheses: We can plant physical forces behind the phenomena, or we can look upon nature as the activity, the ever-flowing act of a free will like our own. Both are hypotheses; but the latter has the advantage that we know

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personal activity to be a reality, while of impersonal forces we know absolutely nothing. But, granting the possibility of their existence, which best explains the facts? A conscious intelligence, working according to fixed methods, satisfactorily explains every thing. In the present state of science the other hypothesis is unable to explain a large body of facts; and if we inquire into the metaphysics of this mechanical force we see that it, too, needs a foundation.

According to the scientific doctrine of the physical forces they are all conditioned in their working. Chemical affinity is not active at all times, but works only as the condition is present. The same is true of all the other forces. But such forces cannot be independent workers. Each one postulates the pre-existence of its condition as the occasion of its activity. Hence any given action postulates the entrance of its condition. But this condition is likewise an action which in turn postulates a previous activity. This regress, however, cannot be eternal, because in that case a conditioned action must have existed from eternity; and yet such action, by the supposition, postulates the previous activity of its condition—which is a plain contradiction. These conditioned forces there, that is, the physical forces, postulate an unconditioned power beneath and beyond them as the indispensable condition of their working. But an unconditioned power must be free; if it were not free it would be conditioned. A free activity, again, is inconceivable except as intelligent and conscious; that is, the postulate of these physical forces is the personal force which they are intended to displace. See, then, our predicament. In the first place these physical forces are not known to exist; in the next place they do their work very indifferently; and, finally, they clearly postulate the very personal force which they are supposed to displace. Now a hypothesis which has all these advantages cannot be entertained if there be any other which is simpler and better. Such a hypothesis is furnished in the supposition that the force which underlies external manifestation is free and intelligent; and whatever scientific man will be at the pains to analyze and compare his ideas, will see that there is no stopping short of the conclusion. But surely chemical affinity and cohesion, etc., are real forces, and also different forces. We reply that

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we know something of a certain order of effects, which are labeled respectively chemical and cohesive. But all that our observation gives us is effect, is working. What is it that works? Can any science tell? Clearly not. An orderly working is all that is known; a working, too, which unites with others in cycles of wide-reaching purpose; but what is it that works? The supposition of impersonal, mechanical forces destroys itself; there is nothing to do but sweep it away, and make nature the ever-flowing, orderly activity of the eternal. Thus we come back to that early view again; and once more, with the primitive men, see over against us in external nature an activity and personality in some respects like our own. In the first place, Strauss's deduction of personal force from impersonal is a manifest, not to say ridiculous, inversion of the true psychological order; and, in the next place, the impersonal forces fail to put in an appearance at all.

In opposition, then, to Strauss's assertion, that a belief in higher, overruling powers is born of fear, we oppose these psychological facts. But perhaps if a belief in these beings is not the product of selfishness and fear, the worship of them may be. This is also asserted by Strauss in the passage quoted. Now it may well be granted that "if man had all he wished, if his needs were always satisfied, if no painful lessons of experience constrained him," etc., he would never have risen to religion. This is only to say that if a man had been a brute, with no consciousness of any thing beyond or above him, if he had never been visited with a sense of something higher and a longing to attain it, then he would not have been a religious being. But what Strauss means to assert is that religious worship sprang from selfishness, fear, and the desire for sensual comfort; that these sentiments are the source of religion, and also of morality. "For the further a nation advances in civilization the more importance will it attach to human life and its various relations, as well as to the terrors and blessings of inanimate nature. And the more insecurity and hazard in mortal life—the more things dependent on circumstances which elude human calculation, and are yet more beyond the control of human power—the more pressing will grow man's need to postulate powers akin to his own nature accessible to his wishes and prayers. At the same time

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man's moral constitution now comes into play as a moral agent. Not only against others, but against his own sensuality and capriciousness as well, would he protect himself by placing in reserve behind the dictates of his conscience a commanding God."—Vol. i, p. 113.

In the same way Strauss points out that the helpless, defenseless situation of strangers in a foreign land led men to feign a Ζεύς ξένιος, who protects the guest. It is unsafe to rely on promises, and even oaths; hence men have, for greater security, invented a Ζεύς ὅρκιος, who punishes perjury. Life is sweet, and to save it from violence the sleepless Eumenides are fabled to dog the steps of the fugitive assassin. It is unnecessary to point out that this is utterly false. Not to prevent perjury and bloodshed were these avenging deities created, but to punish the foul crimes already committed. These crimes are hateful to men; they must also be hateful to God. It cannot be but that Heaven will take signal vengeance. Deeds so foul cannot, must not, go unpunished. Somehow, somewhere, vengeance shall come upon the track of the fleeing, hiding wretch, and mete out to him the due reward of his deeds. Heaven and earth, gods and men, must join in the pursuit; for a hideous crime has been committed under the sun, and it is not to be thought of that it should go unpunished. This is the thought and feeling from which those beliefs have sprung. But, apart from being false, the doctrine is absurd. Morality and religion spring from selfishness, and yet selfishness has no greater enemy than they are. The gods are invented to secure his sensual well-being, and yet, at their command, man feels himself obliged to give up that well-being, and even life itself. Strange enough! The whole moral law is the product of a selfish desire for sensual happiness; and still that law claims the right to prohibit such happiness, and makes its right acknowledged. Curious! man starts with the selfish purpose of securing his sensual pleasure, and his selfishness so forgets itself as to lay down principles like these: Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you; except a man deny himself he cannot be my disciple; it is more blessed to give than to receive. Really, there can be no argument with a man whose faith is robust enough to carry such a belief. Humanity is not so easily fooled as Strauss supposes.

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As the result of his profound discussion, Strauss concludes that polytheism was the original form of religion. Unfortunately at this point his great backer, the "educated man," forsakes him. The doctrine was formerly held on historical grounds, but it is tenable no longer. The only grounds that now remain are the needs of a false system, though doubtless these will seem amply sufficient to the author. A more thorough investigation has shown that polytheism is a degraded form of a purer religion. As the student gropes his way back through the darkness of superstition and the ruins of moldering idols he notes clearer and clearer traces of a higher knowledge which passed away, of a light which went out and left the nations in degradation and in darkness. Layard, in digging out the secrets of Nineveh, comes to the following conclusion:

> It is found, contrary to the general impression, that idolatry was introduced when men had a better knowledge of the true God than afterward prevailed; that it did not grow up as a religion of nature by the ineffectual attempts of men to find the true God, but it was introduced as the expedient of men to obscure what knowledge of God they possessed, because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge. This is shown in the fact that the earliest representations of God found in these sculptures are the best, and immeasurably exceed every thing of the kind existing in after ages; especially in their approach to the true idea of God.

The same is true of Egypt and China. In the latter case,

> If, looking back from our own times along the periods which stretch into that dim past, the appliances of civilization appear less numerous and more rude until they cease altogether; on the contrary, the knowledge of the true God seems to come out more clear and distinct. And we have the remarkable phenomenon of barbarous nomads possessing a higher and truer comprehension of the Supreme Being than remains to their polished and enlightened descendants.*

In opposition to Strauss's naked assertion, it is historically certain that man did not originate in an idolatrous and beastly condition. All the lines of light which history gives us point back to a fire upon a common hearthstone in Central Asia,

* See article on Chinese history in "New Englander" for January, 1872, in which extended quotation and abundant reference in support of this position are given.

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around which the nations once gathered and worshiped the living God. The family broke up, and under the influence of an evil nature, which has proved so disastrous a factor in history, the light faded and went out. That is the way in which idolatry originated. It is the account which the Bible gives, and which history confirms. If this account is in open contradiction to the theory of the beastly origin of the race, so much the worse for the theory. Something, indeed, can be granted to paternal prejudice in behalf of a pet theory, but really we cannot agree to open our mouth and shut our eyes to the teachings of the new faith any more than to those of the old. In the first place, it is not a dignified position; and, in the second place, we have too much respect for our digestion.

Strauss goes on to say that "monotheism is essentially and originally the religion of a wandering clan," and concludes that

> It is only an ancient Christian-Hebrew prejudice to consider monotheism in itself, as contrasted with polytheism, the higher form of religion. He who should have expected the Greeks of the centuries between Homer and Æschylus to exchange their Olympian circle of gods for the one God of Sinai, would have demanded from them the surrender of their rich and complete existence, putting forth in all directions the boughs and blossoms of a most beautiful humanity, for the poverty and onesidedness of the Jewish nature.—P. 118.

After this he repeats, and very weakly at that, the customary objections against prayer; and then, having completely triumphed over Christianity, he proceeds to put theism and natural religion to flight. In the dissolving chemistry of his fierce criticism even the existence of God disappears. We commend his argument:

> Now, at last, it seems we must draw up the heavy, somewhat old-fashioned, scientific artillery of the so-called proofs for the existence of God, all of them seeking to demonstrate, according to the intention of those who originated them, a God, in the peculiar sense of the word, who, after all, can only be a personal one.
>
> In the first place, then, the so-called cosmological argument infers, according to the law of adequate causes, from the contingency of the world the necessary existence of a personal God. Of all the various things which we perceive in the world not one is self-existent, each owing its origin to something else, which, however, is in the like predicament of owing its origin to some

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other thing. Thus reflection is ever sent on from one thing to another, and never rests until it has reached the thought of the one Being the cause of whose existence rests not with another, but in himself—who is no longer a contingent, but a necessary existence.

In the first place, however, the personality of this necessary being would by no means have been established, for we should merely have proved a first cause, not an intelligent creator of the world. But, in the second place, we have not even demonstrated a cause. A cause is other than its effect; the cause of the universe would be something else than the universe; our conclusion would lead us, therefore, beyond the limits of the cosmos. But is this result reached by fair means? If we invariably arrive at the conclusion in regard to every individual existence or phenomenon in the world—examine as many as we please, that each has the ground of its existence in some other, which again stands in the same predicament as regards something else—then we justly conclude that the same law obtains with regard to all individual existences and phenomena, even those which we have not specially examined. But are we, then, justified in concluding the totality of these individual existences and phenomena to be caused by a being not in the same predicament, which has not, like these, the ground of its existence in something else, but in itself? This is a conclusion devoid of all coherence, all logic. By the method of logical reasoning we shall not get beyond the universe. If every thing in the universe has been caused by something else, and so on *ad infinitum*, what we finally reach is not the conception of a cause of which the cosmos is the effect, but of a substance of which individual cosmical phenomena are but the accidents. We reach, not a deity, but a self-centered cosmos, unchangeable amid the eternal change of things.—Vol. i, p. 130.

To see the fallacy of this, note what the law of causation really is. That law runs thus: Every event, every change, every becoming, every disappearance, must have a cause. The law says nothing whatever of existence, as such, but *only applies to change.* Now this law has its root and warrant in the nature of the human mind, and rules and must rule all our thinking. For every event we demand a cause separate from the event. To Strauss's question, "Are we justified in concluding the totality of these individual existences and phenomena to be caused by a being not in the same predicament?" We answer, If we are justified in seeking a cause for any, we are justified in seeking a cause for all. If we cannot think of ten or a hundred events as uncaused, no more can we think of an infinite number of events as uncaused. One can indeed get con-

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fused in the latter case, and, by refraining from exact thinking, persuade himself that it is credible that an infinite number of events may possibly dispense with a cause. But whoever will be at the pains to examine the content of his thought will see that for all occurrence, no matter on how great a scale, the law of causation demands a cause antecedent to, and separate from, the effect or effects. Hold this fact sharply before the mind, and remember that the universe manifests itself as a vast aggregate of events, and decide on Mr. Strauss's assertion. Before and beyond these events we must place a cause, or give up the law of causation altogether. We say that we do not come down to a substance which manifests itself in these events; we came down to a power, a cause, which is prior to and separate from these events. Whoever is not prepared to believe that cause and effect are identical must accept this conclusion. Strauss professes himself able to believe them identical, (p. 163,) and hence we can have no argument with him; but then every body has not such transcendent faith as this, and we hope to win the assent of such persons.

That "substance of which individual cosmical phenomena are the accidents," and which remains "unchangeable amid the eternal change of things," is one of the biggest absurdities possible. There is an "eternal change of things," and these things are manifestations of an "unchangeable substance." Now it is conceivable that a free spiritual being should change the modes of its manifestation, but how a material substance should appear unchanged in an eternal change of things is simply past all finding out. If the substance is unchangeable, why should things change? In what relation does the unchanging substance stand to the changing thing? Clearly upon Strauss's theory the thing is an illusion, for the substance itself being unchangeable all that seeming change is deception. To this some one might object with the atomist that change is not a change of substance, but of relation; that the different qualities of things are produced by the different relations in which the atoms stand to one another. This helps nothing, for, in the first place, it is a complete abandonment of the unity of substance in which Strauss believes; and, in the next place, we have to inquire after the cause of the changing relations. If for a moment we suppose the atoms to constitute the sub-

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stance of the world, and change to consist in the changed relations of the atoms, we, of course, must ask for the cause of these changed relations. But each atom acts only as its condition enters, and the entrance of that condition is itself an action which postulates a previous activity. If, then, we are not prepared to believe that a thing can be dependent and independent at the same time, we must plant a power behind atoms. The bottom falls out of the independent and unchanging substance if we pursue it along this line.

Let us catechise it a little further. How does this unchanging substance come to manifest itself at all? or how does it come to change its manifestations? It clearly would not do to let the manifestations change themselves, as in that case they would be independent; each change then implies an activity on the part of the unchanging substance; and activity implies a distinction between itself and its result. That is, we must distinguish between the active substance as cause and the changing universe as effect, which is what Mr. Strauss has forbidden us to do. And this activity, what is its nature? Either it is necessary, or it is not. If necessary, we have not reached the bottom, and we must go on to the necessitating power as the real cause and ground of things. But if not necessary, then it is free; that is to say, it is material substance no longer. But let the poor thing go. In whatever way we look at it we are forced to assume for the conditioned, changing universe an unconditioned, uncaused cause. As such its working must be free. Free activity, however, is utterly inconceivable except as the result of choice; and choice is inconceivable in an unconscious being. But consciousness and freedom are the root factors of personality. It may seem unusually hard-headed on our part, but we must hold fast to the cosmological argument in spite even of Kant's strictures, not to mention the feebleness of Strauss.

To this discussion of the cosmological argument, the following solution of the Kantian autonomy concerning the finitude or infinitude of the world is a fit comparison. The author published it thirty years ago, and evidently, from repeating it here, judges it to be extremely forcible.

As we are competent to geologically trace the gradual formation of our world, it follows with metaphysical necessity that she

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must likewise perish; as a something, having a beginning and not likewise an end, would add to the sum of being in the universe, and, in consequence, annul its infinity. It can only remain a constant and unalterable whole in virtue of a perpetual alternation of birth and dissolution among its individual component parts. —Vol. i, p. 172.

The amount of talent necessary to construct this argument is not remarkably great, but the amount required to believe it borders on the supernatural. The conclusion Strauss should have drawn is, that the world could not come into existence; for it is not the eternal existence of the world which would affect the "sum of being," but its existence at all. If it exists at all, the "sum of being," if indeed being has any "sum," receives an increment, and hence its infinity is "annulled." But if its present existence does not annul the infinity of the sum of being, it is impossible to see why its continued existence should have any greater effect. But if the world is only a change, and not a creation of being, then its existence or non-existence has nothing to do with the sum of being, and there is no reason why the present order should not be eternal. The necessity of a "perpetual alternation of birth and dissolution" in order that the universe should "remain a constant and unalterable whole" nowhere appears. An utter mental chaos is the most prominent feature of the solution.

After his victorious treatment of the cosmological argument, Strauss proceeds to discuss the teleological argument. Assuming that personality can only be established by the latter, which assumption we have seen to be utterly false, he proceeds to show that there is no need to postulate an intelligent creator to explain the order and adaptation of nature. As proof that blind necessity, or blinder chance, can do the work of intelligence, he cites the nebular hypothesis and Darwin's theory. And here he grows enthusiastic, and rejoices as one that has taken great spoil. Darwinism

Contains something which exerts an irresistible attraction over spirits athirst for truth and freedom. It resembles a railway whose track is just marked out. What abysses will require to be filled in or bridged over, what mountains to be tunneled, how many a year will elapse ere the train full of eager travelers will swiftly and comfortably be borne along and onward! Nevertheless we can see the direction it will take. Thither it shall and

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must go, where the flags are fluttering joyfully in the breeze. Yes, joyfully; namely, in the sense of the purest, most exalted, spiritual delight. Vainly did we philosophers and critical theologians over and over again decree the extermination of miracles. Our ineffectual sentence died away because we could neither dispense with miraculous agency nor point to any natural force able to supply it where it had hitherto seemed most indispensable. Darwin has demonstrated this force, this process of nature; he has opened the door by which a happier coming race will cast out miracles never to return. Every one who knows what miracles imply will praise him, in consequence, as one of the greatest benefactors of the human race.—Vol. i, p. 205.

It in no wise mitigates the author's "purest, most exalted, spiritual delight" that he is forced to confess that "the theory is unquestionably still very imperfect; it leaves an infinity of things unexplained, and, moreover, not only details, but leading and cardinal questions."—P. 204. The good time is surely coming; already "the flags are fluttering joyfully in the breeze." But before we give way to our raptures it may be well to inquire whether Darwin has really succeeded in dispensing with supernatural agency. Whether he has not opened at least as many doors for its re-entrance as he has for its ejection. Now, if the author had inquired into the metaphysics of matter he would have seen that not only vital activity, but all material activity as well, demands the constant presence and working of a supernatural power. It is the indispensable postulate of received physical theories that there must be ever present, and ever active, a metaphysical force which alone gives coherency and direction to the so-called material powers. But such inquiry would probably have disturbed the author's "purest, most exalted, spiritual delight," and hence it were better passed by. No more does it occur to either Strauss or Darwin to inquire whether the law and order of the inorganic world do not manifest plan and purpose. Both assume that life and organization are all that manifests at least any prominent purpose; and the author assumes that Darwin has most brilliantly shown how the complexity and harmony of organic existence has developed from a form so simple that we need be at no pains to inquire after its origin. But whence life in general? If miracle is to be cast out, some means must be found of evolving life from the lifeless. Nothing easier than that, says Strauss, since the discovery of the

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unity of the forces. The physical forces correlate with one another and with vital force, and in their chance play they have hit upon some organic combination; and, life once started on its way, Darwin explains the rest. First of all, we reply that the physical do not correlate with each other. The claim that the physical forces are one, are identical, is utterly without foundation when closely examined. All that is proved is that one force can supply the conditions of another's working. Oxygen and hydrogen combine only at a high temperature; heat is a condition of the chemical activity. If, then, we heat such a mixture we only supply the condition. The chemical activity which at last manifests itself is no new form of heat, as this doctrine teaches; it is itself and nothing other, and can become nothing other. This is admitted by Prof. Tyndall; but if any one feels aggrieved at the denial of this darling doctrine we hold ourselves ready to prove the denial. If we are to accept the scientific teachings about force, we are driven to the assumption of distinct forces in spite of all that has been said about unity and correlation. These forces are so related to one another, that they unite in one great harmony of purpose, but there is no proof of unity. But since we must assume distinct forces in inorganic nature, each producing its specific effects, the strong presumption against a distinct vital force producing its peculiar effects is entirely taken away. Unless, then, vital phenomena can be satisfactorily explained by the physical forces, we must postulate a separate power. To the objection that "all known facts are opposed to the theory that spontaneous generation now takes," Strauss replies that "this would establish nothing with respect to a primeval period under totally dissimilar conditions." "The conditions, the temperature, the atmospheric combinations of primeval times, so utterly different from ours in character," might furnish an adequate cause for the new creation. (Vol. i, p. 199.) First, those "conditions" could not have been very different from the present, or life would have been impossible. It serves, indeed, for purposes of self-confusion, to speak of "totally different conditions;" but totally different conditions would destroy life. As far as we know life comes only from the living; but, for the sake of a theory, we must distrust actual knowledge and appeal to what "might have been."

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But then chemistry has made organic compounds. Granted; but there is as wide a gulf between life and organic compounds as there is between life and inorganic compounds. That which lives has certain functions and activities. It nourishes itself, it resists dissolution, it remains constant in the change of its constituent matter, it propagates itself. The activity which manifests itself in an organism is one which works according to a plan, it is ruled by an immanent purpose. The single parts are all subordinated to the needs of the whole, and the separate activities serve to maintain the harmony. Here is an entirely new series of effects; what is their cause? Oxygen, hydrogen, etc., never act in this way except in an organism; it is clear enough, then, that the new activity must have a new cause. Things do not go changing about for nothing, and when a mass of matter suddenly takes on new and even opposite properties, we must conclude that it has come under the control of a new power. The law of causation enforces this conclusion; the procedure of science, which for each distinct class of effects assumes a distinct cause, justifies it; and all observation confirms it. In opposition we have only the suggestion which not one single fact confirms, that there is no telling what may have happened back there in the fog, and hence life is a form of physical force. It is really too bad, but we must conclude that life and miracle, in spite of the "fluttering flags," etc., refuse to go out of the door which Darwin has so beneficently opened.

But even if we should grant the identity of life and the physical forces, it would be no hard task to show that the claim of the Darwinian theory to have demonstrated the absence of purpose in nature rests upon subjective confusion, and not upon objective fact. As it is, as the physical forces obstinately refuse to correlate with one another, to say nothing of correlating with vital force, the attempt to educe the complexity of existence from the small capital of a single cell is, in fact, an attempt to evolve something from nothing. Either all that comes out of that cell must first be put in it, or a continual creation of force must be assumed, or else the doctrine must assume the evolution of something from nothing. The evolutionist may take his choice, but whichever view he adopts his mechanical evolution is impossible.

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Of course, if vital force and physical do not correlate, the claim that physical and mental power correlate is utterly untenable. However, Strauss goes on to establish this doctrine; and, as we wish to see where the new faith is going to, we will follow him a little farther. His argument here is that physical forces are the antecedents of sensation, and hence sensation is transformed physical force. We reply: if this were granted, we should have no explanation of these mental states which originate from within. The activity of the mind in imagination, in constructive thinking, etc., receives no explanation whatever; and this constitutes by far the larger part of our mental experience. In the next place, it does not explain even the sensation. Even the science which Strauss lays such weight upon fails him here; and it is now acknowledged by every scientist who has thought upon the subject that the swinging molecules of the brain are no explanation whatever of the resulting sensation, while psychology establishes beyond question that without an inner activity of the soul sensation itself is impossible. Strauss next makes a raid upon the belief in immortality. And here we must admit that immortality cannot be demonstrated. The possible existence of the soul apart from the body is psychologically demonstrable, but its actual existence lies beyond our knowledge. The grave remains in fact as well as in poetry the "undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveler returns." There are many and forcible reasons for belief, but certainty cannot be reached by argument. We have to rely here upon the anticipations of our moral nature, and upon revelation to turn the doubt, or rather the hesitation of nature into assurance. Strauss's argument need not be noticed. We have mentioned it in order to indicate the goal at which we have arrived. The modern criticism has ended like the ancient. "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." There is neither God nor soul. Man is absolutely dependent upon the forces without him, and in the agony of selfish fear has created gods and worshiped them, but his religion and morality are only the offshoots of fright and selfishness. "If this be considered pure unmitigated materialism I will not dispute it."—Vol. ii, p. 19. Christianity with its stern doctrine of moral accountability and of a holy God is decidedly unfavor-

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able to the moral improvement of the race; but this new faith is to prove itself powerful to still passion, powerful to check selfishness, powerful to rebuke sin, powerful to evoke noble character—for has it not the supreme motive of annihilation to offer? and is it not able to say to every evil doer that, being absolutely dependent, he cannot help his deeds? Surely, under the influence of teaching like this humanity will flourish. And this is the end: A godless universe, a deluded race; man born to wretchedness, to entertain high dreams which are worse than baseless. God has gone, the soul has gone, immortality has gone, even nobility of character has gone—for this nobility is but transformed selfishness; all that makes life reverend, desirable, or even endurable, has gone. There is nothing left but a cloud of atoms whirled by blind necessity. And the theory which teaches this claims to be, not only a new faith, but one worthy of all acceptation.

But the baldness of this old denial, for such the new faith really is, must be covered up. In its naked form it is too revolting for endurance, to say nothing of belief, and accordingly Strauss proceeds to trick it out with a lot of miserable sentimentalities about the reasonable, the beautiful, and the good, etc. Before developing his argument, however, we must say that consistent materialism knows nothing whatever about the reasonable, the beautiful, and the good. It knows nothing of higher and lower, because these conceptions imply a standard of judgment, and materialism has no such standard. It knows nothing of moral or immoral, for these terms imply freedom, and materialism knows nothing but necessity. It knows nothing of aim, progress, or purpose; for all these terms imply intelligence. The consistent materialist must sweep all these terms away, must neither talk of progress nor regress, of higher nor lower; he must neither speak of duty nor of sin, must neither praise nor blame; for any one of these expressions involve a contradiction of his own principles. Now let us listen to Strauss:

> We perceive in nature tremendous contrasts, awful struggles; but we discover that these do not disturb the stability and harmony of the whole—that they, on the contrary, preserve it. We further see a gradation, a development of the higher from the lower, of the refined from the coarse, of the gentle from the rude.

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And in ourselves we make the experience that we are advanced in our personal as well as our social life the more we succeed in regulating the element of capricious change within us and around us, and in developing the higher from the lower, the delicate from the rugged.

This, when we meet it within the circle of human life, we call good and reasonable. What is analogous to it in the world around us we cannot avoid calling so likewise. And, moreover, as we feel ourselves absolutely dependent upon this world, as we can only deduce our existence and the adjustment of our nature from it, we are compelled to conceive of it in its fullest sense, or as cosmos, as being also the primary source of all that is reasonable and good. The argument of the old religion was, that as the reasonable and good in mankind proceeded from consciousness and will, that therefore what on a large scale corresponds to this in the world must likewise proceed from an author endowed with intelligent volition. We have given up this mode of inference; we no longer regard the cosmos as the work of a reasonable and good Creator, but rather as the laboratory of the reasonable and good. We consider it not as planned by the highest reason, but planned for the highest reason. Of course in this case we must place in the cause what lies in the effect, that which comes out must have been in. But it is only the limitation of our human faculty of representation which forces us to make these distinctions; the cosmos is simultaneously both cause and effect, the outward and the inward together.—Vol. i. p. 162.

Remark, first, that the good and the reasonable are utterly without meaning apart from a good and reasonable person. In us the reasonable is that which is informed with purpose and adapted to an end. It implies intelligence, consciousness, personality. If we find the same in nature we must attribute it to a free intelligence. No! "we must consider it not as planned by the highest reason, but planned for the highest reason." Planned by what? by whom? The sentence is nonsense without one who plans. True, says Strauss, "we must place in the cause what lies in the effect; what comes out must have been in." Well, then, we must admit a reasonable and good Creator? No, "it is only the limitation of our faculties which forces us to make this distinction; the cosmos is simultaneously cause and effect, the outward and inward together." Strauss speaks of "those old Christians" as making "claims on their reasoning faculties which simply paralyze ours to recognize, such as conceiving three as one and one as three, were a trifle to them," etc.—P. 15. But surely it would be no more difficult to conceive one as three and three as one, than

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to conceive of the universe as at once cause and effect; and the same answer to reason could be given in either case—it is the limitation of our faculties which hinders the conception. In short, if Strauss means this sentence rhetorically, it does not help his dilemma; and if he means it philosophically, then he is philosophically unaccountable. He rightly calls this conception "an abyss which we can fathom no farther."—P. 163.

Nor are we without an object of worship, though we are without a God.

> At any rate, that on which we feel ourselves entirely dependent is by no means merely a rude power to which we bow in mute resignation, but is at the same time both order and law, reason and goodness, to which we surrender ourselves in loving trust. More than this, as we perceive in ourselves the same disposition to the reasonable and the good which we seem to recognize in the cosmos, and find ourselves to be the beings by whom it is felt and recognized, in whom it is to become personified, we also feel ourselves related in our inmost nature to that on which we are dependent, we discover ourselves to be at the same time free in this dependence; and pride and humility, joy and submission, mingle in our feeling for the cosmos.—Vol. i, p. 164.

This "feeling for the cosmos" is religion, though he fears "it will not be suffered to pass as religion." But that there is such a feeling he shows by quoting from the pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann, and adds:

> Sallies of this kind impress our intelligence as absurd, but our feeling as blasphemous. We consider it arrogant and profane on the part of a single individual to oppose himself with such audacious levity to the cosmos whence he springs, from which also he derives that spark of reason which he misuses. We recognize in this a repudiation of the sentiment of dependence which we expect from every man. We demand the same piety for our cosmos that the devout of old demanded for his God.—Vol. i, p. 167.

Sweep away all the rubbish about the reasonable, good, etc., by remembering that there is no such thing in nature, that that which we thought the product of reason is only a result of molecular machinery, and then compare the following:

> In the enormous machine of the universe, amid the incessant whirl and hiss of its jagged iron wheels, amid the deafening crash of its ponderous stamps and hammers, in the midst of this whole terrific commotion, man, a helpless and defenseless creature, finds himself placed, not secure for a moment that, on an impru-

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dent motion, a wheel may not seize and rend him or a hammer crush him to powder. This sense of abandonment is at first something awful. But then what avails it to have resource to an illusion? Our wish is impotent to refashion the world; the understanding clearly shows that it indeed is such a machine.—Vol. fi, p. 213.

That is the cosmos for which we are to have a religious feeling. This is the "reason and goodness to which we surrender ourselves in loving trust." Loving trust and piety toward a machine which is grinding us to pieces! To speak against it actually impresses the author's feeling as blasphemous! It is nothing less than the profoundest insult to both intelligence and to feeling to harangue in this fashion. If, indeed, the world is a machine, and I am helplessly entangled in its wheels, why then I will bear my fate as best I may; but let no one talk to me about loving trust and pious submission, and a devout "feeling for the cosmos." If such indeed is the case, then Schopenhauer is right. Being is wretchedness. The universe is a gigantic and awful misfortune; and every man would be justified, with Job, in cursing the day he was born.

In every consistent materialistic scheme, as we have already pointed out, there can be no talk about duty or morality, because there is no freedom. But Strauss, with either a profound ignorance of the contradiction or a grand superiority to it, goes on to lay down a "rule of life."

Ever remember that thou art human, not merely a natural production; ever remember that all others are human also, and, with all individual differences, the same as thou, having the same needs and claims as thyself; this is the sum and substance of morality.

Ever remember that thou, and every thing thou beholdest within thee and around thee, all that befalls thee and others, is no disjointed fragment, no wild chaos of atoms or casualties, but that it all springs, according to eternal laws, from the one primal source of all life, all reason, and all good; this is the essence of religion.—Vol. ii, p. 54.

And in the light of Strauss's teaching this is the essence of nonsense. Man is a "natural production." Strauss has tried to prove it at great length, and insists that we could reason from the nebula to life and mind if our faculties were a little keener. The proof of the fact entitles Darwin to be considered "one of the greatest benefactors of the race," and

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the contemplation of it fills Strauss with "the purest, most exalted, spiritual delight." Man is a "chaos of atoms and casualties; to prove it is one of the leading aims of the book. Man is an "absolutely dependent" creature; nature is a "machine" ruled by "blind necessity." The only excuse for Strauss is that, being "absolutely dependent" himself, he cannot help talking so; but, in that case, the universe which brings about this farcical result can hardly be viewed as "the reasonable." If Strauss chooses to shoulder the responsibility himself, we must accord to him transcendent insight, for it is not every man who can unite both sides of a contradiction in some transcendental unity.

"Yet thou art human—what means this, however?" In answering this question Strauss's hegelianism proves too much for his materialism, and he proceeds to disembowel his philosophy in the following instructive fashion. "The most important general result," says Moritz Wagner, "which comparative geology and paleontology"—and the natural sciences in general, we may add—"reveals to us is the grand law of progress pervading all nature." In this inherent aspiration of nature after an unceasingly progressive improvement and refinement of her organic forms, lies the real proof of her divinity. . . . In man nature endeavored, not merely to exalt, but to transcend herself. He must not, therefore, be merely an animal repeated; he must be something more and better. He ought, because he can. The sensual efforts and enjoyments are already fully developed and exhausted in the animal kingdom; it is not for their sakes that man exists—as, in fact, no creature exists for the sake of that which was already attained on lower stages of existence, but for that which has been newly conquered through itself.—Vol. ii, p. 57. Man not only can and should know nature, but should rule both external nature, as far as his powers admit, and the natural within himself.—P. 58. Man ought, as we said, to rule nature within as well as without him. Nature in man is his sensuousness. This he should essay to rule, not to mortify, so surely as nature in him did not forsake but transcend herself.—P. 60.

The limits of absurdity have not only been reached, but transcended. Man is an absolutely dependent creature, but he must rule that nature on which he depends. Nature is a "ponderous machine," which not only "seeks to transcend itself," but actually accomplishes it. Nature is a blind necessity, and yet it has aims, is reasonable, is good, is free, transcends itself, and performs a variety of interesting feats besides. What does the author mean by talking of a duty to a creature

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who is absolutely dependent? What does he mean by telling man to rule nature, when the whole drift of his work is to prove that nature absolutely rules him? What does he mean by the "great law of progress pervading all nature," when there is no standard of judgment? What does he mean by attributing aims and reason to a blind necessity? What does he mean by commanding us to reverence the good, when he has told us that the good is the offspring of selfish fear? Does he really think that this paltry, sentimental buffoonery covers up the nakedness of his doctrines? The logic of materialism is an interesting psychological study. A kind of mental imbecility, which is blind to all absurdity and contradiction, seems ever to attend it like a clinging curse; while at the same time, like those unfortunate beings in mad-houses, who, tricked out in cast-off rags, imagine they are throned kings, it apes such regal airs on the strength of its pitiful finery that the human bystander can only view its ludicrous grimaces with feelings of profoundest compassion.

Still we are not without an object of worship. It is "the enormous machine of the universe, amid the incessant whirl and hiss of whose jagged iron wheels, amid the deafening crush of whose ponderous stamps and hammers, man finds himself placed, not secure for a moment that on an imprudent motion a wheel may not seize and rend him, or a hammer crush him to powder." To this duty man is urged to "surrender himself in loving trust," and, to make the task easy and delightful, this "machine" is styled the "reasonable and the good." Whoever cannot be satisfied with this is silenced by being told that he is low down in the moral and intellectual scale. Having thus triumphed over all his enemies, and having, in particular, achieved a signal victory over logic and good sense, Strauss next proceeds to discuss more general subjects. Here, like a judicious tradesman, he offers "something to suit every taste." He discusses the labor question, and finds room for great apprehension in the present outlook. The trouble is that "the patient," that is, the laborer, will not "suffer himself to be cured." "Quacks, and pre-eminently French quacks, have completely turned his head." The horrors of the "socialistic boil" in Paris have not cured him, and hence the author styles these restless lower classes "the Huns and Van-

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dals of modern civilization." Doubtless, however, the new faith will have a most soothing effect upon these "Huns and Vandals;" and as soon as they find out that there is no God, no soul, nothing higher than sensual pleasure," they will become as harmless as doves. He also inquires after the best form of government, and concludes that republicanism has been greatly overrated. At all events, republics are unfavorable to high culture, and probably also to moral improvement. Neither Switzerland nor the United States manifest any thing like high culture, and what they have is borrowed; while, in addition, "the air of the United States is infected by a corruption of its leading classes only to be paralleled in the most abandoned parts of Europe."—Vol. ii, p. 86. He discusses the late French war, and war in general. The question of capital punishment is also examined, and a vehement protest recorded against the prevailing sentimentalism upon the subject. To desire its abolition he considers "a crime against society, and, at a time like the present, as sheer madness."—P. 112. These ideas "are a luxuriant hotbed of robbery and murder." The variety which the author offers is beyond all praise. The suffrage and property questions are not passed by; and even the freethinkers are lectured for their dry meetings. "I have attended several services of the free congregation in Berlin and found them terribly dry and unedifying. I quite thirsted for an allusion to the biblical legend or the Christian calendar, in order to get at least something for the heart and imagination."—P. 118. The Christian law of divorce is declared too stringent entirely; and, finally, he demands that the Church let him alone. He does not want any thing to do with it. It must not cross his path in any way. He feels "annoyed at being still forced into some sort of contact with her, especially as regards certain ritualistic observances."—P. 119. He describes his rule of life thus:

> We study history, which has now been made easy even to the unlearned by a series of attractively written works; at the same time we endeavor to enlarge our knowledge of the natural sciences; and lastly, in the writings of our great poets, in the performances of our great musicians, we find a stimulus for the intellect and heart, for wit and imagination, which leaves nothing to be desired.—P. 120.

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This leads him to vindicate poetry and music as vastly superior to the Bible for purposes of culture and comfort, and he closes with a long appendix upon "Our Great Poets" and "Our Great Composers." If it were not for his assurance to the contrary, we should certainly have looked upon this appendix as padding put in to stuff out the book; but he declares it was composed for its present place and purpose. The elevating and soothing influence of art is dwelt upon at great length, and the comparative merits of the different poets and composers discussed. This it is which is more than a substitute for the old religion. And this is all. Poetry and music for the aching heart and gloomy conscience: poetry and music for desolate homes and ruined hopes: poetry and music for the dying and dead. It does occur to him at times that humanity could wish for more; that the old faith, with its Father in heaven and its belief in immortality, is more satisfactory to most hearts than either of these; that one drawing near the borders of the shadowy land, with his conscience filled with sad and solemn suspicions, would find more comfort in the doctrine of a forgiving God than in reading Goethe or Schiller. But, then, art is all that he has got, and that ought to be enough. Indeed, if it is not, it is only a proof that men are selfish, degraded creatures, "who must be referred to Moses and the prophets" until they conquer these degrading desires.—P. 215 Hearts break, and homes are desolate; the cry of the mourner goes up from every quarter under heaven; memory is loaded with sad recollections, and conscience filled with gloomy forebodings. Meanwhile the new faith pipes and sings, and to every cry for help and comfort it has only an insulting and brutal answer.

We said in beginning that we expected some valuable teaching from Mr. Strauss, but we have been grievously disappointed. Blank assertion without any proof, without any logical coherence, without any philosophical foundation, is the chief factor of the new faith. The air with which it gathers up threadbare atheistic arguments, and parades them as something new, is amusing. The assurance with which it retails the old scoffs, of which rationalism itself has grown ashamed, affects one with a sense of degradation. The new faith turns out to be an old bankrupt who has failed a thousand times,

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and who now seeks to cover his lack of capital by extensive advertising and insolent pretense. Its creed runs somewhat as follows: 1. I believe there is no God. 2. I believe there is no soul. 3. I believe that religion springs from selfish fear. 4. I believe that such a religion can develop the loftiest and most unselfish lives. 5. I believe in the cosmos, which is at once a product of blind necessity and also free; which is nothing but matter, yet has aims, plans, reason; which seeks to transcend itself, and actually succeeds. 6. I believe that man is a product of necessity, and that he ought to rule the nature which governs him; I believe that he cannot do otherwise than he does, but that he ought to do otherwise. I believe that the cosmos is a machine, and that man ought to resign himself with loving trust and submission to it. 7. I believe that art is more than an equivalent for the Bible. 8. I believe that all who are not satisfied with these teachings are low in the mental and moral scale. 9. I believe that cause and effect are one—as, otherwise, I should be under the disagreeable necessity of believing in God.

The new faith does not seem to hit it off any more happily with reason than the old faith did; and, indeed, it is not inaptly termed a faith. For pure believing-power Mr. Strauss must be accorded the very highest praise. Logic and reason protest in vain, and he counts contradictions a very little thing. Nothing can withstand his mountain-removing faith. We have not found such mighty faith anywhere among the Churches, where there still seems to be a carnal weakness in favor of at least a little logic and reason. But while we are willing to accord all praise to the author on this point, we cannot in conscience call him a philosopher; at least, if the most marvelous power of contradicting himself, and the most miraculous inability to see it, is any warrant for such a judgment.

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ART. VI.—THEORIES OF LIFE.

Life Theories: their Influence upon Religious Thought. By LIONEL S. BEALE, M.B., F.R.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to King's College Hospital, and formerly Professor of Physiology and of General and Morbid Anatomy in King's College, London. With six colored plates. London: J. & A. Churchman. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1871.

INFIDELITY, having suffered defeat in its chosen fields of astronomy and geology, has sought to intrench itself in natural history. Most disingenuous efforts have been made by men of some scientific pretensions to weave a tissue of materialistic or pantheistic philosophy out of shreds of physiological science, but all in vain, since nature testifies plainly of its God and of spiritual things.

To the Christian philosopher the presence of life is suggestive of a spiritual world, to which the material universe is subservient; but the theories and definitions of life given by skeptical authors are vague and unsatisfactory. Some of these theories are the product of old heathen philosophies long since exploded, yet revived and presented in new forms of words as if they were wonderful discoveries.

One theory is that life is the result of a general harmony, or consent of action, among the different organs of the body. This was proposed by Aristoxenus, a Greek physician, who gave the name of Harmony to his system from his attachment to musical science. In Plato's "Phædo," Socrates is represented as opposing this hypothesis when it was urged by Simmias as an argument against immortality, for even a pagan philosopher could argue against the materialism of the age. It is a fatal objection to this scheme that it evades the question at issue, namely, the power by which the harmonious machine has been developed and is kept in perpetual play.

Among the superficial scientists the theory of harmony is sometimes expressed in the formula, "Life is the result of organization." Respecting this, Coleridge remarks: "The position seems to me little less strange than as if a man should say that building, with all its included handicraft of plastering, sawing, planing, etc., were the offspring of the house, and that the mason and carpenter were the result of a suite of chambers." Yet Coleridge called life "the principle of individuation," a

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term which will apply to stones and metals, as well as to the organic world.

Bichat defined life as "the sum of the functions by which death is resisted," which is merely saying that life and death are opposite states.

Dr. Carpenter says: "By the term life we most appropriately designate the state or condition of a being that exhibits vital actions;" a definition no better than that of Bichat, since it is but saying that life is a state of living. All such definitions evade rather than discuss the question.

The old Epicurean philosophy supposed some fine invisible fluid, some exquisitely subtle gas or *aura*, sublimed in nature's laboratory, to be the cause of life. This, like the theory of harmony, influenced subsequent thought. Some supposed caloric or heat, and others electricity, to be the active power or agent, and our more recent physicists place it in the category of correlated forces. According to the latter view "no idea or feeling can arise save as the result of some physical force." By such a scheme skeptical historians have sought to explain the progress of civilization and the statistics of crime, as if isothermal lines marked the development of thought, and climatology or food determined the exercise of the will. But can any such thing show why some particles of matter become organized and others not, or why one cell develops an animal and another a vegetable, under similar physical circumstances? Can our modern speculators tell us what they mean by "physical force?" Is it matter, or spiritual power superadded to matter? Why is it not common to all matter, and equally effective upon all? An answer to these questions might cut the Gordian knot.

In despite of self-constituted interpreters and guardians, true science stands on the very confines of the spiritual world, and points across the boundary; but skeptics fear to look in that direction, and reject the guidance of that faith which would teach them higher truths.

The materialistic theories of life remind us of the amusing illustration of Professor Schleiden. He says:

Some years ago I was very intimate with the directing physician of a large lunatic asylum, and I used industriously to avail myself of the liberty I thus obtained to visit at will the house and

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its inhabitants. One morning I entered the room of a madman, whose constantly varying hallucinations especially interested me. I found him crouching down by the stove, watching with close attention a saucepan, the contents of which he was carefully stirring. At the noise of my entrance he turned round, and, with a face of the greatest importance, whispered: "Hush! hush! don't disturb my little pigs; they will be ready directly." Full of curiosity to know whither his diseased imagination had now led him, I approached nearer. "You see," said he, with the mysterious expression of an alchemist, "here I have black puddings, pigs' bones, and bristles, in the saucepan, every thing that is necessary; *we only want the vital warmth*, and the young pig will be ready made again." Laughable as this circumstance appeared to *me* at the time, it has often recurred to me since in seriousness when I have reflected on certain errors in science; and if the mere form of the delusion were the criterion of sanity or insanity, even many distinguished naturalists of our time would have to share the narrow cell of my unfortunate Mahlberg.*

It is gratifying to the Christian student of nature to know that materialistic views of biology find no acceptance with the great authorities in science. Agassiz devotes several pages of his "Methods of Study in Natural History" to a refutation of the Darwinian hypothesis, and declares that "we shall seek as vainly to transfer the lower types into the higher ones by any of our theories, as did the alchemists of old to change the baser metals into gold." Humboldt, speaking of the idea of a cosmos, says: "We may here trace the revelation of a bond of union, linking together the visible world and that higher spiritual world which escapes the grasp of the senses." Lyell gives it as the result of careful inquiry, "that species have a real existence in nature, and that each was endowed at the time of its creation with the attributes and organs by which it is now distinguished." Similar testimonies against materialism and the development theory might be quoted from others of high rank in science. The researches of modern workers, rather than theorists, respecting the primitive cell, protoplasm, or bioplasm—the starting point from which all parts of an organized being is developed—point to something distinct from and superior to matter, controlling, selecting, molding, assimilating, and discarding matter for its own purposes, and after its own mode (or law) of being. That must be a real existence which manifests such palpable effects of its presence, yet its power

* "Poetry of the Vegetable World," by Professor Schleiden.

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of control over matter and physical laws proves its superiority to and distinction from matter. Life is matter's master, not its slave. Life is a workman, a builder, a chemist, and each organism has its own life, the result of the spiritual and material in itself.

It is plainly impossible to study the functions of living beings without regarding them as dependent on something which produced and maintains life. This "vital principle," or "principle of organization," or "plastic power," is as necessary to physiology as "light" is to optics, or "gravitation" is to physics. Naturalists may differ widely in their opinions as to the nature of life, according to their metaphysical or religious proclivities, but they cannot ignore it. Text-books on physiology may evade the question, as works on natural philosophy decline to investigate the cause of gravity, yet the mystery of our origin is a charm which compels us to seek for an efficient cause, whether we confine ourselves within the boundaries of revealed truth and strict observation, or, in the pride of scientific pretension and theoretic imagination, repudiate the teachings of faith and of our own consciousness.

The work of Dr. Beale, whose title heads this article, is a small duodecimo of less than one hundred pages, yet is more weighty than many ponderous tomes. It contains matter well worthy the attention of the theologian and the naturalist. In a style of great purity, little encumbered with technicalities, it proves the physical doctrine of life to be unscientific and opposed to the development of religious thought and natural theology, and that scientific observation of the phenomena of living beings requires a vital theory for their explanation.

Dr. Beale has long been known as a worker in histology, or the science which treats on organic tissues, and as the author of several standard books on microscopy and clinical medicine. Gray's "Anatomy" calls him "the most eminent English authority" on nerve structure. His method of staining animal tissues with carmine so as to demonstrate the living matter, or bioplasm, as distinct from the organized material formed by it, has attracted much attention, and bids fair to be admitted as an ultimate fact. Upon this demonstration he bases his conclusion that the difference between the living and the non-living is absolute.

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If the correctness of Dr. Beale's microscopic investigations be disputed, however, or subsequent research find a structure still more primitive, the essential difference between living and dead matter will still be manifest. Physiology has many facts which require for their explanation the admission of spiritual influence. The identity and vital actions of every organism affords proof of this. For example, let us consider the history of a single atom of matter which may have been occupied in the service of life. Let us suppose its first connection with vitality to be in the simplest form of vegetable existence. It is now part of a simple cell, which is endowed with the power of selecting nutrient matter from the inorganic world around it, of discarding effete material, and of giving birth to other cells like itself. That same particle of matter, having been temporarily united with and laid aside by vitality in a simple form of being, may be appropriated to the use of a higher species, as, for instance, the germ of a tree. Long before the death of the tree this same original particle may have passed through a variety of changes, and may even have served the germ of many species, both of animal and vegetable life. What may be thus predicated of one particle may be said also of any other, showing conclusively that no particle is essential to the continuance or action of the organism, but that some other force than material is concerned with the phenomena. The functions of the nervous system also, or sensation and voluntary motion, cannot be explained by any theory of materialism. The nerve structure only implies a capability of reception or transmission; a second factor—an immaterial one—is necessary to the product of sensation. The action of the nerves upon the other organs and tissues of the body, as in voluntary motion, require for their explanation an agent as different from the body as are the sources of light and sound. Every psychological function also implies the same truth.

Our author shows that none of the physical theories of life rest on a scientific foundation, that the phenomena of living matter differ from the phenomena of all non-living matter, and that the idea of the self-constructing properties of molecules is incompatible with the ideas of Providence, a personal God, and Christianity. He proves that the phenomena of

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living beings not only justify the acceptance of a vital theory, but are only in this way to be explained.

The self-conceit and dogmatism of the promoters of materialism are perfectly amazing, and if they only had facts on which to base their arrogant assumptions we might fear for the ark of God. With them all science is physics, and all other views are not scientific, but frivolous and ridiculous. Unproved and unprovable assertions are advanced over and over again, as if repetition became argument, such as "The sun forms living beings," and "The difference between a living thing and a dead one is a difference of degree." Conjectures loaded with rhetorical tinsel have been paraded for scientific truths, and effete heathen philosophies heralded as new discoveries. Those who do not receive them are called "narrow," "prejudiced," "orthodox;" and such is the force of ridicule, that these blatant rhetoricians have been enabled largely to mold public opinion and influence the newspaper press, and even to inoculate our seminaries of learning with their imaginings of cosmic vapor and transformable force and sun-produced organisms. Dr. Beale has done good service in puncturing the swollen rhetoric which so many have mistaken for truth. His logical scalpel is keen, and with firm and delicate strokes he exposes the morbid mass. He says:

Physicists and chemists have disparaged microscopical inquiry, the remarks they have themselves made proving distinctly enough that they knew nothing of the question upon which they express most confident opinions. Of all departments of knowledge, the physiology of life has been the most unfortunate in this respect, and the most ridiculous statements about the nature of life have been approvingly sanctioned by men of high position in other branches of natural knowledge. Vitality has formed the favorite subject for perorations, and of late years many physical philosophers have concluded a long address, perhaps on the nature and properties of the non-living, with some eloquent passages about the physical nature of life. Physicists have invaded a province of knowledge which they thought to conquer, but from which they must retire discomfited. They have laid down iron rules which they have been the first to disobey, and have protested loudly about the inexorable logic of facts while they have themselves utterly discarded all fact; and, reveling in mere rhapsody and fancy, they have tried to convince the unlearned that they were teaching the facts of science. Physicists, without having studied the wonderful effects wrought by vitality, have

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tried hard to represent it as the slave of force, but it has proved, and will ever prove, its master.

It has indeed been definitely stated, and the statement has been repeated more than once, that the whole "world, living and non-living," has resulted by the "mutual interaction" of the "forces possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe was composed." The sentence following this nebulous assertion shows in what impenetrable mists Mr. Huxley has lost himself. If the above view about primitive nebulosity be true, he goes on to say, "it is no less certain that the existing world lay, potentially, in the cosmic vapor; and that a sufficient intelligence could, from a knowledge of the properties of the molecules of that vapor, have predicted, say the fauna of Britain in 1869, *with as much certainty* as one can say what will happen to the vapor of the breath in a cold winter's day." But who cares to learn what a supposititious intelligence, having knowledge unknowable, might have predicted concerning the hypothetical molecules of an apocryphal primeval mist under circumstances which, had they existed, would have rendered impossible the existence of the intelligence?

With reference to living matter, physicists do permit us to teach that this is structureless; and even Dr. Tyndall would probably, for the present, tolerate the view that no machinery, either molecular or of any other kind, which would enable him to account for the phenomena invariably manifested by living matter, can be discovered by the microscope. But such a difficulty is only apparent. It cannot, says the lecturer, "be too distinctly borne in mind, that between the microscopic limit and the *true* (!) molecular limit there is room for infinite permutations and combinations." But, unfortunately, he knows nothing about the *microscopic limit*, nor the *true molecular limit*, nor the *room* between the two, nor the *permutations*, nor the *combinations*. Here, then, is an excellent example of the physical-fact logic of one who has long maintained that physics will account for vital phenomena. But, strange as it may appear, this authority is at last forced to admit that he has called in the aid of his imagination, and some of his pupils may be led to teach that there is more of science to be learned in the realms of fancy and in dream-land than by observation and experiment. The attempt to restrict the use of the imagination to "privileged spirits" only does not indicate a generous or philosophical disposition.

In the present day writers on the physical side are never tired of urging us to believe that all those marvelous phenomena peculiar to the living world are not peculiar to it at all. Mr. Herbert Spencer does not hesitate to assert that "organisms are *highly differentiated* portions of the matter forming the earth's crust and its gaseous envelope." Then he goes on to say, "The chasm between the inorganic and the organic is being filled up." But if this sort of statement is accepted as proof philosophical we may surely prove any thing we like, and then assert that it has been

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proved philosophically. He says, further, that there are organisms the matter of whose bodies is "distinguishable from a fragment of albumen *only by its finely granular character.*" The reader will observe that no facts whatever are adduced in support of these most cleverly stated assertions. They do not result from observation or experiment, but rest upon *authority* only. The "highly differentiated" is not more definite than Mr. Huxley's "variously modified." Neither does the author tell us by what the chasm between the organic and inorganic is being filled up. But he is wise in using the words *organic* and *inorganic* instead of *living* and *non-living*, for if these last were substituted for the former the assertion would not be accepted by any one. But are not the "distinguishable," the "fragment of albumen," and the "finely granular," as employed in the above sentence, remarkable for that vagueness and ambiguity which characterize the recent developments of material speculations?

Physiology has been positively affirmed by Herbert Spencer to be "an interpretation of the physical processes that go on in organisms, in terms known to physical science;'" but seeing how very little physiology can be explained by physical science, and that, of the essential changes which distinguish all living from all lifeless things, not one can be explained without "a psychical factor—a factor which no physical research whatever can disclose, or identify, or get the remotest glimpse of"—it is clear that such an interpretation of the "physical processes" as that indicated will teach us nothing whatever concerning the physiological changes which distinguish all living matter from all non-living matter.

We thank Dr. Beale for these criticisms. Coming from one so well known as a writer in biological science, they cannot be accused of the *odium theologicum*, but must be considered as the frank utterances of one whose observations have given him a right to speak.

About sixty pages of the volume are devoted to the consideration of Dr. Beale's "Vital Theory," of which the following is a summary. The author remarks:

Some years ago I obtained evidence which convinced me that the substance of the bodies of all things living was composed of matter in two states; and I showed that the truly vital phenomena—*nutrition*, *growth*, and *multiplication*—were manifested by one of the two kinds of matter, while the other was the seat of physical and chemical changes only. From observation I was led to conclude that, of any living thing, but a part of the matter of which it was constituted was really *living* at any moment. In the case of adult forms of the higher animals and man, indeed only a very small portion of the total quantity of their body-matter is alive at any period of existence.

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By means of staining anatomical specimens with an alkaline solution of carmine, and then examining them under the highest powers of the microscope, Dr. Beale finds

> In every part of the tissues of a living thing, even in the solid bone, and separated from one another by tolerably equal distances, little particles of living matter, often less than the half thousandth of an inch in diameter, each separated from its neighbors, and surrounded by the material it has produced; each living bioplast attracting, through the lifeless matter already formed by it, materials suitable for its nutrition; each living, growing, and forming; each capable of infinite growth, infinite multiplication.

This bioplasm, or living matter, is found to be entirely structureless even when examined with the most perfect objectives of one twenty-fifth and one fiftieth of an inch focus, and under a magnifying power of five thousand diameters. Yet, structureless as it is, it exhibits peculiar movements, which cannot be explained by known laws; one part of the mass moving in advance of another part, or in opposition to it, or over it, or through it, as if every particle had the capacity of independent movement, and at the same time.

The power of vitalized matter to separate from their combinations chemical elements which have the strongest affinity for each other, to combine them with others with which they have no natural tendency to unite, and to build up a structure in opposition to gravity and other physical forces, must ever be conclusive against the theory of its physical or chemical origin.

The marvelous capacity of prevision, so to speak, of the vitalizing power or principle, shows clearly its alliance with spiritual, if not mental, forces. "The changes effected by *living matter* at one time are carried out as it were in anticipation of future change, as if the conception of what *was to be* had been acted upon even while the early changes were proceeding."

Dr. Beale is rather sparing of the religious suggestions which seem naturally to spring from his observations and views. This, though it may seem an excellence in scientific circles, as they are now constituted, will be felt as a want by many upon whose minds the physical tendencies of the age have rested like an incubus. But the additional scientific

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proof which this volume exhibits, of the injection of spiritual forces into the sphere of the natural world, leads us to regard it as a valuable addition to Christian evidences. The great question of all ages is the reality of the supernatural, and "Jesus and the resurrection" is but the culmination of the Divine plan which proposes to gather into one the things which are in heaven and in the earth.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1874. (Philadelphia.)—1. Miracles. 2. Study of Anglo-Saxon and English. 3. The Final Retribution of the Unregenerate. 4. Papal Infallibility. 5. Christianity and Civilization. 6. The Greek of the New Testament. 7. State and Religion. 8. The Philosophy of the Crusades. 9. Exegetical Studies.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, January, 1874. (Andover, Mass.)—1. Theology a Possible Science. 2. Galilee in the Time of Christ. 3. National Realism; or, Faith the Basis of Science and Religion. 4. Book Rarities at Washington. 5. The Hebrew Tense. 6. The Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language. 7. Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1874. (Cincinnati.)—1. Mosaism and Christianity. 2. Natural Immorality. 3. Inspiration. 4. Our Creed Makers. 5. God a Threefold Postulate of Psychology. 6. The Want of Success in the Work of Conversion. 7. The True Foundation.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1874. (New Haven.)—1. America and Americans. 2. Constitution Making. 3. Revivals of Religion: How to Make them Productive of Permanent Good. 4. A Study of International Law Reform. 5. Evolutionism *versus* Theism. 6. The Unity of the Church. 7. The Relations of the Church of England to the other Protestant Churches. 8. Some Suggestions on Points of Contact between Science and Art.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1874. (Boston.)—1. The Constitutions of Great Britain and the United States. 2. Arctic Exploration. 3. Antiquity of the North American Indians. 4. The Currency and Finances of the United States. 5. Dr. Clarke's "Sex in Education." 6. La Marmora's Revelations on the War of 1866.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1874. (New York.)—1. Our Indian Affairs. 2. The Sinfulness of Selfishness. 3. The First Seven Sultans of the Ottoman Dynasty. 4. Obedience and Liberty. 5. Matthew Arnold's Literature and Dogma. 6. The Late Commercial Crisis. 7. The Sense of the Beautiful in Brutes. 8. The Modern Greeks and Opinions concerning them. 9. Notes and Current Topics. 10. Recent Works on Evolutionism.

SOUTHERN REVIEW. January, 1874. (St. Louis, Mo.)—1. Man's Place in the Universe. 2. The Moors in Spain. 3. The Life of Sir David Brewster. 4. The Wonders of the Needle. 5. How and Why I Became a Methodist. 6. The Hive and the Honey Bee. 7. The Character of St. Paul.

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THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, a Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly, January, 1874. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. The "Divine Purpose" Examined. 2. Epidemics and Sanitary Reform. 3. Some Objections to "The Function of Prayer in the Economy of the Universe." 4. Misread Text. 5. Baptismal Regeneration. 6. Prophecy, a Proof of Revelation. 7. The Development Theory as Related to the Bible. 8. Expository Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. 9. Death-bed Repentance.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1874.—1. Buddhism. 2. The Christ-Principle. 3. Emanuel Swedenborg, as a man of Science, a Philosopher, Seer, and Theologian. 4. Biblical Interpretation from the Apostolic Age to the Time of Origen. 5. Ewald's History of Israel. 6. A Hundred Years.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, January, 1874. (The Church Press.)—1. The Colonial Church in Massachusetts. 2. The Spiritual Essence of Christianity. 3. Some of the Teachings of Modern Art. 4. Pope John XII. 5. The First Resurrection. 6. The Cathedral in America. 7. Gladstone's Address. 8. The Philology of the English Tongue.

The SIXTH ARTICLE, discussing the "Cathedral question," is not without interest. English and American opinions are curiously thus contrasted: "On one side of the Atlantic we have seen the gradual dawning and development of the cathedral idea; while on the other we have seen a gradual impatience of the cathedral reality. It has been in England a period of almost destructive criticism, while in America it has been an era of enthusiastic inauguration."—P. 101.

WHAT THE PRESENT ENGLISH CATHEDRAL IS.

Antagonistic as such opinions seem to be, they spring, in reality, from the same root. During the past thirty years the Church of England has witnessed a marvelous revival of spiritual life. The stir of awakened vigor has been felt through every remotest member of the whole body; and thus the criticism of the cathedral system, as it exists in England to-day, is at once natural and intelligible. On the one hand, it is urged, "here are stately edifices, not always opened; and, when opened, rarely filled. Attached to them are numerous clergy, very few of whom are resident in the cathedral city, and almost all of whom are pluralists. This body of clergy consumes large revenues, and does very little strictly ministerial work. True, they cultivate learning and polite letters, and write books, and translate Greek plays; but over against them are clamoring the tens of thousands of spiritually destitute and untaught people—men, women, and, saddest of all, children, with whom Christian England to-day is teeming. "What," it is somewhat impatiently demanded, "is the cathedral system doing for the rescue of the degraded classes, the diminution of pauperism, the evangelization of the masses?" And the answer must needs be, Not much, anywhere; and, in more than one cathedral city, Almost nothing at all.—P. 102.

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What the Primitive Cathedral was.

"It must be granted," says the Dean of Norwich, in his recent volume on the cathedral system,* "for it is matter of fact that a cathedral was, in its origin, nothing more than a missionary-station, where the bishop of a partly-unevangelized country placed his seat, and that the cathedral chapter was originally nothing else than his council of clergy grouped around him, whose duty was to go forth into the surrounding district with the message of the Gospel, to plant smaller churches which should be subordinate or parochial centers, and to return again periodically to the diocesan Church at head-quarters, for the counsel and directions of their chief."—P. 109.

What the American Cathedral System Should be, and how it Resembles and Differs from Methodist Itinerancy.

Could there be a more exact description than this of the relation which there is (or ought to be) between a missionary bishop (and many diocesan bishops) and their missionary deacons and presbyters? It is the experience of every bishop, that, if he could command the services of a few clergymen not settled in organized parishes, or anchored by other ties, whom he could send at opportune moments to improve new openings, to maintain temporarily the Church's services, to attempt in a tentative way at new points a certain amount of Church work, some of the most promising fields might speedily be made centers of ecclesiastical life and activity. But, in order to do this, something like the Methodist order of itinerants is wanted, and for this, apparently, our Church can find no place. In one or two of our dioceses the introduction of an order of evangelists has been attempted; and, as the last annual address of the Bishop of Central New York informs us, with an encouraging measure of success. But the idea has not yet taken root, and, admirable as every one owns it to be in theory, there seems to be a singular apathy as to reducing it to practice. Is it because we are so rigid, and frigid as well, that we have no real interest in the matter of utilizing within our own borders this powerful arm of Methodism; or is it not, rather, that we have been deterred by the very practical question, "When you have created your order of itinerants or evangelists, what are you going to do with them? Where shall they find the center of their operations? From what shall they radiate? Who shall superintend their work and direct their energies?" And if it be answered that other bodies, who have employed the itinerant system, have not been hindered by such questions, then it is to be remembered that those other bodies are not bodies episcopally constituted, or, if nominally so, then bodies in which the (so-called) episcopal office is a mere superintendency, and nothing more. In the Methodist communion, for instance, an order of itinerants does not presup-

* "Principles of the Cathedral System," Int., p. xviii.

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pose a bishop who first surveys the ground and then distributes his forces; while the fact that such an arrangement is in fact the most effective, is evidenced alike by the history of our own missionary work and by the recent admission of a foremost Methodist journal, that "diocesan episcopacy," or, in other words, episcopacy with a definite territorial jurisdiction, is the secret of the marked success of the missionary work of our Church, especially in the West. But, in order that a bishop may be able to distribute his forces, he must first be able to concentrate them; and here appears the function of the cathedral as a center where the clergy may be assembled, where they may find temporary employment —say in schools, or in theological study, or otherwise—and yet be so free from any thing like a parochial tie, that, at a moment's notice, they may be sent to some point where their services are demanded.—P. 109.

The writer seems not to understand that either our Bishop surveys the new ground, as Bishop Haven did Mexico, or the pro-bishop, the presiding elder, does it as his delegate. Thereby we have fewer bishops and a larger oversight. The cathedral itinerancy would be a far less systematic organization than ours, but would greatly increase, we should think, the frontier efficiency of our Episcopalian friends.

Their proposed cathedral would be a large Bishop's church, including the Episcopal residence, rooms for assembled conventions, accommodations for subordinate clergy, and an intelligence office for unemployed ministers and vacant parishes. Much of these loose provisions are rendered for us unnecessary, from the fact that our *method* (and herein we are *Methodists*) supplies parish for every pastor, and pastor for every parish, dismissing the whole degrading business of "candidating," "intelligence offices," and waiting for somebody to hire us.

On page 159 of this Quarterly, Dr. Cummins is placed under "attainder for perjury" for performing ordinations in his present manner. Is this so? Does a Bishop swear in no case to transcend the proscriptions of the Protestant Episcopal organism under penalty of "attainder for perjury?" Was not Archbishop Parker, nay, were not all the Bishops of the Church at the Reformation equally sworn to maintain the Papal authority? And was not the Anglican Church, by this reasoning, born in "perjury?" But the crime is in the imposing the oath, not in breaking it.

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English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1874. (London.)—1. Erasmus. 2. Calvinism in Modern Life. 3. The Anglo-Catholic Movement. 4. The Hamah Inscriptions: Hittite Remains. 5. The New Reading of the History of Israel 6. The Theology of "Culture." 7. The Testimony of Ancient Monuments to the Historic Truth of Scripture.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1874. (London.)—1. The Ballad: Its Nature and Literary Appetite. 2. Modern Scientific Inquiry and Religious Thought. 3. Inductive Theology. 4. Masson's Milton and his Times. 5. Mind and the Science of Energy. 6. Revision of the Text of the New Testament. 7. Mr. Bright's Return to the Ministry. 8. Henry Thoreau, the Poet-Naturalist. 9. John Stuart Mill's Autobiography.

Darwinism has during the past year received from America two death-dealing blows, namely, the volume of Dr. Dawson, noticed in our last Quarterly, and the article by Agassis in a late "Atlantic Monthly." These blows are followed up by some able pages in the present number of this Quarterly. We quote the following paragraphs from Article Second:

RECONCILABILITY OF DARWINISM WITH ORTHODOXY.

Before we state, briefly, our objections to the theory of the Origin of Species by means of natural selection, we should like to attempt to show that, supposing the theory were borne out by a careful induction of facts, we do not see why, on religious grounds, it may not be accepted by even orthodox Christians. To us it appears that, accepting it, there is equal, perhaps more, need for a premeditated plan of action; for the same far-reaching foresight which sees the end from the beginning; for the same constant superintendence, and for as nice an adjustment of parts to each other, and of all to the varying external conditions of nature, as there would be if from inorganic or dead matter the Creator made entirely new forms. In Mr. Darwin's idea we see the Author of nature advancing life-forms already in existence another step. In the commonly accepted one we behold Him creating from dead matter new forms in advance of, and in addition to, the old. Or the difference is simply between taking dead matter and giving to it a particular shape and form of life, with powers in advance of some similarly previously existing form, and taking matter already endowed with life and certain capabilities, and giving to that a more highly finished structure, with powers in advance of the old. The last plan is something more than improving the old, or allowing the old to improve itself. There is, first, the calling into existence the new conditions of nature, with the adaptation of these to nourish the new phases of life, and, next, there is the wise re-arrangement at just the right time of existing parts of a living thing, or the addition of new. Thus the body of Adam as the head of the present human race would be as much created by its Maker from the dust of the

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earth—as indeed the human body is created day by day—if it were adapted to higher life from dust already put into an organic form, say, if we will, a lower kind of man, or even an ape, as if the Almighty had taken dust which, if such a thing be conceivable, had never entered into the composition of a sentient being, and molded that for the first time into human shape. On the precise mode of creation the Scriptures are silent, but in either case the fact remains the same.

Further, we think it would not be difficult to discover in the former theory resemblances to, and confirmations of, certain beliefs which, in some shape or other, have hitherto been held by Christian men. For example, take the admitted tendency of plants and animals to revert to their original stock, if the training and cultivation which have improved them be withdrawn. Is there not some analogy between this and that tendency in man when left to himself to become of the earth earthy, and to submit his higher nature to the dominion of those fleshly appetites and passions which on this theory he inherits from the creatures below him, and which on any theory he has in common with them? We may call this tendency by what name we please, but it looks under any name very like what theologians call original sin. Or if we regard sin as coming with the accession of knowledge, we may see how this idea may not be inconsistent with that of man's progression upward from the brute; for supposing the brute or savage state (we use this word in a limited sense) to have been man's original condition, we see how in that case man has sinned against the laws of his animal being—has been false to the instincts of his animal nature. As an ape he loved his young, and would have imperiled his life for their safety, but with the accession of knowledge he kills his children, buries them alive, burns them, and throws them into the sea. As an ape he was the husband of one wife, but when he develops into a man, the number of his wives is often only limited by the extent of his wealth and the strength of his desires. We might proceed with this contrast, but we forbear. Enough has, however, been said to show that from two opposite points of view man is on the natural selection theory in a state of sin, on the one side liable to have his higher nature swamped by animal instincts and passions, and on the other with a deranged will perverting the finer instincts of his animal nature, or pampering the remainder to such an inordinate degree as to induce personally physical decay, and gradually degradation and ruin. There is also in the theory that which, after all, as it has been well put, is selection by an intelligent will, by means of which creatures best adapted for it are called up into a higher life, and to play a more important part in the economy of nature, something analogous to that process of selection by which some from among human souls are called to be saints and co-workers with God for the advancement of the human race—one aspect of the doctrine of personal election. May we not, also, from the theory, derive confirmation

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of that doctrine of a special Providence to which men's hearts cling in their deepest needs? For if we believe in a Care or Bias, call it what we will, that tones and shades the coloring of an insect's wings to the surrounding foliage for the creature's safety, and that thickens the shell of the mollusk when it becomes exposed to a rougher sea; surely we must walk by the same rule and mind the same thing when we ascend to the higher regions of life, where it is but reasonable to suppose that adaptive power will be most manifest, and infer that the same Care, Bias, or Power, so far from presenting an aspect of icy indifference toward its intelligent creatures, will regard them with an amount of interest at least equal to that with which it regards the soulless creation below them. If the "heart and flesh cry out for the living God," surely the living God will not be deaf to the cry. All this is true, supposing the theory to be true and really borne out by the observed facts and phenomena of nature. But our deliberate opinion is that it is *not proven*.—Pp. 43–45.

Its Irreconcilability with Geology.

The theory receives little countenance from geologic evidence. We know it is argued that that evidence is fragmentary and incomplete—granted; but surely, just as a handful of corn, taken at haphazard out of a bag which had been previously well shaken, is a fair sample of the bulk, so ought the evidence preserved after all the shakings this earth has undergone to be a fair sample of the remainder. Besides, the evidence is not so fragmentary. Mr. Ramsay some years since pointed out the great breaks there were in the continuity of strata; but several of these, as, for example, the breaks between the Coal measures and the Permian, between the Permian and the Trias, and between the Trias and the Lias, have since then been more or less bridged over; yet still the evidence is as unfavorable as before. Then there are strata which certainly took long enough in forming to contain among their entombed organizations examples of the gradual alteration of species throughout a lengthened period of time. We write surrounded by a large series of fossils, which during many years have been collected from one of these formations, which is at least eight thousand feet in thickness; but *we fail to discover*, though we have carefully sought for them, *any such traditional forms*.—P. 46.

Unreliability of Later Time Measures.

Mr. Dawson very properly notices the uncertain character of much of the geological evidence upon which a high antiquity is based, depending as this does upon the order and position of the superficial deposits of the earth's crust. Most geologists will agree with us in saying that of all strata these are the most difficult to correlate so as to arrive at exact conclusions concerning their age. We read of undisturbed deposits; but we have seen

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so many instances of re-deposited boulder-clay, which in itself it was impossible to distinguish from the original deposit, and of modern deposits becoming mixed with others vastly more ancient, that we receive all such statements with caution. The presence of the remains of extinct animals with those of man no more of itself proves the contemporaneousness of the existence of the two, than the occasional finding of a cannon ball among the tusks and bones of the *Elephas primogenus*, which are dredged up in the German Sea, proves the manufacture of cannon balls in the days when this elephant with his companions roamed at will over the continuous plain of Belgium and Norfolk.

Often, too, as we have read Sir Charles Lyell's ingenious and elaborate calculations as to the rate of the growth of peat and lake deposits, we have felt that the basis of his computations was only one among others equally probable, and that in building up his favorite hypothesis he omits important elements from his reckoning by leaving out various local causes which act at times with intensified force within limited areas. We have said thus much in order to show the need there is for the absence of positiveness from at least the geological side of the reasoning.—P. 51.

Admissibility of Different Human Origins.

At the same time it must be allowed that, after making all necessary deductions, there are several distinct lines of investigation relating to the diversity of race, such as differences in color and in the language of mankind, which seem as if they could only converge in a much earlier origin of the human race than that usually assigned to it. Thoughtful and reverent biblical scholars, as well as men of science, have felt this. To some of them the conviction has come that the black race inhabited the interior of Africa long before the advent of Adam as the head of the higher races, and through them of all mankind. Among the American Indians there is a tradition that the Great Spirit had three sons: the first born was a black man; the second a red man; and the youngest, who was destined to conquer or absorb the children of the other two, a white man. Without attaching much importance to this tradition, it may be fairly urged that some ground is given in the early history of the race, as recorded in Genesis, to infer the existence of an earlier race of men and women with whom the newly-made race married and held communication. Dr. J. Pye Smith, whose name will be received in these pages with the respect it deserves, foresaw long ago the probability that a higher antiquity for mankind would be necessitated, and, in anticipating some such theory as that of the prior existence of an inferior race, argued on that basis for the unity of mankind and its need of a Redeemer. His thoughts on the subject will be found in his book, "The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science." The question is also very reverently and ably argued in "The Genesis

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of the Earth and Man," a book edited by Mr. R. S. Poole. The subject is one on which we can afford to wait; weighing and sifting carefully, meanwhile, the accumulating evidence.—Pp. 51, 52.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1874. (London.)—1. Modern Astronomy. 2. Thomas Jackson's Autobiography. 3. Christian Missions in South Central Africa. 4. Manzoni. 5. Confession and Absolution. 6. Chatterton. 7. The Muratorian Canon.

The first article gives striking views of the vastness of the astronomic universe, and then briefly answers the objection to a Divine atonement for the sin of our earth alone of all the worlds in the following words:

What mattered it that all the universe besides was pure, there was one orb on which a moral blight had settled, and, apart from the love of the Infinite Heart for finite but kindred intelligences, the very foundation of his being necessitates that he should restore the ruin. It is the enunciation of no new truth to declare that what is unnoticed in rectitude, in the preservation of its own orbit, may become intensely prominent by going wrong. The hundredth sheep was unnoticed in the flock, but the ninety and nine were left to seek it when it strayed. A nerve, an artery, a gland, of whose very existence we were ignorant, may become the centers of profoundest interest in abnormal states. Many a name, now cut indelibly into the tablets of history, would have passed silently into oblivion but for crime and infamy. A name hitherto unknown to the world may, by the atrocities of a few moments, arouse the interest of a nation, awake a continent into action, and cause the civilized world to seethe with indignation. And this earth has thrust itself upon the notice of God and angels, not because of its amplitude in the scale of being, not because it was an enormous portion of the whole, but because of its SIN—because of its infraction of the moral glory of the universe. And while in truth and purity it might have spent out its planet life unnoticed more than others, yet by its moral defalcation it has violated the purpose of the Infinite Mind in creation; and for his own glory—for the glory of the measureless cosmos in its relations alike to mind and matter—and for our salvation, he has used the means for securing his original purpose, and displaying in a restored universe his own unclouded perfections.—P. 305.

But is there any thing in a discriminate view of the incarnation and expiation forbidding the idea that they were a Divine *method*, possible to be repeated under similar necessities in other fallen worlds? The patripassian doctrine, according to which the Infinite suffered infinite agonies in the atonement, would indeed forbid such an idea; but that doctrine

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has itself been most decisively rejected, not only by reason and Scripture, but by the Christian consciousness of the Church. The *kenosis* doctrine, according to which the Infinite minifies himself into a human soul, equally forbids such an idea, but is itself equally rejected by reason, Scripture, and Christian antiquity. But the simply true and orthodox doctrine of the union of perfect God and perfect man in one Christ does not contradict the possibility that a similar union by which the finite is divinized may be repeated in other systems than our own. That such repetition has ever been made, there is indeed nothing to show. Nor need it be affirmed. But when the infinite number of worlds and systems is brought as an objection against the remedial system revealed in Scripture, the burden must be laid upon the objector to show that such a method might not be repeated in other systems when seen by the Creator of the whole to be desirable.

The following is a tolerably good view of Calvin:

Of the leaders of the Reformation there are none whose characters are in stronger contrast than Luther and Calvin. Professor Hausser does not institute a formal comparison between them, but he enables the reader to do so. "Calvin was not equal either to Luther or Zwingli in general talent, mental vigor, or tranquillity of soul; but in logical acuteness and talent for organization he was at least equal, if not superior to either. He settled the basis for the development of many States and Churches. He stamped the form of the Reformation in countries to which he was a stranger. The French date the beginnings of their literary development from him, and his influence was not restricted to the sphere of religion, but embraced their intellectual life in general; no one else has so permanently influenced the spirit and form of their written language as he." In mere intellectual power, we should be inclined to rank Calvin fully as high, if not higher, than Luther. What he lacked was deep, genuine humanity; there the Frenchman was immeasurably inferior to the great Saxon. In place of Luther's geniality and humor, and that deep emotional nature which carried to the end the marks of the spiritual conflict through which he passed at the outset of his career, we have a cold, stiff, almost gloomy being, who could awe a whole city by the majesty of his character, and command the respect even of his enemies by his austere piety, but wholly wanting in knowledge of human nature and in true sympathy for it. He was a lawyer turned theologian. As all those who encounter the system of Calvin logically are aware, it is his premises which are generally called in question. If we grant the great dialectician his premises we are compelled to accept

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his conclusions. The master of logic is often also its slave—a truth illustrated, in our judgment, by the relation of Calvin to the doctrine of predestination. Luther's practical handling of the doctrine—on which, it should be remembered, he is very nearly in accord with Calvin—is very different. It was modified by other faculties than those of the logical understanding, to the immense benefit of Luther and Lutheranism. We may quote in conclusion a passage or two on the historical significance of Calvinism that will serve to illustrate Professor Hausser's method. "Man was not placed in the world to torment himself with penances and flagellations; though not intended to be an abode of pleasure, pleasure ought not to be banished from it. Luther saw this plainly, and did not despise cheerful recreation, but considered it a part of Christian life. *The world was not intended to be made a prayer-meeting, and he who tries to make it so is in danger of sowing the seeds of mere outward sanctity;* in other words, of hypocrisy. . . . Calvin's mode of treating the world and men was not so much Christian, as Spartan or ancient Roman. No one will maintain that all mankind can be ruled and trained by these means; but it cannot be denied that within certain limits it produced vigorous characters, men of self-denying devotion and heroic courage, and in this fact lay the importance of Calvin's pattern state. A school of men was to be trained, who, temperate and vigorous, despising both the pleasures and temptations of life, should be prepared to make great sacrifices and to perform great deeds for the sake of an idea of world-wide significance; and the effect produced by this school, both at home and abroad, was really astounding. Life in Geneva was entirely transformed; the previous bustling activity was replaced by solemn, priestly earnestness; the old frivolity disappeared; magnificence in attire was no longer thought of; nothing was heard of dances or masquerades; the taverns and theaters were empty, the churches crowded; a tone of devout piety pervaded the city. And this school extended itself as a mighty propaganda. We find its influence among the French and Dutch Calvinists, and especially among the Scotch Presbyterians and English Puritans, who are offspring of the Genevan parental tree.—Pp. 472, 473.

We dissent, however, from the high quality assigned here, as often elsewhere, to Calvin's "*logic.*" There are few writers whose system is so contradictory, not only to intuitive sense, but to *itself*, as that of Calvin. It is a congeries of statements giving each other the lie. Talk as some do of the "remorseless logic" of Calvin! They had better call it his "remorseless illogic," bolstered up, as it often was, by fierce assertions, and big mouthfuls of abuse, nicknames, and menaces.

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German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology. 1874. Second Number.)—1. HARNACH, Critical Remarks on the Sources of the History of Gnosticism. 2. Dr. W. GERMANN, Christianity on Socotora. 3. KOHLER, Biography of Rabanus Maurus.

The island of Socotora, or Socotra, which is situated in the Indian Ocean, about a hundred and fifty miles east-north-east from Cape Guardafui, the eastern extremity of Africa, and belongs to the Imaum of Muscat, is at present of no great importance. It has an area of only one thousand square miles, and a population of about four thousand. Its history presents, however, some points of importance which Dr. Germann brings out and discusses in the above article. As the island became early famous for producing the finest aloes of the world, settlements of Greek colonists were established there, according to some writers, by Alexander the Great, according to others by the Ptolemies, the successors of Alexander; but by the side of the Greeks the remnants of another race, probably Indians, maintained itself. Christianity appears to have been planted during the apostolic age, and the entire population to have become Christian at an early date. The Church of Socotora joined the Nestorian movement, and shared the fate of the Nestorian Church. When the Nestorian Patriarch Timotheus of Seleucia (778 to 820) succeeded in prevailing upon the Archbishop of Persia to recognize his supreme patriarchate, the Persian province, which formerly had embraced India also, was reduced to eight episcopal sees, among which Socotora is mentioned. The Archbishop of Persia had the right to consecrate these bishops, and to install them without awaiting the assent of the Patriarch; and, according to Bar-Hebræus, this right was still exercised in 1280. At some other time the see of Socotora appears, however, to have been separated from Persia, and to have been a suffragan see of the Indian Archbishopric of Angamale. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Church of Socotora is believed to have been deprived of the pastoral care of Christian bishops, and of all intercourse with the remainder of the Christian world, and gradually to have sunk into utter decay.

In 1481 the Prince of Caxem, ruler of the tribe of the Fartaks, living on the neighboring promontory of South Arabia, landed

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with a thousand men, conquered the whole island, and secured his rule by founding a castle in the port of Benin. The son of the prince, the young and brave Ibrahim, resided on the island, which retained a garrison of only one hundred and thirty men. In 1507 a Portuguese fleet landed. Ibrahim fell, the castle was stormed, and the garrison, which refused to ask for pardon, was massacred. Only a few, who were married to native women, escaped into the forests. Large numbers of the inhabitants, when they heard that the new-comers were Christians, asked the Portuguese to deliver them wholly from the sway of the infidels. A Portuguese Franciscan monk, Antonio Loureiro, with four companions, undertook to restore Christianity; but he appears to have been unsuccessful, for he left the island in 1509. According to the information received by the Franciscan missionaries and the Portuguese officers, the Socotorans were unanimous in maintaining that their ancestors had been converted by the Apostle Thomas. It was further believed that the nearness of the Jacobites in Abyssinia had gradually exercised so great an influence upon the Nestorian belief of the islanders that by many they were regarded as Jacobites. According to some, a Jacobite and a Nestorian bishop resided at one time simultaneously on the island. Like the Abyssinians, the Christians of Socotora practiced circumcision, together with other Jewish customs. They were holding annual fasts, and were observing daily times of prayer. The cross they were holding in high veneration; they were wearing it on the neck; and, while they themselves were living in subterranean caves, they were building, in honor of the cross, sacred edifices in which they assembled for prayer, on which occasion one recited the prayer in Hebrew, (which is supposed to mean Syriac,) while the others responded as chorus. The men generally had the name of one of the apostles, and among the women the name of Maria was the most common. In general their religion is represented by the writers of this period as a mixture of Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism. In 1542 Francis Xavier landed upon the island, and, although he himself remained only a short time, the King of Portugal was prevailed upon by him to order the occupation of the island. The Jesuits began a mission among the natives, but this mission, as well as this second occupation of the Portuguese, was of short duration,

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and of its history but little is known. The inhabitants still appeared to be attached to Christianity, and to be very hostile to the Mohammedans. For a third time an effort to win the people of Socotora for the Roman Catholic Church was made by Augustinian monks at the beginning of the seventeenth century. When Archbishop Menezes of Goa, at the celebrated Synod of Diamper, in 1599, had induced the Christians of St. Thomas, in India, to unite with Rome, he directed his attention to the Island of Socotora. His first intention to visit the island himself he had to abandon, and instead he sent, in 1601, two monks of the Augustinian order, who took with them letters and presents for the governor whom the Prince of the Fartaks had again appointed in Socotora. This time the disposition of the natives showed itself very unfavorable, and even hostile. Twelve delegates, who only with great difficulty were induced to meet the monks after their landing, declared that they knew nothing of Christ and the Apostle Thomas, and that they would kill the monks if they should ever venture to approach their rocks. The monks, finding it impossible to accomplish any thing, soon returned. Since then the island has not been visited by missionaries.

According to the reports based on the last mission the coast of the island was at that time settled by a small number of Arabs, divided into three different tribes. The descendants of Arabs and native mothers were also living along the coast, subsisting mostly on fish. The natives, called Bedouins, were white, almost like Europeans; they lived in grottoes and caves, and spoke a language entirely different from the Arabic. Of Christ and the Christian religion they had no knowledge; only the cross on their altars, whose meaning they did not know, caused them to be regarded as Christians by the Arabs and by foreigners. They worshiped the moon as goddess, and as the mother and foundation of all things. Before the beginning of their fasts the chiefs offered to the moon a hundred goats and sheep, and asked for the protection of their herds. The fasts began with the new moon of April and lasted sixty days, during which time they ate neither milk nor butter, nor fish, but only vegetables and dates. They were so strict in the observance of these fasts that a person had to lose two fingers of the right hand for breaking them the first time, the hand for a second violation, and the whole arm

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for a third. There were many churches on the island, called *moguamos*, "the abode," (namely, of Jehovah, kindred with the Hebrew word מָקוֹם,) very small, and so low that those entering them struck their heads against the ceiling. Every moguamo had three doors or openings, was surrounded with a stone wall, and had in the interior only one altar, and upon it one cross, on both sides of which were sticks in the form of lilies, which appeared likewise to represent crosses. Every church had a priest, called hodamo, who changed annually, received as a sign of his dignity a staff, always wore a cross, and settled disputes. Three times a day, and as many times a night, they went into the churches, walked three times through the church-yard, swung an incense-box three times against the altar, then against the three gates, and in conclusion went the rounds of the church-yard, praying and swinging this censer. The crosses and the lily sticks were anointed with butter. Women did not enter the churches, except when whole families encamped in them. Circumcision was practiced in the same way as among the Mohammedans. The dead were cast into deep ditches, and not covered with earth.

Though in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many vessels landed at Socotora, no new information was obtained concerning the island. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the island was visited by the fanatical Wahabites, who, according to the natives, destroyed the last of their Chaldee books, which had also been seen by the Portuguese. In 1834 an English exploring expedition landed at Socotora, with the permission of the Sheikh Kisseen, on the promontory Ras Furtah, who still claimed the sovereignty over the island, and, although there had been no resident governor on the island since the middle of the eighteenth century, annually sent an envoy to collect the tribute. The English explored the island for two months, and for a time appeared disposed to occupy it permanently, but they abandoned it after they had occupied Aden. An account of the expedition was published by its leader, Wellstedt. His account, on the whole, agreed with those of former writers. Arabs live on the eastern coast—in particular in the only town, Tamarida; in the village Cadhoop, and the little seaport Golenseah. All the others are called Bedouins. They include two peculiar tribes—one the Beni

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Rahow, numbering about one hundred and fifty men, believed to be descendants of the Jews; and the other Camhane, living on the granite mountains, are regarded as descendants of the Portuguese. There are still traces of the Portuguese rule, and several miles from Cape Moree there are inscriptions which are similar to those found on the coast of South Arabia, and may be a crude representation of the ancient Ethiopic. They still appear to worship the moon, and were not inclined to make communication concerning their religion and mode of life. Once a year they had a procession, headed by a cross, around their temples. Young men were circumcised when entering the period of manhood. In remote parts of the island the custom mentioned by the Portuguese is still believed to prevail, to give children immediately after their birth to other families for raising.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. 1874. Second Number.)—*Essays:* 1. DELITZSCH, The Sources of the Earliest Accounts on Simon Petrus and Simon Magus. 2. KAHLER, Commentary to Chapter ii, 14–16, of the Epistle to the Romans. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SEIDEMANN, Luther's Birth-Year. 2. KOSTLIN, The Question on Luther's Birth-Year, and a New Question on Luther during the years 1509 to 1511. 3. SCHRADER, Assyro-Biblical Notes. 4. VOLZ, Critical Remarks on the Passage in the Apology of Justinus, (i, 66.) *Reviews:* 1. FRANK, System of Christian Certainty, reviewed by GOTTSCHICK. 2. DR. FULLNER, "Deutsche Blätter," a monthly for State, Church, and Social Life, reviewed by MUHLHAUSSEN.

Professor Schrader, of the University of Giessen, continues to publish in the German periodicals valuable essays on the results of the remarkable discoveries of Assyrian inscriptions. In the article above quoted he undertakes to prove that the gods Baal and Bell are not identical, but different. Professor Mooers, in his classical work on the Phœnicians, had fully proved that the Baal of the Western Semites, that is, the Syrians and Canaanites, (Phœnicians and pagan Hebrews,) and of the Libyans and Carthaginians, was the sun-god. But he erred, according to Professor Schrader, in identifying the Baal of the Western Semites with the Bel-Bil of the Eastern Semites, that is, the Babylonians and Assyrians. He believes this point, which formerly was liable to dispute, to have now been fully settled by the lists of the supreme gods which have been found among the clay tablets of the library of King Asurbanipal. In this list Bil is expressly distinguished from Samas, the sun-god. A comparison of these lists with

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our other information on the subject proves, according to Professor Schrader, the following points: 1. There was an old Babylonian god Bel, (cf. Jer. xlvi, 1; l, 2; li, 44; Dan. xiv.) 2. There was, further, Bel-Merodach, the god of the Jupiter constellation, who had the name Bel only as an honorary title—this is the Bel of the Sabians and Mandeans; finally, 3. There was a god Baal, the sun-god, who, however, is not a Babylonian, but merely a Canaanite deity. This is the Baal of the Bible and of the Phœnician inscriptions.

Another section of Professor Schrader's article discourses on the Babylonian origin of our week of seven days. Our week of seven days is found among the Hebrews, the Arameans, the Arabs, the later Romans, the Christian Germans, the Chinese, and the Peruvians; while among the Egyptians and Greeks we find a week of ten days, among the Romans one of eight days. That the Hebrews and the Arameans received their week of seven days from the Babylonians is clearly proved by the discovery of documents containing the name of the seven planetary deities after which the several days of the week are named, namely, Samas (sun), Sin (moon), Nergal (Mars), Nebo (Mercury), Merodach (Jupiter), Iastar (Venus), Adar (Saturn). When the Canaanites (Hebrews and Phœnicians) emigrated from Babylonia they took with them the week of seven days, but not the names of the several days—which they, on the contrary, numbered. Through Jews who emigrated to Arabia the week of seven days became usual in Arabia, and among the Christian Arameans. The latter, so far as they remained pagan, or before they became Christianized, or so far as they remained free from Jewish influence, appear to have also become acquainted with the names of the several days as derived from the Babylonian deities—for only through them the later Greeks and Romans can have received these names. The writings of the Aramean Mandeans prove that the names of the planetary Babylonian deities were known to them. From the Romans the Germans received the names of the seven days; but in the case of four days, namely, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, they substituted the names of native for those of Roman deities. The Slavic nations received the week of seven days simultaneously with the introduction of Christianity.

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The question of Luther's birth-year continues to be eagerly discussed by the theological journals. Two of the best authorities on the subject, Seidemann and Dr. J. Köstlin, after a careful comparison of every thing that can be found on the subject in Luther's writings and those of his contemporaries, agree in regarding it as probable that Luther himself was unsettled in his opinion. Köstlin, in particular, comes to the conclusion that from 1538 to 1540, and especially in the year 1540, Luther regarded 1484 as his birth-year; while in his later years he undoubtedly designated the year 1483 as his birth-year, which, as his brother Jacob declared, was the "*opinio familiæ*."

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Bulgarian Church question has, on the whole, attracted less attention during the year 1873 than in the previous years. The Bulgarians, undoubtedly, have the sympathy of the Slavic Churches of Russia, Austria, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro; but the Turkish government was again, as usual, very vacillating in its policy. The Bulgarians complained of the partiality of the new Minister of Justice, Midhat Pasha, in favor of the Greeks. When, however, on June 25, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anthomos, refused to join the other dignitaries of the country in congratulating the Sultan upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne, because the Turkish government declined to exclude, in accordance with his request, the Bulgarian exarch from the official reception, the Turkish government declared to the Patriarch its decided disapproval of his conduct. In September the Synod of Constantinople expressed to the Patriarch their want of confidence in him, whereupon he resigned his office. In December a new Patriarch of Constantinople was elected in place of the deposed Anthomos. The Turkish government did not exercise her right of striking out one or several names of the ten candidates whom the Electoral Synod had chosen, the Grand Vizier, Raschid Pasha, declaring that all of them were acceptable to the government. The Synod, which consists of priests as well as delegates of the laity, then elected the former patriarch, Joachim II., as Patriarch of Constantinople.

As the immense majority of the members of the Oriental Greek Church of European Turkey are Slavic, the Greeks who prevail in the government of the Church in Constantinople begin to appreciate the necessity of making concessions to them, lest the movement for the establishment of independent Churches on the basis of nationality, which

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bishop at Hermannstadt, and bishops at Versetz and Karansebes. According to a Hungarian law of 1868 the members of both Churches are authorized to hold periodical Church Congresses (the Servian and Roumanian) for the independent regulation of all subjects relating to religion, education, and church property. The Congresses are composed of the archbishop, the bishops, and clerical and lay delegates. The aggregate number of parishes of the Greek Church in the lands of the Hungarian crown was, in 1869, two thousand nine hundred and thirty-one, of local chaplaincies one hundred and seventeen, of priests three thousand four hundred and thirty-four. The population connected with the Church was, in Hungary proper, one million four hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-two, or 12.3 per cent.; in Transylvania, six hundred and fifty-two thousand nine hundred and forty-five, or 31.1 per cent.; in Croatia and Slavonia, five hundred and eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, or 27.6 per cent.; in the army, ten thousand two hundred and seventy-one: total, two million five hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred and nineteen, or 16.7 per cent. In the entire Austro-Hungarian monarchy the population connected with the Greek Church is three million fifty thousand eight hundred and thirty, or 8.5 per cent.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

A work recently published in Vienna, on the Protestant literature of the Southern Slavi of Austria, (*Ivan Kostrencic, urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Protestantischen Literatur der Südslawen in den Jahren* 1559–1565,) is one of great interest for the whole Protestant world, for it sheds new light on the history of countries in which Protestantism in the sixteenth century gained a firm footing, and which now might be as fully Protestant as England and Sweden if Protestantism had not been extirpated by brutal force. In the second half of the sixteenth century a large portion of the Slavi tribes in Styria, Carniola, Istria, and Western Croatia professed Protestantism, and, in spite of cruel and protracted persecution, Protestantism could not be fully extirpated until the close of the seventeenth century. The first preachers of the "Lutheran sect" appeared, about 1525, among the southern Slavi in Carinthia. The governor of that province persecuted them, not only by personal imprisonment, but by the confiscation of their books. Soon a young Slavic priest, Primus Truber, who later was called the Reformer of Carinthia, placed himself at the head of the movement, and energetically denounced the abuses prevailing in the Catholic Church. After having labored in Lower Styria and Upper Carinthia, he preached, in 1530, in the cathedral of Laybach in the Sloventzic language, and condemned the celibacy of priests and the distribution of the Lord's Supper under

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one species. Truber at the time, like Luther on his first appearance, and like the Old Catholics of our days, aimed only at the removal of abuses within the Catholic Church, but the reformatory ideas gradually spread from Carinthia to the adjacent parts of Croatia and Istria. The Bishop of Laybach forbade Truber from preaching in the cathedral; but the authorities of the city placed the church of the hospital at his disposal, and the nobility and the citizens generally sided with him. For several years Truber was permitted to pursue his reformatory labors, until, in 1540, an imperial decree exiled him to his parish. Two years later the Bishop of Laybach appointed him canon of the cathedral church—at the same time the Diets of Styria and Carinthia declared in favor of the reformation, and in Croatia the first families of the nobility showed themselves favorable to the reformation. The progress of the reformation alarmed the Government in Vienna, and the provincial authorities were directed to root it out at all hazards. Truber himself had to flee from his country. In 1548 the intercession of the Diet of Carinthia in his behalf procured to him permission to return, but after a month he was again compelled to flee. As he had complete command of the German language, he received an appointment as pastor at Rotenburg, in Wurtemberg. In 1557 the Emperor Ferdinand ordered all his subjects who refused to return to the Catholic Church to leave the State. This decree destroyed the flourishing Protestant congregations among the southern Slavi. Among those who emigrated on this occasion was Hans baron von Ungnad, one of the most prominent statesmen and generals of Austria. He joined Truber, who had conceived the plan of giving to his people, the Sloventzi, the beginning of a literature. He had published in 1550 the first Slovenic book, a primer, which was soon followed by a catechism. In 1555 Peter Paul Vergerius, Jun., another native of the Slavic provinces of Austria, had associated himself with Truber. The work assumed much greater dimensions when Ungnad devoted himself to it. He called able Slavic scholars from different provinces of Austria to Germany, established a Slavic printing-office at Tubingen and Urach, and procured for it Latin, Glagolitic, and Cyrillic types. He interested many German princes, and even King Maximilian, of Bohemia, in his work. As the Croatian language at that time was spoken as far as Constantinople, he even indulged the hope, by means of Croatian books, to acquaint the Turks with the evangelical faith. For five years, from 1559 to 1564, Ungnad devoted himself to the work of South Slavic literature with untiring zeal, and no less than twenty-five thousand copies of South Slavic books were printed during this time. The work of Kostrencic contains one hundred and forty-three documents relating to the history of this interesting printing-office, which, unfortunately, after the death of Ungnad, began to decline. Although other Slavic printing-offices were established in Germany, and even in Carinthia itself, the continuance of the persecution by the Austrian Government finally succeeded in crushing out Protestantism. It appears to have become wholly extinct about 1671, when the last scion of the powerful

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family Zriny died, by which it had been effectually protected. The author of the above work announces that he is now engaged in writing a history of the Protestant literature of the South Slavi from 1550 to 1595.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Heresy and Christian Doctrine. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD. 12mo., pp. 479. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

The student of the doctrinal part of early Church history will find brilliancy and accuracy combined in Pressensé's narrative as they never have before been. After the technical text-book has been thoroughly studied, this will bear to be rapidly and repeatedly read. We by no means indorse all of Pressensé's views. He is too free, and too explicit in his advocacy of freedom, limited within the bounds of fundamentals, to expect wholesale indorsement. On the doctrines of Trinity and of the Atonement we think that, on the one side, the early Church was more "orthodox" than he admits, and, on the other, we would ask of orthodoxy a little freer return to the freedom of the early age. We have no doubt that the early Catholic Church felt and held the adorableness of Deity, both in the Son and in the Holy Ghost, as truly as the modern Church; but it shrunk from presumption and dogmatism in explanation with a reverence which we might well imitate. It may also be questioned whether Pressensé does not give less credit than was due to the early Church in regard to the Atonement. But, as a whole, his analyses and statements, both of primitive heresy and primitive catholicism, are, as we believe, critical, fresh, free, clear, and eloquent.

A large share of the earlier part of the volume is occupied with a portraiture of that *universal Church of heresy*, called GNOSTICISM. This, though very liable to be skipped, is a very important chapter, both for the understanding of the New Testament and for the true interpretation of many of the errors of the mediæval Church. The latest researches, of which Pressensé has fully availed himself, have unfolded more fully the coherences of the system, so that it is far more capable than formerly of being understood and memorized. Gnosticism was, in its origin, a stupendous cloud, of various hues brilliant or dark, filling the very firmament of the immediate pre-Christian centuries, rolled in from the great

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Asiatic east. Western polytheism and Eastern pantheism had grown up through previous ages in separate quarters of the globe. It was the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great that first let the Eastern speculative systems into Europe. The conquests of the Romans soon centralized all systems in the Imperial City, spreading their radii through the known world. Gnosticism, deriving its elements from the East, was a definite attempt toward representing to the world a true theory of the physical and moral universe, its origin and destiny. It was a blended cosmogony and theodicy. In its cosmogony, the world and all its inhabitants and events are but an evolution from the Pleroma or primitive vacant Infinity in generative succession; a sort of mystical blend of Spencerism and Darwinism. In its theodicy, or solution of the world's moral history, Redemption is simply a physical delivery of the soul from darkness and degradation into light and glorification. The whole evolution, both as cosmogony and theodicy, is necessary and fatalistic, in the true spirit of pantheism, ancient and modern. The Redeemed are a choice few, and their Redemption is both a natural and predestined result of anterior causations. As well the volitions of men as the events of nature are inevitable. As the special elements lying scattered during the days of St. Paul formed into a system, the Christ and Jesus were skillfully incorporated into the scheme of emanations; and Gnosticism endeavored to come to a close embrace with Christianity, with a hearty good-will to absorb it. This insidious effort culminated in the person of the most brilliant of ancient heretics, Marcion, son of the Bishop of Sinope. This skillful eclectic, having embraced the main fundamentals of Gnosticism, assumed to carry out Paul's doctrines by not only rejecting circumcision, but by repudiating the whole Old Testament. Consistency obliged him to reject all the Gospels but that of Luke, and to expurgate from that all that opposed his views. He thus became the father of rationalistic criticism. Like his modern followers he was anxious for evangelical indorsement, and found in St. John a peremptory rejector of his claims. "Acknowledge me," said he to the Apostle. "I do acknowledge thee—as the first-born of Satan," was the apostolic retort. Modern liberalism has raised a doubt whether St. John could have said so "illiberal" a thing; but it would not be difficult to find as "illiberal" things in John's letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, to this very set of sectaries, and addressed to the very Ephesus where he is reported as having made this sharp retort to Marcion.

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Though even the earliest Christian writers cannot be considered as *guides* of our theology co-ordinately with the New Testament, they may be consulted as important *aids* in its interpretation. When Marcion presented his mutilated Gospel of Luke to the world, what was the conclusive reply of Tertullian and others? Rightly, Pressensé tells us, "tradition." But he hardly states the fact with clear justice, that this so-called "tradition" was truly historical, and so strictly logical and final. Go, says Tertullian, to all the great Churches which have preserved authentic copies of the Gospels, and you will find, by comparison, that Marcion's Gospel is mutilated and spurious. This was true "textual criticism." And so, in refutation of the interpretations and dogmas of Gnosticism, it was said, Go to all the great Apostolic Churches—Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome; ask of them what the Apostles taught as true Christianity, and you will find that Gnosticism is at issue with it. By this means Irenæus and Tertullian were the defenders and historical transmitters of the doctrines of the early Church, checked by the gospels and epistles which they themselves acknowledged to be the supreme umpires of faith and practice. This was a valid sort of "tradition," and the Church that held it was the *Catholic Church.* And this Church, holding fast to the original system as taught by the Apostles and expressed in their extant writings, was the Catholic Church of the Apostles' Creed, by which its confessor divided himself off from Gnosticism and all other variations. This tradition is very different from Romish tradition, and this Catholic Church is very different from the Papacy. If, therefore, we are to seek for any regulative in interpreting the New Testament, we are not to go to the theology of Trent, nor to the theology of the Reformation. Let us go back to the earliest as best. Let us go to that generation who could say: Go to the Churches which but lately heard the Apostles, and ask them what doctrines they remember to have heard. Within a certain range you will, as Pressensé well shows, find freedom, variation, individualisms. But *when you find a dogma on which all agreed, you may presume it to be orthodoxy;* and when you find *a dogma which all condemn, earnestly and intensely, as untrue, you may safely reject it as heterodoxy.* And two dogmas you will thus find decided. The *Resurrection of the body*, real and literal, will be found to be orthodoxy; and the doctrine of *Predestination* will be found to be heresy.

The Gnostic doctrine of the inherent evil of matter incorporated subsequently into Manicheanism, including the doctrine of a hos-

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tile Dualism between Matter and Spirit, (borrowed originally from Zoroaster,) is found alluded to repeatedly in the New Testament. Matter, being the absolute evil, must be repressed; and so the human body must be ascetically maltreated. Spirit being the only good existence, it follows that the body of Christ must have been a phantasm; and thus resulted the dogma of the Phantasts or Docetæ. These heresies have ever been re-appearing in the Christian Church. Asceticism produced monasticism, obligatory celibacy, and pietistic vegetarianism. Docetism appears in that abhorrence of "the body" which even now, in our own Methodist Church, induces some half-taught thinkers to deny the resurrection of the body. Just like the old Gnostics, these modern Docetæ are obliged to vaporize the resurrection body of Christ; cutting it off from all identity with his real body, and letting it off into the region of phantasm. They thus destroy any real *resurrection* of Christ. It is, then, but a next step to deny the reality of his earthly body, and of his suffering and crucifixion, with the old Docetæ. To demolish this fatal error, to abolish the Zoroastrian-Gnostic-Manichean falsehood of the essential evil of matter, and maintain the proper and eternal duality of man as being, not spirit alone, but both body and spirit, not only the Apostles' Creed, so-called, but also all those older baptismal summaries of faith current in the first Apostolic Churches at Ephesus, Antioch, and Rome, took care not to omit the confession of "the resurrection of the body," or, as it is sometimes phrased, of "the flesh." Our modern Gnostics may say what they please, their denial of the real resurrection of the body, and docetizing it into a visionary transcendentalization of the spirit, would have been held to be a heresy by the Apostolic Church. And when, in these times, it is asked what is true Christian orthodoxy, and what is its standard, we question whether we must *acknowledge that to be orthodoxy which is not able to repeat the Apostles' Creed in the sense in which it was held and uttered by the Apostolic Church.*

And, entering into the New Testament, we must tell our dear, modern Gnostic friends that, when St. Paul places the denial of the resurrection and the vaporizing it into phantasm among the fundamental dogmas of anti-Christianity, he is simply launching his harpoon into the flanks of their own spiritual ancestry. It is to a Gnostic caviler at Corinth that St. Paul renders indignant, contemptuous, yet logical answer in the fifteenth chapter of his First Epistle to that city. Assuming the immutable evil of matter, the Gnostic sneers out, "With what body do they come?"

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St. Paul quite correctly, if not politely, calls him a "fool," and proceeds to show him that the resurrection body, though being *the* SAME with the dying body, as the SAME MATTER, is quite *divine* in the *properties* with which it shall be invested; just as a charcoal transformed to a diamond is substantially *the same*, but phenomenally *different*. That such is the Apostle's argument has been well shown by Richard Watson in his "Institutes;" and if God's grace shall enable us, we hope to show the same more fully in our Commentary on that chapter. We are amazed at the inanities we see published on this subject. Even in our own noble New York "Advocate" we find paragraphs triumphantly quoted from leading authors, as containing the essence of wisdom on this point, which to our eyes are so thick and opaque with stupidity and absurdity that we fairly hold our breath in the perusal. Every sentence of these quotations, as we read, appears a thunder-clap of nonsense; and we involuntarily, half quoting and half original, re-echo St. Paul's "thou fool."

Predestination, embraced as it was in Gnosticism, is just as unequivocal a heresy as the denial of the resurrection. "It is indeed worthy of observation," says Pressensé, "that predestination made its first appearance under the garb of heresy. Is was the very soul of Gnosticism." As antagonistic to human responsibility, as essentially hostile to the Christian system, predestination was assailed by the writers of the entire Catholic Church, whether at Rome, Ephesus, Alexandria, or Carthage, and cast out from its circle of doctrines as heresy. It was opposed by the same arguments as are used by the modern Arminian against the modern Calvinist. Predestination was Gnostic, anti-predestination was Catholic. It is very useless for Dr. Hodge to endeavor to turn this point by telling us that these early fathers were undeveloped in their theology, that they differed among themselves, that we have but scanty remains of their works, etc. On this point of predestination their theology was developed to the most admirable perfection by the controversies with heresy in which they were trained. On this point there is no such want of documents as to leave any doubt that the entire Catholic Church, previous to Augustine, held the prominent point of Calvinism to be a heresy.

The Greek New Testament. Part VI. The Revelation. By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. 4to., pp. 82. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1872.

Dr. Tregelles' edition of the Greek text of the New Testament is now, after more than thirty-four years of labor, completed. The

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publication of this sixth part, as also of the Prolegomena, has been delayed by the second and severe attack of paralysis which struck him down early in 1870, while he was in the act of revising the concluding chapters of the Revelation. The Prolegomena will doubtless be soon completed, when the entire work will be procurable in a single quarto volume of more than a thousand pages. We shall then learn his final readings in the Gospels, as revised in the light of newer evidence, especially that of the Sinaitic manuscript, which came to light too late for his use except in the last chapter of John, and of Tischendorf's still more recently published Vatican Codex.

This is truly a noble work to which this Christian scholar has consecrated his life, a monument of conscientious endeavor and untold toil for the sake of giving the New Testament to the world as nearly as possible in the exact original words of the sacred writers. To him more than to any other are we indebted for the present prevalent persuasion among biblical scholars that the original text is to be sought in the more ancient documents, to the exclusion of the whole body of recent manuscripts, and of the received text as well. Unaware that this was already the idea of Lachmann, he supposed this principle, and his plan of an entire reconstruction of the text upon the basis of ascertained testimony of ancient witnesses, to be peculiar to himself. Natural and proper as it now seems, it was then very far from acceptance with critics. They are, however, few who now think differently. Dr. Tregelles' patient carefulness and remarkable accuracy in the personal collation and transcription of his authorities, and his strict adherence to his principles of criticism, have greatly contributed to give his work the first place among critical texts. The Greek text is in a bold and clear type, with all emendations so marked that a glance detects them. The right margin of the page gives the Latin version of Jerome, from the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century; the left presents a conspectus of all the authorities, both MSS. and versions, employed upon the two pages before the eye, with certain marks and notes whose use to the student becomes readily apparent; while below, in triple columns, we have the evidence both for and against the reading adopted and incorporated into the text.

No portion of the New Testament has so suffered from transcription as has the Revelation, and no part of the Textus Receptus is so marked with inaccuracies. Even Erasmus' translations from the Latin of the last six verses, to supply the defect in his solitary

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Greek copy, are still perpetuated in the common text. Dr. Tregelles is able to say that every word of his edition of the Revelation rests on evidence fourteen hundred years old. He adds to the common text one or more words in ninety-five places, and omits from it in one hundred and seventy-five; and besides these changes, he adopts in four hundred and sixty-six places a reading varying from the common one in orthography, inflexion, the order of the words, or in the words themselves. Many of these variations cannot be indicated in a translation. Of the ninety-five additions, one half are articles and prepositions, and eighty consist of but a single word. We subjoin a few of the more important changes.

The following are some of his omissions from the common text:

I, 8, "the beginning and the ending;" I, 9, "Christ," twice; I, 11, "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, and;" II, 9, "works and;" V, 14, "him that liveth forever and ever;" VI, 1, 3, 5, and 7, "and see;" XIV, 5, "before the throne of God;" XV, 2, "and over his mark;" XVI, 14, "of the earth and."

Some of the readings adopted by Tregelles are as follows, the italicised words being additions to the common text:

II, 3, "And thou hast patience, and hast borne for my name's sake, and hast *not* been wearied."
II, 15, "the doctrine of the Nicolaitans *in like manner*. Repent *therefore*."
III, 18, "buy . . . eye-salve to anoint thine eyes."
IV, 11, "O Lord *and our God*"
V, 10, "hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests: and they reign on the earth."
VI, 12, "and the *whole* moon became as blood."
VIII, 7, "upon the earth, *and the third part of the earth was burned up*."
VIII, 13, "And I beheld, and heard an eagle flying."
IX, 18, "By these three *plagues*."
IX, 19, "For the power *of the horses* is in their mouth."
XI, 8, "their Lord."
XI, 15, "The kingdom of the world is become."
XIII, 1, "And he stood upon the sand of the sea. And I saw."
XIV, 1, "having *his* name *and* his Father's *name*."
XIV, 12, "Here is the patience of the saints that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."
XVI, 5, "Thou art righteous, which art, and which wast, the holy one, because."
XVII, 8, "the beast that was, and is not, and shall be present."
XVII, 16, "the ten horns . . . . and the beast."
XVIII, 20, "thou heaven, and ye saints *and* apostles and prophets."
XIX, 1, "the salvation, and glory, and power of our God."
XIX, 15, "the fierceness of the wrath."
XX, 5, "And the rest of the dead lived not until the thousand."
XX, 12, "And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne."
XX, 14, "This is the second death, *the lake of fire*."
XXII, 6, "the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets."
XXII, 12–14, "according as his work is. I [am] *the* Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are they who wash their robes, that they may have right to the tree."

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XXII, 19, "God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book."
XXII, 20, 21, "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with the saints."

A comparison of these readings with the authorized version will fully exhibit their import, but not their correctness. That rests upon evidence. D. A. W.

The Minor Prophets. Exegetically, Theologically, and Homiletically Expounded. By PAUL KLEINERT, OTTO SCHMOLLER, GEORGE R. BLISS, TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, CHARLES ELLIOTT, JOHN FORSYTH, J. FREDERICK MCCURDY, and JOSEPH PACKARD. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D. D. (Lange's Commentary.) 8vo. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

From the imperfectness of their English translation, from the obscurity of the history with which they are closely connected, and from their rapid, varying and allusive style, the Minor Prophets are nearly a closed book, not only to the popular reader, but even to most of our ministry. The commentator, as in the present volume, finds his best and shortest work to be an entire new translation, often thrown into poetic form. This work is done with great boldness and true effect in the present volume, as it has been done with good effect in analogous cases in the previous volumes. Entire care has been taken in regard to the accuracy of the original text, and thorough scholarship has been employed in the analysis of its meaning. It is a very cheering sign of the times that this great biblical library is prosecuting its unfaltering way to its successful completion. Dr. Schaff has called an army of aids into the field, and Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., push the work.

One could have wished, however, that no forced or untextual explanations had been introduced to sustain dogmas rejected by the larger part of the evangelical Church. Where, indeed, texts occur requiring analysis and decision, involving points of difference, there would be no wonder if one-sided discussion and decision should take place. What we reprehend is that any artificial sectarian gloss should occur *irrelevant to the text*, and that in a volume whose very business is accuracy of scriptural explication. In page 29 of the book on Zachariah the passage "The Lord hath chosen Jerusalem" is absurdly identified with an eternal choice of individuals to salvation, irrespective of foreknowledge, or of "any thing in them." And this perversion is reduplicated by so untextual a use of a passage from the New Testament as appears in the following words: "The people are reminded here, as they often

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were in earlier times, that they had *not chosen the Lord, but that he had chosen them.*" The italicised words (occurring in John's Gospel) are used by Christ of the twelve apostles, and refer not to their choice to eternal life, but to their election to the apostolate. The perversion of this text is a pet one, and is distilled into the popular mind of certain sects. We have heard a pious layman, under such misguidance, pray in words like these: "O Lord, we have not chosen thee, but thou hast chosen us." And this was a very false statement even in prayer. Had not this good brother chosen God for his portion? Had not Mary "chosen that good part?" Were not the Israelites commanded, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve?" Had not the true Jerusalem chosen Jehovah in accordance with this command? God never chose any man to eternal life actually, who had not first chosen him; nor any man presciently, who was not foreseen as first choosing him.

We are, indeed, fairly warned under what a ban these remarks are placing us; for Calvin himself is quoted on the same passage as saying, "Those who obscure and seek to extinguish the doctrine of election are enemies of the human race." And that means, simply and explicitly, that every body but Calvinists are foes to mankind. That Calvin should say this is nothing surprising; but that it should be republished in the year of the American meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, looks slightly like a moral anachronism.

We cheerfully record the merits of this great work in many respects; but it is our duty not to allow it to be passed upon our readers as a work to be wholly accepted by the general evangelical Church.

Outlines of Theology. By L. T. Townsend, Author of "Credo," "Sword and Garment," "God-Man," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 79. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

This fresh addition to the rapidly-growing "Normal Outline Series" of our Sunday-School Department brings within reach of Sunday-school teachers, and others interested in such studies, an excellent hand-book of theology. It professes to only outline the science, but it is so excellently done that on the whole a clear view is given of the subject. Part I treats of General Theology, and Part II of Christian Theology, to which most of the book is very properly devoted, under the divisions of Theology Proper, Anthropology, Christology, Soteriology, and Eschatology, with

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a few supplemental topics. A work of this character must consist so largely of brief, condensed statements, that only with the greatest care, added to a thorough familiarity with the subject, could the desired accuracy and clearness be attained. And being designed as a text-book for the instruction of our young people, and sent out as such by authority, it ought in every respect to conform to the received doctrine of the Church, and to refrain from those utterances which are purely speculative and peculiar to the writer, however proper it might be to ventilate them elsewhere. It is not always easy to see Dr. Townsend's precise meaning; and there are some passages which are new in the theological world, as, for instance, the inferiority of angelic to human nature, and the embodiment of the Logos in a nature between the two, constituting a "pre-existent God-man." We are sorry to note also a few passages which conflict with Methodist orthodoxy. On page 44 we read, "So far as he [the Logos] is God he is not Son. . . . The term refers to his official relations. . . . It may have reference to the pre-existent humanity of Jesus, but does not, we think, have reference to the eternal Logos." Passing by the "pre-existent humanity," which is really no humanity at all, we note the disagreement of this language with the first Article of Religion, which teaches that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are "of one substance, power, and eternity;" and with the second as well, whose title, "of the Word, or Son of God, who was made very man," identifies the Son with the Logos, as does also the article itself—"The Son, who is the Word of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father."

Again, on page 71, we are told that after the final judgment the union of the two natures in Christ "will be dissolved; the Logos will part from humanity," etc. On the other hand, the Second Article teaches "that they are never to be divided."

Again, on page 65, Dr. Townsend says of justification, "It is that act of God's grace which necessarily follows regeneration," etc. "It includes adoption, assurance, and witness of the Spirit." Here is a confounding of things which Methodism has always held distinct, and a reversal of an order upon which it has always put strong emphasis. On this plan, our pulpits will teach one thing and our Sunday-schools the contrary.

The Church will surely insist that its Sunday-schools shall not be made the instruments of a teaching contrary to its Articles of Faith and accepted standards. D.

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The Arena and the Throne. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D., Author of "Credo," "Sword and Garment," "God-Man," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 264. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Several essays, prepared at different times and with no intended connection, are brought together in this volume, where, by the help of a little imagination, they may be discovered to possess a kind of relationship. In the first, entitled "The Field," is discussed the problem of a Plurality of Inhabited Worlds, and the conclusion is reached that the earth alone has been made the abode of created moral beings. It is the chosen arena for the development of humanity. In the process of the attempted development one individual suffers final defeat, and another achieves signal victory. Judas and Job, as illustrations of the two classes, are the subjects of discussion in the second and third essays, under the titles, "The Defeat" and "The Triumph." The fourth essay, "The King," presents humanity as the highest order of created intelligence, higher than the highest order of the angels. In this connection occur some speculations which certainly seem "a little wild," as Dr. Townsend suspects they may, respecting the advance in creation from "spiritual polyps through spiritual serpents," etc., up to a "spiritual humanity" in which the Logos was embodied in his pre-existent state. One would hardly suppose all this to be serious were it not for the grave air with which it is put forth, and yet it would seem harmless except as it introduces a new element into the Christological question. D.

Methodism and Its Founders and Pioneers. Being an Explanatory Key to a Group of Two hundred and fifty-five Portraits, entitled "The Founders and Pioneers of Methodism in all Parts of the World, and in all of its Branches." By Rev. C. C. Goss, author of "The First Century of American Methodism," "The Centenary Group," "Founders of Southern Methodism," "Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc. 12mo., pp. 16. New York: Mrs. C. C. Goss.

Mr. Goss has felt it his "mission" to make future Methodism acquainted with the Methodism of the present and past. Monuments, however, perish like the originals they were raised to commemorate. Yet, so far as excellent "counterfeit presentments" of the faces are able to effect the object, he has labored with great enthusiasm, skill, and success. There is no guessing how many "Lost Chapters," or rather lost pictorials, he has rescued from oblivion, endowed with permanence, and given to the world for a possession. The accuracy of his likenesses is often very admirable. The Independents of England have, we believe, a public "Memorial Hall," where portraits of their *illustrissimi* are

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exhibited. Should a room or rooms in our "Book Concern" be set apart for a Methodist Memorial Hall, we know no man so exactly chiseled and shaped to superintend the work as Mr. Goss.

Star of our Lord; or, Christ Jesus, King of all Worlds, both of Time or Space. With Thoughts on Inspiration, and the Astronomic Doubt as to Christianity. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, Author of "The Wise Men: Who they were; How they came to Jerusalem." 12mo., pp. 370. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

We call a special attention to the books of Professor Upham. In the volume before us he deals with grandest themes, and does it worthily. There is in it a sweep of thought which bears us away from the things that perish and lifts us into communion with the infinite and the eternal. His flight at times is, indeed, in the direction of the unknown; but even then he traces the probable far beyond what, at the first look, seemed its limits. His spirit is so devout, so attuned to the sweetest harmonies of the Gospel, that the heart is touched, while the intellect is fed. We make only this brief mention now, because in a future number a full review will say more.

The Battle of Calvary; or, Universalism and Cognate Theories Against Jesus of Nazareth. By Rev. J. W. CHAFFIN, A.M. 12mo., pp. 235. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

Mr. Chaffin was, for a brief time, won from the Methodist to the Universalist ministry, until a full appreciation of the significance of such a change convinced him of its very great unwisdom. The central point of his present argument is that the atonement, the cross, is the very essence of Christianity, and that Universalism, as well as Paganism, Deism, and Atheism, is one of the forces arrayed against it. This is "The Battle of Calvary," and the antagonism of Universalism is the subject he portrays.

The argument is impregnable. The atonement is the center of New Testament Christianity. Between that and Universalism there is a manifest and manifold irreconcilability. Mr. Chaffin has evinced the fact with great clearness.

The Pentateuch, in its Progressive Revelations of God to Men. Designed for Both Pastors and People. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D.D. 12mo., pp. 414. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

Instead of a complete textual commentary on the Pentateuch, Dr. Cowles gives us a series of dissertations on the questions which arise from the contents of the book. He treats in succession the Mosaic narrative of the creation, the creation of man in

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its issue with geological speculation and Darwinism. He discusses Chronology, the Sabbath, the events of Eden, the Flood, the Tower of Babel, the Exodus, Egyptology, the Theocracy, and the Law. As a summary well compiled, in a plain and sometimes even homely style, the work well meets a demand of the times. Many of the topics involve open questions, an opinion upon which is somewhat provisional. Yet in the present state of the discussion there are many minds who will find very much what they need in the present volume.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man. Mental and Social Conditions of Savages. By Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., author of "Prehistoric Times." 12mo., pp. 380. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873.

This is so excellent a volume that we truly wish it had a truthful title. Its true title would be, "*Comparative Incivilizations; or, A Survey of the Barbarous Races of Men.*" The facts are gathered from a large variety of sources, classified under proper heads, and discussed with no little clearness and candor. They often bring out surprising or amusing results. But we are more obliged to Sir John for his industry than his logic, or, rather, his assumptions. He tells us largely and truly what uncivilized men are; but whether uncivilization is primary in historical order or secondary, his book leaves us as uninformed as it found us.

The leading topics under which his facts are ranged are: Arts, Sexual Relations, Religion, Morals, Language, and Laws.

Sir John's argument against the Duke of Argyl, that barbarism is primitive and not a degeneracy from a higher state, we hold to be destitute of the slightest value. He maintains that there are certain possessions of the civilized races, such as letters and religion, that would never be lost, and where these are wanting the race is primitive. That, however, man is in the requisite conditions sure to degenerate, even in these respects, is proved by countless instances. Here in Florida, where we write, is a suggestive instance. Within a century or two a large number of genuine Caucasians, (the so-called "crackers,") excluded by slavery from a suitable place in the social system, have, even within hailing distance of what claimed to be a high civilization, changed in color, diminished in size, and forgotten letters, mechanic arts, and religion. Increase their centuries to half a millennium, enlarge the distance from civilization, supply the

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climatic influences, and to what degradations, physiological, intellectual, and moral, might not these men, without ceasing to be men, descend? In the course of less than a thousand years any form of sexual relation could be established, whether promiscuous intercourse, voluntary and temporary unions, polygamy or polyandry, simple or complex, as taste, accident, or surrounding customs might suggest. Then rude methods of recording thought by symbol, picture writing, or vocal signs, might arise. Religious superstitions, fetichisms, samanisms, human sacrifices, might be invented. Whether these deep barbarisms are primordials or degeneracies is to be settled not by *à priori* arguments like Sir John's, but by history. A few centuries hence a Lubbock, ignorant of the true origin of these "crackers," might quote their degradation as proofs of the primitive condition of man. He would assume that the "crackers" are an aboriginal race, older than the Caucasian Floridians, just because they had sunk into savageism! Such is the logic on which the title of this book is based.

Sir John argues that the Australians, for instance, are autochthonic, because no relics of imported articles from other countries are there found. In modern times European plants are conquering the native growths. The natives say that the foreign rats are destroying Australian rats, just as Europeans are destroying Australians. No traces of metals or pottery, or any other durable relics of ancient civilization, are found. This is indeed an argument, but not a conclusive one. Ancient migrations were not made in modern steamers, carrying vermin, seeds, pottery, and armor with them. The first adventurers in Australia may have been refugees from war, bringing nothing but their bare persons. Their landing in Australia may have been the last stage of a succession of retreats through centuries, each stage more barbarized than the former, and successively dropping all traces and relics of earlier civilization. Driven into the savage wilds, they would naturally become as savage as the wilds themselves.

We would remind our readers, however, that our faith in the Bible is irrespective of the question of the descent of all the human races from Adam. To us it is a question of pure history and science. By Dr. M'Causland's identification of the Adamic with the Caucasian race alone, as we have repeatedly intimated, we hold that the full admission of the geologic antiquity of the non-Caucasian races would leave biblical history and theology undisturbed. The arguments for the immense antiquity of some

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races is so strong, and the authority of the opinions of many scientific men is so weighty, as to give us pause. But no *conclusive* proof is yet brought before us; and we take issue with such bald and bold assumptions as the title of Sir John's book, not in the interests of theology, but in behalf of sober sense and modest logic.

Human SEXUAL RELATIONS have, as Sir John shows, taken all imaginable varieties of form, as promiscuity, pairing by mutual consent during mutual consent, polygamy, and polyandry. Sometimes the man purchases the woman, sometimes the woman the man. There are marriages where the connection had no force every fourth day; others where the parties married for a fortnight, as probation, when the connection ceased if the parties did not like it. The forms taken by female modesty are sometimes grotesque, and even terrible. Sometimes the bridegroom takes his bride on his back and carries her home. Sometimes he is expected to make at least a sham fight to capture her. Sometimes she is placed on a fleet horse, and her groom on another, and he must chase and catch her if he can. Sometimes the groom must seize his intended, and a scuffle must ensue in which her clothes must be torn. Sometimes the groom, with a party of friends, steals upon the lady and captures her amid fierce opposition, real or pretended. Sometimes the groom surprises his beloved, and first leveling her to the ground with a club, carries her off, stunned and bleeding, to his home. The wonder often is that these, and many other strange customs of uncivilized life, prevail among tribes too distant for any intercommunication. They have sprung up apparently by independent organization; and Lubbock shows much ingenuity in explaining by what processes of thought they were originated.

Lubbock says, (p. 70,) "I believe that our present social relations have arisen from an initial stage of communal marriage." Sir John can "believe" what he pleases, especially as he furnishes not a particle of proof obligating any man of sense to "believe" with him.

Under the head of RELIGION, our author brings ample evidence to show that there are tribes whose minds are blank of any supernaturalism. This does not, nevertheless, touch the question whether man is truly a religious being. He shows that men are found who are as unable to count as the brute; and yet barbarous man, if truly in nature a man, is an arithmetical being. If the faculty of number may become torpid and incapacitated, so may

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the spiritual faculties. In both cases excitement, development, training, may bring the dormant energies into action and power. But the man is thus *restored to himself*, not endowed with a faculty new to his personal nature. To ascertain the true *nature* of man we are not to go to torpid man; we are to trace, historically, the evolutions of activity through which he unfolds himself; and his nature embraces the bases for all these activities.

In regard to LANGUAGE, Sir John traces the similarity of the words for *father* and *mother* through an amazing number of tongues in various quarters of the globe. He does not consider this a proof of identity of origin. He attributes it to the perfect simplicity of the elements of the two words used, by which they are words most readily and easily coming to childhood utterance. He believes, and we could concede the fact, that the most primitive words were vocal imitations of the object designated, and he gives a whole pageful of such words to show how numerous they still are even in our modern English. But when Max Müller speaks of speech as prompted by "instinct" he is unable to perceive any meaning in the statement. We are sorry for the dimness of his perceptions.

In the first place, Sir John, being a theist, and no Darwinian, must concede that God has given man a tongue, and that the tongue was given *to talk with*. Just as men are framed with legs to walk with, with feet to stand in self-poised erectness, with gastric juice to digest with, and teeth wherewith to masticate, just so man is divinely endowed with a tongue for speech. And a good theist should concede that for every organ there is not only its function, but a correlative mental tendency, appetite, impulse, or instinct for action. Just as man will find out a way of walking, so he will find out a way of talking. As for the selection of the particular bit of shaped voice for a particular object, *imitation* (*onomatopœia*) is the first and last easily indicated step. Beyond that step all science is in a fog.

The Genesis history, however, makes a most clear and rational statement. Unfallen man possessed clearer intuitions and more vivid and healthful instincts than his descendants. As patriarch of his family, even after the fall, between whom and himself there was a most transparent sympathy, a degree of clairvoyant reading of each other's thoughts, his utterances would be soon understood and adopted. Let us suppose that his words are, *first*, onomatopœic. Next his earnest vocables for *motions*, accompanied with explanatory gestures, would soon furnish standard verbs. Then,

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the necessity for designating visible objects with fixed vocables being clearly understood, deliberate *naming* would ensue. Nowadays, such is our wealth of languages and literatures that we make no new words; we only fit old words to new uses. *Oxygen*, *telegraph*, and *stand-point* are not new words, but old words vamped over. So enervated have we become from our embarrassment of riches, that we have lost not only the power, but even the conception of creating a new word fresh from the raw material of voice in full adaptation to a new idea.

Is it not probable that there is a correlation between every particle of voice with an element of thought? We know that the back vowel sounds are expressive of adverse thought, while the front sounds are expressive of the more agreeable. Thus the back guttural sound *ugh* is expressive of ugliness, impatience, and disgust; while *aw* expresses abhorrence, awfulness, and sublimity. The front sounds ē, ĭ, ū, ō, are expressive of specialty, definiteness, delicacy, and beauty. The intermediate *ah* is expressive of manly, liberal, firm thought. Of the consonants, the liquid are expressive of smoothness, grace, and ease; the mutes, of harshness, abruptness, force. These starting-points indicate, but do not authorize, the conclusion that there is in possibility a *perfect language* where every element of articulation is adjusted with absolute precision of form and force to the element of thought. The perfect man with intuitions and reason absolutely clear, would in the beginning speak the perfect language, and his true fellow would spontaneously understand him.

Is there any thing in the slow nature of linguistic development to disturb our belief in the Genesis narrative? Is the demand of Bunsen and others for twenty thousand years of linguistic development more than a whim? If we take one of our long English words, as, for instance, *contemporaneity*, and strip it of the prefixes and postfixes, we shall find a central *stem*, *temp*, which is an old form of our word *time;* and time is the central idea of the word. But further analysis will disclose the fact that every prefix and postfix is really an original word, so that the long word is a heap of words with a central nucleus; and it looks as if the words, each, were monosyllables; and so the original language was a number of monosyllabic roots, amounting, as Max Müller thinks, to about five hundred. How many years would it take Adam to accumulate five hundred monosyllabic words? And if these were all monosyllables, how many hundreds of the near one thousand antediluvian years would it take him

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and his coevals to combine these primitives into compounds or inflections? What if Dr. M'Causland were right in believing that Cain went to the land which now is China during the monosyllabic period, escaped the flood, and founded the empire of the monosyllabic language and stationary civilization? But we must assure Dr. M'Causland that we think that, if Adam's dialect was very perfect, Cain must have imparted a highly nasal ding-dong to it.

Foods. By EDWARD SMITH, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London. 12mo., pp. 485. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873.

That first great passion of mankind, to eat, must, like every other passion or appetite, be brought under the domain of law, as ascertained by the analysis of sense. The latest of works on the subject, by the hand of a master, must, as science advances, be the best. Dr. Smith is hereof a master, and his book is *ultimus optimus*. We are specially interested by the extended chapter on *alcohols*. With the exception of a paragraph or two Dr. Smith speaks purely as a scientist, but the moral bearings of his treatment are obvious and powerful. Philanthropists and reformers may be more intense and diffuse, but none can be more decisive than Dr. Smith. The substance of his chapter is that alcohol, as a beverage, is always injurious and tending to destruction; as a medicine, though adapted to its proper cases, it has dangers belonging to no other remedies. The book is adapted to popular use, and may be read with advantage by every one who eats and drinks.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Palmetto Leaves. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 321. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1873.

The Florida Settler; or, Immigrant's Guide. A Complete Manual of Information concerning the Climate, Soil, Products, and Resources of the State. Prepared by DENNIS EAGAN, Commissioner of Lands and Immigration. 8vo., pp. 160. Tallahassee. 1873.

The Florida Agriculturist. A Home Journal, devoted to the Agricultural and Industrial Interests of Florida. Vol. I, folio, pp. 8. Jacksonville.

Since our civil war has closed a constantly increasing interest has been rising as to the present and future of Florida. The time has passed when a few despotic nightmares, in the shape of slaveholders, excluded all immigration and suppressed advancing civil-

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ization. The gates are thrown open, and the cheery invitation goes forth to Europe and America to come and share the goodly heritage. But the responsive query arises, What can the heritage promise and truly perform for the incomer when he arrives?

To the limping, panting army of invalids and semi-invalids she proffers balmy airs, sunny skies, floral grounds, piny forests, all full of restoration and health. And for the eastern half of our continent she doubtless is the American Italy. California may perhaps offer localities of truer hygienic power. Nordhoff claims that California, while equally bland, is more bracing; and Mrs. Stowe admits that Florida is "dosy," but claims that it is, therefore, the more fit to give repose to and recruit the overtasked brains and nerves. The nearer proximity of Florida, and the far less expense—being but sixty dollars for the round trip both ways, available for the entire winter—will secure for her a clear advantage. Her peninsular position and the proximity of the Gulf Stream give a rare equability to her temperature. Even in summer she is swept, daily and regularly, by the sea-breezes, securing her from the intense heat of the Northern States. In winter there are some dismal, gray, damp days, reminding us of a northern November; and then there are successions of days when the words "Beautiful! Beautiful!" are pretty well dilapidated from constant wear. Yet during the winter months our experience would warn the consumptive and the rheumatic to keep clear of the chilling and damp breath of the fascinating St. John's. The army reports decide that, of the entire sisterhood of States, Florida stands at the head for healthfulness. Scattered through all this State are individuals who spend their lives here "because they cannot live North." The invalid immigrants and visitants are on every hand—some improving with "a savor of life unto life," and others failing and faltering under the "savor of death unto death," because, alas! they came *too late*. The increasing hosts of invalids and pleasure-seekers are northernizing the State. Doubtless there remains a large remnant of somewhat latent southern ungeniality towards the northerner. It is quite too soon to expect an entire change of heart. But then the amount of northern society here is rendering itself quite independent of southern sociality. In the main centers and in many localities it is riding the wave. And it is said to be, on the whole, quite as self-contained and as self-satisfied as the element "to the manor born." It will at once be seen to what ultimate all this is tending. Self-interest has already completely reversed the old

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repellant policy. No aristocratic prestige any longer invests the native-born resident. The interest of sectionalism has ceased, and the result cannot but be, as causes tend, a complete northernization, or rather Americanization.

Prof. Draper once remarked that it was a great cause of disunion that our railroads ran so little north and south, and so uniformly east and west. This was true; but it was a transposition of cause and effect. It was the disunionism that caused the railroad tracks to be lines of latitude rather than longitude. The era of longitudinal rail-tracks is coming, and the North and South must interchange and fuse and unite more than in our past history. We welcome that result. We must take our heritage in the South as we have welcomed the southerner to the North. The true South we love; but southernism, the old temper of sectional hate, the remnant of pro-slaveryism, is a venomous viper to be abolished. The lingering hope of disunion, cherished especially in the "Church South," and fostered by its leaders, will grow to a dim tradition. Our country is, and forever may she be, one and indivisible.

But what real inducements does Florida offer for the immigrant? On this we do not claim to be a very competent judge. But she is a forest State, and her vast wealth of pines commands, we are told, ten per cent. higher price at New York than any other lumber. We think it a fact that while she may be prolific in such elegances as the orange, grape, fig, and perhaps silk and tea, she fails in such necessities as wheat, the Irish potato, oats, and hay. Her soil is said to be fertile for the supply of the northern table earlier than any other producer. Her oranges are unrivaled throughout the world. Her access to the northern market is easy, rapid, and liable to no monopoly. While the western producer finds that transportation eats up his profits, Florida can send her products by cheap and easy shipment. Florida therefore has, as she claims, a future specially her own. The young man whose physical system best endures a warm climate should "go South" rather than "go West." Still we are not so sure of her future exemption from the grasp of all-powerful monopoly. The rail-king is as powerful and as despotic as the cotton-king. His dethronement is the great coming question.

The western emigrant seems indeed to move in the great highway, with a world beyond him and on both sides of him at what point soever he stops; while the land's end of Florida is, in that direction, the world's end. But a ship canal is in favorable con-

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templation before Congress cutting the State from Jacksonville to the gulf, abridging the passage around the southern end of the State by some days. This is desirable both for national military reasons, and to avoid a dangerous pass where millions have been lost by wreck. This work can be done at no great expense. The opening of the Tehuantepec Canal would then furnish through Florida a short cut between the Pacific and the Atlantic coast, and thus bring her into the great highway of commerce.

Much as is said of the floral beauty of Florida, the visitor must not dream that the rail-car will on his arrival plunge him, hat and boots, into a stupendous bouquet. On the contrary, the aspect is, to a large degree, insipid and uninviting. The freshness of northern grass is wanting, forbidden by the tropic sun of summer. The soil is a pale, sandy-clayey looking affair, unattractive to the eye. And yet her forests of pine and evergreen oaks are grand. The roses, violets, etc., bloom through every month in the year. The rose bushes in our open court, unprotected and exposed to the cold breath of the St. John's, employ themselves in budding and blossoming, in defiance of the almanac, through all the days of January and February. On this twenty-first of February the peach blossoms are laughing you in the face. And when the season comes, in the moist localities, we are plentifully assured, the perfect wild riot of floral extravagance has hardly a rival on the globe. If Mrs. Stowe's rapturous eloquence is to be believed, the sceneries of the winding Ocklawaha and the enchantments of its "Silver Spring" beat all the boasts of Italy.

Of the colored population we entertain a cheerful hope. We used to hear, at least from the southerner, the most doleful prophecies of their utter ruin by emancipation. Said Dr. Keener once in the "New Orleans Advocate:" "For others the alternative may be 'liberty or death,' for the negro it is 'slavery or death.'" We are told here on the ground that the negro is ambitious for education and improvement. He is anxious to secure a little spot of ground, and he secures it. As to the laziness with which he is charged, we give the following words by Mr. Eagan, "Commissioner of Lands and Immigration," in his annual report to the Florida Legislature:

> It has been said flippantly by politicians and detractors of the colored man that he will not work, that he is hopelessly lazy, and that his conception of freedom is exemption from toil. This has been said in a general way; but, unfortunately for the truth of the reproach, his calumniators have never been able to bring their assertions under the dominion of facts to prove that it is so. There are thousands of lazy *white persons* in the South, who loaf about the corners of the streets drinking whisky and talking perpetually of enterprise coming down South—as if

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enterprise were something to be brought in a box and opened in their midst—and who are ever ready to declaim on the laziness of the "cussed niggers." But this charge has never assumed a more specific form, and is never made by any only known opponents of the political equality of the colored man. The fact is that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages he has had to contend with, the colored man has given since emancipation the most surprising proof of his industry—an industry that is constantly increasing, and that has supplied him with comforts, enabled him to build churches, found charitable institutions of his own, and exhibits itself to-day in the vast bulk of the agricultural products of the South. *Nothing was heard of the laziness of the colored man before the time of his emancipation.* He was then made to work; but if he is lazy now, how is it that there has been no considerable falling off in the productions of the South, but, on the contrary, a vast increase under many heads? Two of the pet theories of the pro-slavery advocates during the war were the degeneracy of the colored man, upon gaining his freedom, into a lazy, good-for-nothing vagabond; and, as a necessary sequence, the extinction of the race. Are there any so dishonest or ignorant who will not say that never have theories received such a signal refutation by facts as these? We do not contend that the colored man is a model of industry; but we contend that he is not lazy, and that the true and highest interest of the South lies in fostering his assistance, and in the spirit of justice and humanity enabling him to work out the problem of his progress.

Where it is found that the colored man will not work, if pains are taken to inquire into the circumstances, it will very generally be found also that his unwillingness proceeds from a suspicion that his wages are precarious, or a conviction that they are insufficient. There are few white laborers who would manifest great alacrity in going to work under such impressions. Where wages are in a fair degree remunerative and certain, the colored man is ready to do what he can do, and do it with all his might. How he nerves himself to such ill-paid labor as falls to his lot is a matter for surprise, and surprise becomes astonishment when we think of the results which he achieves out of his scanty earnings. He pays doctors' bills, provides clothing for himself and wife, supports the non-producing members of his family, gives to his Church and to charitable institutions; and, in short, manifests a careful and exacting economy entirely at variance with habits of indolence or laziness. This thriftiness on the part of the colored man has been one of the greatest boons to the South. It has enabled him to exist on the smallest possible allowance; and at no time since the war have the resources of planters been much more than equal to discharge the minimum of expense, and must have fallen far short of meeting their obligations if the work done had been performed at the prices demanded for white labor. Colored labor is the cheapest, and therefore just the kind suited to the South in its present condition. This fact must have weight also with capitalists, for, other things being equal, the returns from an investment must increase in proportion to the cheapness of the labor employed.—P. 20.

It is refreshing to read in such a testimony, addressed to a Southern legislature, the proof that the world moves. It furnishes a rich encouragement to the Christian Church, and especially to Methodism in all her branches, to press forward in the work of furnishing to the Southern negro all the qualifications necessary for the proper discharge of his duties as a true American, Christian citizen.

The St. John's is a willful and obstinate river, as it persists, in violation of all precedent, in running up stream. That is, it runs what is "up stream" to all other rivers in the country, for it runs from south to north. It runs "up" on the map! The "lower," that is, the southern part of Florida, is the higher.

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Spite of its monotonous banks and willful up stream, it is a beautiful water. It is destined to be dotted with the winter residences of future northern millionaires. Hither is attracted the large flow of northern immigrants. Yet it is said that the soil of the central and western counties is far richer, and the surface more varied and picturesque. The Confederate Government selected a central county as the most salubrious locality for a military sanitarium.

The books which stand as text at the head of this "notice" are valuable to the inquirer. Mrs. Stowe's volume and her residence at Mandarin have, not a little, made people think of Florida. It is written in her most glowing style, and is fascinating as a novel even to novel readers. Mr. Eagan's book, with a map, makes one truly at home in all parts of Florida. "The Florida Agriculturist," lately started at Jacksonville by Prof. Wilcox, of Hamilton College, and later of Roberts College, Constantinople, will do much to develop the internal resources of the State, and furnish information to all interested in Florida.

On Missions. A Lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey, December 3, 1873. By F. MAX MULLER, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford. With an Introductory Sermon by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 12mo., pp. 78. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Company. 1874.

We have had occasion to notice that Max Müller professes that all his linguistic studies have been really prompted by a religious interest, and are properly a part of the investigation of the great religious problem of the race. He considers himself, no doubt sincerely, in a large and liberal sense of the word, a true and earnest Christian. Three of the eight great religions of the world, Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, are missionary in their spirit; and the missionary impulse he considers one of the noblest inspirations of our race. His views seem to be that the great religions will come into a future common understanding, and by a mutual cancellation of errors, already commenced, will leave as a result the one true religion of God and man. The world is rising into religion, not so much by detailed individual conversions as by a general and spontaneous attainment of true religious enlightenments. Max thinks highly of the Hindoo Bramo Samaj, and desires a genial feeling between it and the missionaries. He seems to be a very suitable conciliator between the two parties, hailing as he does from the Christian side, yet being himself pretty much a Bramo.

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The Life of Emma Willard. By JOHN LORD, LL.D., Author of "The Old Roman World," etc. 12mo., pp. 351. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873.

Mrs. Willard is a proof of what, under the old order of thought, a woman could do in working out a most noble history without overstepping the normal boundaries of propriety assigned to her sex. Beyond her respectable position by birth and those qualities of mind and person given her by her Maker, she was self-made. Adversity awakened her to exertion. She chose the field of female education, formed noble but not ideal conceptions of that work, and had the energy to impress her views on men of high influence in Church and State. Unfortunate in her second marriage, she adopted no radical theories drawn from her single case. True to Christian principle first and last, she richly earned the memento here furnished.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Geistliches und Weltliches, etc. (Essays, Religious and Secular, for Educated Christians.) Von Dr. CHRISTIAN PALMER. Tubingen. 1873.

Dr. Palmer stands among the very best practical theologians of South Germany. His "*morale*" is highly prized by all who read German theology. The present book is of a more popular character. It consists of ten essays recently delivered orally in various German cities, and now rewritten and printed. They treat, in order, of piety and truth, of imagination in the sphere of religion, of superstition and illuminism, on the Apostle Paul, on the agreement and the differences in the various Christian Churches, on Abraham à St. Clara as preacher, on Schiller and the German youth, on the three musicians—Sebastian Bach, Joseph Haydn, and Beethoven. Several of the essays we have thoroughly read, and we cheerfully say to all Teutonically inclined, Get the book without fail. It is in one respect a rarity among German books. It is solid, and yet sparkling; instructive, and yet playfully entertaining. Dr. Palmer is a real heart-Christian, and yet he has no relish for cant or the cowl. Because a Christian, he holds that "all things are his." In him "art and religion, music and theology, are not mutually excluding terms." When God gifts a nation with a high artist, it is the Christian's privilege and duty thankfully to admire and enjoy him. The single essay on imagination in religion is worth the price of the volume. Imagination prevails not only in art, but plays a very large rôle in religion;

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and—odd enough—it plays the largest part in the very sects who assume to have penetrated most closely into the inner heart of things, for example, the Mystics, Quietists, Quakers, Theosophists, *et id genus omne.* Dr. Palmer finds traces of playful fancy even in the works of the Creator. Away with the thought that the world was constructed on the prosy principle of utilitarianism! Nature is gifted not only with the phantastically beautiful, for example, the leopard's skin, the butterfly's wing, but also with the comical, as, for example, the gestures of the monkey, the skippings of the young hart, the gravity of the parrot. The essay on Schiller established a wide *moral* contrast between Schiller and Goethe—strongly to the praise of the former. Neither was Christian-minded. Both turned away from the dead orthodoxy and the shallow rationalism of the Church, and took refuge in the world of antique art. But Schiller was morally earnest, and Goethe was not. Schiller's works are morally pure, Goethe's are not. Not one of Goethe's chief works may be safely read by tender, unripe Christian youth. They are all marred by passages which fan unhallowed passion. The only partial exception to this is *Hermann und Dorothea;* but even in this piece a mother is made to utter to her son a sentiment which no true mother would be guilty of. Luckily for the morals of the German nation, Goethe's works, though of higher artistic character, are not so popular as those of Schiller, and are read by the mature rather than by the young. On the contrary, Schiller is the poet of the masses, and the idol of the young; and his general influence is toward an ideal of the purest and noblest manhood.

Bilder aus der Geschichte des Christenthums. (Pictures from the History of Christianity.) Karlsruhe.

We have here eight lectures by representative men of the (liberal) *Protestantenverein* of the school of Schenkel. Zittel discourses of the Reformation of the Present; Brückner, of the Origin of the Church; Hönig, of Byzantine Christianity; Pierson, of the Golden Age of Catholicism; Zittel, of Martin Luther; Hochstetter, of Ulrich Zwingli; Langin, of the Age of Orthodoxy; and Holtzmann, of the Church of the Nineteenth Century. All of these subjects are brought into close bearing with the Church of to-day. In fact, their one object is to furnish mirrors wherewith to judge of the present and to conjecture of the future; but the pictures obtained are all very dark. What else could we expect of these dogma-condemning dogmatists? They almost

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deserve commiseration. On the one hand, they behold a revival of superstitious Romanism, and on the other, a steady growth of evangelical orthodoxy in Protestantism. And, saddest of all, they see their own "liberal" churches and university lecture-rooms growing emptier and emptier. But why should they wonder? Why these wails and this despondency? If it is true, as they preach, that we can have no correct conceptions of God and of a world to come, why longer trouble ourselves about theology and sermons? If the only reliable knowledge is to be found in modern natural science, why not, once and for all, exchange our dogmatics for physics? But no! we are not shut up to the dismal choice between neology and chemistry. The instincts of the masses have an ineradicable affinity for the divine. Wherever the truth is truly presented the people will gladly receive it. Even when only thinly mingled into the chaff and straws of Popery, it speaks more warmly to the heart than the faint moonbeams of unfaith. The wails of these "liberal" gentlemen of Baden are certainly very promising omens.

Kirche und Staat in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. (Church and State in the United States.) Von Dr. THOMPSON. Berlin, 1873: Simion.

A pamphlet wherein the eloquent New York divine (now of Berlin) places before German Protestants the happy workings of the maxim "Free Church and Free State" in America. The little book cannot but be of salutary effect. It gives information which was much needed, and its respected authorship is securing for it wide reading in high German circles. The "New Evangelical Church Journal" gives clear evidence of being already salutarily impressed by it. It is astonished at Dr. Thompson's data as to the pecuniary sacrifices of American Christians, and as to the largeness of American church attendance. "America is far ahead of us even if the data are but half-way true;" and the editor concludes by inferring that unless the German Church becomes more like the American in respect to self-sustenance and self-government, it will then, to its great detriment, fall a prey to schism and sectarianism on the one hand, and to free religionism on the other. But will America be wise enough to persist in the ideal way which Dr. Thompson has held up before the German Church? How are we to treat the Jesuit question without commingling politics and religion? Are we at the end of the politico-religious problem, or only at the beginning of its difficulties?

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Die Urgeschichte der Menschheit mit Rücksicht auf naturliche Entwickelung des frühesten Geisteslebens. (The Proto-history of Man, with Reference to his Natural Development to Spirituality.) Von O. CASPARI. Two volumes. Leipzig.

Dr. Caspari is an out-and-out Darwinist. His work rests on a basis of pantheistico-naturalistic theorizings, and is interesting to sober thinkers chiefly as a *reductio ad absurdum* curiosity. For example, he attempts to evade the objection that the ape-derivation of man would endanger morality, by holding that the whole ante-anthropic creation was possessed of moral instincts and manners of action. The entire system of organic, and even inorganic, nature is a "moral cosmos." The humblest insect and the minutest crystal reflect ethico-esthetic forms. The animal kingdom falls, like humanity, into moral and immoral classes. There are contemptible birds of prey, ignoble parasitical insects, cowardly and sensual apes, on the one hand, as there are, on the other, noble representations of the virtues, such as the dog, the sheep, the horse, etc. Certainly nothing but a pantheist could be honestly guilty of such a childish confusion of moral ideas as this betrays. With Dr. Caspari morality is fatalistic and impersonal, whereas the true idea of morality is that it is the free product of the individual person.

Staat und Kirche: Vorlesungen an der Universität zu Berlin gehalten. (Lectures on State and Church.) Von E. ZELLER. Leipzig: Fues.

Dr. Zeller holds that the State cannot safely relax its grasp on the Church, but should treat it as a "public corporation." He calls for obligatory civil marriage, and disapproves of eliminating religious instruction from the school curriculum. The chapter on Church property is quite full, and was doubtless prepared in view of the existing Old Catholic problem. It insists that where a Church membership breaks into two or more sections there should be a proportional division and distribution of the property, provided that it all be applied to churchly uses. Dr. Zeller's method is calm and philosophic.

Juvenile.

Willow Brook. By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." 24mo., pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Little Peachblossom; or, Rambles in Central Park. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq. 16mo., pp. 230. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Pet; or, Pastimes and Penalties. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A., author of "Music and Morals." With Fifty Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 314. New York: Harper & Bros. 1874.

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Miscellaneous.

The Story of a Wonderful Life; or, Pen Pictures of the Most Interesting Incidents in the Life of the Celebrated John Wesley. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 24mo., pp. 318. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

The International Scientific Series. The New Chemistry. By JOSIAH P. COOKE, Jr., Ewing Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. 16mo., pp. 326. New York: Appleton & Co. 1874.

Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., and Memoirs. By his sons, Rev. DAVID K. GUTHRIE and CHARLES J. GUTHRIE, M.A. In two volumes. Vol. I. 16mo., pp. 424. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

The Pastoral Epistles. The Greek Text and Translation, with Introduction, Expository Notes, and Dissertations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal of Free College, Glasgow; author of "Typology of Scripture," "Revelation of Law," etc. 12mo., pp. 451. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1874.

Golden Grain. By B. L. FARJEON, author of "Bread, Cheese, and Kisses," etc. 12mo., pp. 79. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Twelve Miles from a Lemon. By GAIL HAMILTON, author of "Woman's Worth and Worthlessness." 18mo., pp. 320. New York: Harper & Bros. 1874.

Diamond Cut Diamond. A Story of Tuscan Life. By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE. 12mo., pp. 298. New York: Harper & Bros. 1874.

The Huguenots in France After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; with a Visit to the Country of the Vaudois. By SAMUEL SMILES, author of "The Huguenots," "Self-Help," etc. 12mo., pp. 430. New York: Harper & Bros. 1874.

The Christ of God. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. 16mo., pp. 216. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

The Healing Waters of Israel; or, the Glory of Naaman the Syrian. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 24mo., pp. 300. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

The Historic Origin of the Bible. A Hand-book of Principal Facts from the Best Recent Authorities, German and English. By EDWIN CONE BESSELL, A.M. With an Introduction, by Professor ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York. 16mo., pp. 432. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

The Alhambra and the Kremlin. The North and the South of Europe. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME, author of "Travels in Europe and the East." 12mo., pp. 482. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Memorial Volume. Sermons by the late ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D., Minister of St. George's, and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. With a Biographical Preface. 18mo., pp. 315. New York: R. Carter & Bros. 1874.

Mercersburgh Theology Inconsistent with Protestant and Reformed Doctrine. By B. S. SCHENCK, D.D. 18mo., pp. 188. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

The Relations of the Kingdom to the World. By J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D. 24mo., pp. 210. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

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Church and State in the United States. With an Appendix on the German Population. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON. 18mo., pp. 166. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873.

Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Book of Exodus. From Egypt to Sinai. By MELANCHTHON W. JACOBUS. 16mo., pp. 186. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. By ALBERT BARNES, author of "Notes on the Psalms," "Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity." Revised Edition. 16mo., pp. 275. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

The Word of Life. Being Selections from the Work of a Ministry. By CHARLES J. BROWN., D.D., Edinburgh. 18mo., pp. 330. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Blending Lights; or, The Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History to the Bible. By Rev. WILLIAM FRASER, LL.D., Paisley, Scotland. 18mo., pp. 376. New York: Robert Carter & Bros.

An Introductory Hebrew Grammar. With Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 166. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1874.

The Gates of Prayer. A Book of Private Devotion for Morning and Evening. By the author of "Memories of Bethany." 24mo., pp. 363. New York: Robert Carter & Bros.

The Tribute of Praise. A Collection of Hymns and Tunes for Public and Social Worship, and for Use in the Family Circle and Sabbath-School. Edited by Dr. EBEN TOURJEE. 8vo., pp. 337. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

School Harmonist. A Collection of Songs, Duets, Trios, and Quartets. By JOHN ZUNDEL. Adapted to the Use of Schools, by JAMES E. RYAN. Pp. 224. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Hide-and-Seek; or, The Mystery of Mary Grace. A Novel. By WILKIE COLLINS, author of "Poor Miss Finch," "Morristown," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 412. New York: Harper & Bros.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Exodus. With a New Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast, author of "Commentaries on Genesis and Leviticus." Pp. 385. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1874.

This is a new edition of a work for Sunday-school purposes. We gave our estimate of its high value on its first appearance.

Notice of "Leconte's Lectures" (Appleton) postponed to next number.

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METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1874.

ART. I.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON was born in Boston on the 25th day of May, 1803. His father was the Rev. William Emerson, pastor of the First Church of Boston; his mother's family is not known to us. His ancestry had a strong leaning toward theology, since for eight generations there had ever been a minister among them. Of the intellectual and moral traits of Emerson's immediate ancestors nothing is known to the public. His father died young. We have no glimpse of the domestic life of the youth. He has a brother living; another, though sleeping in a West Indian tomb, still lives in the tender verse fraternal affection has consecrated to his memory. These are the only data we have been able to gather up in regard to the domestic conditions under which Emerson had his early development. His education was begun in one of the public grammar-schools of Boston, and was continued in the famous Latin School of that place. Here his preparation for college was made. In his fifteenth year he entered Harvard College as freshman, and was graduated there in August, 1821. He won no special distinction in the regular studies, but is said to have been unusually well-informed in English literature, and to have made ample use of the college library. He showed much ability in composition, and gained prizes for declamation and dissertations. His taste for letters declared itself in juvenile poems, and in a steady attention to imaginative literature.

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He was chosen poet for the exercises of class-day. For six years after leaving college he was engaged in teaching school. The only glimpse we gain of his life during these years is his own record of a visit he and his brother made, in the family of the elder President Adams, on invitation. Our schoolmaster, then, had dignity and worth and social recognition in 1825. During the next year he was authorized to preach the Gospel; which implies that he had attended with some care to the study of theology. From ill-health, or other causes, he was not settled in the work of the ministry until 1829, when he was ordained as colleague of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jun., in the pastorate of the Second Church of Boston. Glimpses of his studies, doubts, difficulties, and conclusions, during this period, we have none. Mr. Emerson was elected to this position on the 11th of January, 1829, and was ordained the 11th of March ensuing. He had already supplied the pulpit of the Second Church for some time with general acceptance. Mr. Ware, who was deemed a good judge of men, records his favorable impressions of the young minister in two letters. To Mr. Barry he writes: "I have the great satisfaction of leaving my people well provided for, as they are about ordaining Mr. Emerson as colleague." Somewhat later he writes to his brother William: "My colleague has begun his work in the best possible spirit, and with just the promise I like. The few who talked of leaving the society are won to remain, and it is as flourishing as ever. We have given up hired singing, and employ our own men and women."

Mr. Ware sailed for Europe in great peace of mind, since he left a brave and good young minister behind to watch over the harmonious and prosperous Church he loved. The hired singing, too, was well out of the way, so that the traveling pastor expected to hear only tidings of success from the beloved flock. These expectations were made good. Eighteen months later, Mr. Ware, in a farewell address to his Church, says: "Providence presented to you at once a man on whom your hearts could rest." In February, 1831, Mr. Ware attended the funeral of Mrs. Emerson, who died a few months after her marriage. The next reference we have to Emerson records the fact that, in 1832, he resigned his pastoral charge on the ground of differences between himself and the Church on the communion

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question. What the nature of this difference was, and how Mr. Emerson bore himself in the discussion, are things left wholly in the dark; but the fact itself is noteworthy, because it shows that, when his ministry was closed and his relation with the Church dissolved at his own request, Emerson had not broken with the Christian religion itself; for, whatever the communion question may mean, it does not touch the basis of the Christian system. When he visited Coleridge, in 1833, he felt compelled to state, in view of severe strictures on Unitarianism, that he had himself been born and bred in that faith.

Emerson characterizes his general reading up to this date as narrow and desultory. The "Edinburgh Review" had quickened his intellect, and stimulated his original inclination to letters. Through its pages he gained a vague, but alluring, outlook upon the world of literature. Yet so incurious was his temper, that he declares there was no man living in Great Britain, in 1833, whom he cared to see, except the writers Coleridge, Wordsworth, Landor, De Quincy, and, above them all, Carlyle, and the lion-hearted soldier, Wellington. This shows that, at this early date, literature was five sixths of the world for him. Thus was his true vocation declared.

After less than a year's absence Emerson returned home, with freshened health and vigor, to enter upon his unique and remarkable career. His first public appearance after his arrival was in the character of a lecturer on water. For several consecutive years he gave courses of lectures in Boston and other places. Thus, in 1833–'34, he gave biographical lectures on Michael Angelo, George Fox, Milton, Luther. Then followed, in as many successive winters, a course of ten lectures on English Literature, one of twelve on the Philosophy of History, one of ten on Human Life, one of ten on the Present Age; and, in 1841, another of seven on Human Life. Since the last date he has written and delivered many lectures on a wide variety of themes, and has ranged over the United States and visited England to reach his appropriate audience. Few men have spoken so much from the platform, and nobody has discussed more serious topics. He has always taken pains to give his maturest thoughts their most brilliant expression before claiming the public ear. The response must have been exceedingly gratifying, since no other speaker has been so well

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received, for so long a period, by the thoughtful public. In this respect his example has been high and salutary.

In 1835 Emerson was married to his second wife, Miss Lidian Jackson, of Plymouth, Mass., and fixed his permanent residence in Concord, Mass. He presently began to publish his writings. The lectures on Milton and Michael Angelo appeared in the "North American Review." They give evidence that he had not yet reached the peculiar opinions in philosophy and religion with which he was soon to startle America. They also show that he had not yet acquired the condensed, epigrammatic, and brilliant style for which he is renowned. Probably for these reasons those papers are not included in his collected writings.

Somewhere between the resignation of his pastoral office, in 1832, and the publication, in 1834, of his prose-poem, "Nature," Emerson had rejected the Christian religion as an authoritative and ultimate revelation of the will of God. His nature is taciturn, and we have no disclosure of the motives that drew him on to so momentous a conclusion. The only hint we have in the matter is contained in his account of his earliest visit to Carlyle at Craigenputtock: "We went out to walk over long hills, and looked at Criffel, then without his cap, and down into Wordsworth's country. There we sat down and talked of the immortality of the soul. It was not Carlyle's fault that we talked on that topic, for he had the natural disinclination of every nimble spirit to bruise itself against walls, and did not like to place himself where no step can be taken." This shows that Emerson insisted on the discussion of the question, like a man who has doubts and seeks help, or at least sympathy, from any quarter; while Carlyle, having tried that bog on his own legs and found it mere shifting quicksand, would fain keep off it. Both were convinced that no step can be taken in this question. One would be glad of fuller notes of that memorable parley—would willingly know what convictions and what perplexities each brought to the conversation, and how each was affected by the other. We know from other sources that Carlyle had rejected the faith of his fathers some time prior to Emerson's visit. Hence there is reason to think the former gave the mind of his confiding and admiring friend a powerful impulse toward religious unbelief. Emerson was

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not then directly acquainted with German neological literature. It is true, he somewhere speaks of the destructive criticism of Germany as rendering intelligent Christian faith impossible. Still, he does not hint any early, nor show any late, acquaintance with it, nor any marked effect from it upon his way of thinking.

Why should we look so far away for the sources of his skepticism? Among the few hints of his interior history in these early years is the following:—

> A single odd volume of the Essays [Montaigne's] remained to me from my father's library when a boy. It lay long neglected until, after many years, when I was newly escaped from college, I read the book and procured the remaining volumes. I remember the delight and wonder in which I lived with it. It seemed to me as if I had myself written the book in some former life, so sincerely it spoke to my thought and experience.

This avowal is precious. Emerson himself has taken Montaigne as the type of the skeptic in his "Representative Men." True, Emerson does not deem Montaigne the absolute skeptic Pascal takes him for, but rather a man who set himself with care to see things as they are in entire contempt of consequence. Montaigne's emblematic scales, and his motto, *Que sçais jes*, meant, as Emerson thinks, Though thrones, altars, and governments totter and go down under honest scrutiny, I will scrutinize them all. But Pascal points out that the old Gascon attempted to discredit the very axioms of mathematics, and grew indifferent to certain vices, and that his virtues had no root in strong conviction. Pascal was surely more just in his judgment of Montaigne than Emerson. In a later essay Emerson confesses that his love for the old skeptic had cooled. In the "History of Port Royal" Sainte Beuve aptly defines Montaigne as the type of the old man, that unregenerate humanity, upon which no transforming influence has descended from the cross. Here, too, he has affinity with Emerson. There is not a word in Emerson's writings to show that he ever had any true conception, not to say experience, of the Divine energy which has made the Church the mother of the saints. Christ was never understood till Emerson came, if we may trust the testimony of one who shows that he never understood him, a conclusion which would make the grandest life ever lived on earth the most stupendous failure in history!

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What then could have been looked for when Emerson, unregenerate and skeptical, was put to the study and estimation of Unitarianism as the highest form of Christianity? What, but the rejection of the entire system as insufficient for the religious needs of mankind. The founders of New England Unitarianism had been at work upon the Christian system, with the utmost zeal, to show that, since one cannot be three, a trinity in unity is not possible; that, since Christ is not divine, the worship of the Church is mainly idolatry; that the Old Testament is largely unreliable and mythical, and that human reason is arbiter in all articles of faith. They had thus contrived a system nearly as dry and artificial as themselves, in which they hoped all good, respectable young men would rest satisfied. A large proportion of the abler and nobler men who have entered the ministry of that communion have deeply felt its weakness as a religious scheme. The men who have been reasonably content with it have not been its princes in intellect. Ware, Francis, Noyes, Lampson, Greenwood, Hill, Gannett, and Walker, belong to this class; excellent and able as they are, they are all alike stamped with a peculiar narrowness. An abler set, like Norton, Hedge, and Bartol, has remained in the denomination, but has made no account of its restraints. Everett, Parker, Huntingdon, took each his own road out of that fold. The atmosphere of the sect was charged with doubt to such a degree that a natural skeptic like Emerson, as he grew up in it, was coaxed and urged to ask all manner of questions. Then there was nothing in its doctrines to appeal to and satisfy certain other dispositions in Emerson. No skeptic is a pure skeptic. It often happens that minds which lie most open to unbelief also lie open on other sides to the enticements of faith and the raptures of mysticism. John Henry Newman had an early tendency to liberal opinions in religion, and has ended in the most complete subjection to ecclesiastical authority. Emerson, under other conditions, might have come to a similar position. He is religious even to mysticism. Where he sees cause to accept and abide by a wonder, the most enormous obstacles are no hinderance. No man in our generation has made so light of hard questions, when he supposed he had some good interior basis of conviction, as he. To this side of his nature Socinianism made no appeal.

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It was a Christianity without Christ, a worship without mystery or spiritual elevation, a dry drill in barren moralities, a chilly and polar suggestion of summer instead of the tropical glow of faith and love. It was inevitable that Emerson should fall out with pure and simple Unitarianism. As it never occurred to him to test the question whether any other form of Christianity is superior to that, he naturally rejected it in the lump. But either he was not well satisfied with the grounds on which his proceeding was based, or the result was reached in a way so peculiar and personal as not to be transmissible to other minds. That the process was somewhat gradual we have already seen. That he strove for a time to rest his opinions upon some logically satisfactory grounds is sure. It was while he was groping to and fro among these perplexities that there came on a revolution in his system of thought in religion.

The first distinct notice Emerson gave the world of the quality of his new views was contained in his essay on "Nature," published in 1836. Here the first words are significant: "Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchers of the fathers. . . . The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight, and not of tradition; and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs?"

This language betrays clearly enough the conviction of Mr. Emerson as to the chief evils under which we suffer, and his hope as to their removal. He deems the history and the institutions of the past so oppressive as to stifle our proper life, and hinder our spontaneous spiritual development. To thwart this tendency he would have each man interpret the facts of the universe for himself. Only so can man enjoy an original relation to nature. The philosophical basis of this scheme is simple. Nature includes whatever is not the soul, the body, other souls, the material universe, and the over-soul, or what we call God.

Emerson perceives that something must be put in place of the Church, the Bible, and Christian creeds. He involuntarily asks himself, What should it be? The only good answer he can hit on is, The soul. Emerson holds that the progress of the soul is from within outward, from the consciousness of self to the

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consciousness of things external to self; hence from self-knowledge to knowledge of things remotest from the soul. The soul is in close and essential relations with the Universal, the Eternal, and the Absolute. Hence it is oracular, and yields the wise listener the best attainable knowledge on all topics. This thought is so fundamental and so dominating in Emerson's writings that we exhibit it in several citations. He writes:—

> Meantime, while the doors of the temple stand open night and day, it is guarded by one stern condition: this, namely, it is an intuition. Truly speaking, it is not instruction, but provocation, that I can receive from another soul. What he announces I must find true in me or wholly reject; and on his word and as his second, be he who he may, I can accept nothing. . . . Once man was all; now he is an appendage, a nuisance. And because the indwelling supreme spirit cannot wholly be got rid of, the doctrine of it suffers this perversion, that the divine nature is attributed to one or two persons, and denied of the rest, and denied with fury. The doctrine of inspiration is lost. . . . Miracles, prophecy, poetry, the ideal life, the holy life, exist as ancient history merely.

Here the individual soul is, with the most deliberate purpose, declared to be of divine nature, and of paramount authority within its own domain over all other souls, and over all truth. This stout affirmation of the pre-eminence of each soul is grounded on Emerson's conception of its nature:—

> There is a deeper fact in the soul than compensation, to wit, its own nature. The soul is not a compensation, but a life. The soul is. Under all this running sea of circumstance, whose waters ebb and flow with perfect balance, lies the aboriginal abyss of real being. Essence, or God, is not a relation, or a part, but the whole. Being is the vast affirmative excluding negation, self-balanced, swallowing up all relations, parts, and times within itself.

While this passage would require no little comment, some things are clear. If the soul be of divine nature, oracular, and in communion with the infinite and eternal All, it need not go abroad for truth. The few pregnant sentences on this subject, in "Nature," are the following:—

> Undoubtedly we have no questions to ask which are unanswerable. We must trust the perfection of the universe so far as to believe, that whatever curiosity the order of things has awakened in our minds the order of things can satisfy. The intellect

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searches out the absolute order of things as they stand in the mind of God. While we behold unvailed the nature of justice and truth, we learn the difference between the absolute and the conditional, or relative. We apprehend the absolute. . . . Man is conscious of a universal soul within or behind his individual life, wherein, as in a firmament, the natures of justice, truth, love, freedom arise and shine. This universal soul he calls Reason. . . . The visible world and the relation of its parts is the dial-plate of the invisible. Idealism sees the world in God. It beholds the whole circle of persons and things, of actions and events, of country and religion, not as painfully accumulated, atom after atom, act after act, in an aged, creeping Past, but as one vast picture which God paints on the instant eternity for the contemplation of man.

It is not easy to imagine the perplexity which these passages, and others like them, stirred up in the readers of Emerson's book. In certain pages there was a distinct and positive elevation of the individual mind, or soul, to the seats of authority which, in Christian lands, had been long conceded to the Bible and the Church. But, as there was no direct and formal rejection of their claims, room was left for hope that he still held the ordinary opinions. The essay, too, though really pervaded by a very earnest didactic purpose, was so remarkable in its form, so enticing in its poetic beauty, that many were too much occupied with its charms to give critical heed to its teachings. Others would naturally hope that the writer had indulged in a license of expression for literary effect, for which he would not care to be held to a very rigid responsibility. But when we recall the subsequent career of Emerson, there seems no reason to doubt that he had taken up his ground with extreme care, so as to act in the most direct and powerful way upon public opinion. When he spoke the next year at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa, he had no chance to hide his real drift under poetic forms and licenses. He did not develop his strange thoughts, save in one or two instances, beyond what he had done in "Nature." He spurned bibliolatry, but left it to be inferred that he deemed the current reverence for the Bible bibliolatry. He indirectly repudiated the Christian system by telling his hearers that all the duties of the scholar are comprehended in self-trust. In urging this duty, he showed apprehension that he might not carry his listeners on to his own conclusion, yet he ventured to hint that the primary reason is that it is one soul which animates all men. Here there is an

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apparent unwillingness to speak out, as though some uncertainty lingered in his own mind, or he disliked to wound the feelings of others. Meantime, much private discussion and agitation of the new views arose. In the fall of 1836 a company of advanced Unitarians began to meet to discuss these and other questions. That the interest of their debates sprang mainly from this theme appears in the fact that the club was called "The Transcendental Club." This name was meant to indicate the general conviction of its members as to the preeminence of the soul over books and Churches and written revelations as a source of truth. We have no precise information as to its leading members, or the character of its usual proceedings; but it is plain, from many indications, that Emerson soon became its master-spirit. Such a company naturally stimulated the development of the new opinions. Its members acted on each other through encouragement and sympathy, and thus prepared the way for a wider and more public announcement of these revolutionary doctrines. A general curiosity went abroad to learn more about the new and radical ideas. On all sides it was foreseen that a hot controversy would arise. Hence, when it was known that the senior class of the Divinity College at Cambridge had invited Emerson to deliver, in 1838, the customary annual sermon, expectation was on tiptoe. The occasion, and the challenge to speak out his inmost thought, were such as would not be likely to occur again; and, though conscious that he must give pain and offense to many, they were not to be declined. Accordingly, on the evening of Sunday, July 15, 1838, the memorable "Address" before the Divinity School was delivered to a deeply attentive audience. The preacher felt the critical character of his situation. He knew that an open declaration of his sentiments, which he could not well avoid, would stir the public mind and arouse much bitter feeling. Still, a duty was laid upon him and he showed no wish to shun it. His Address was prepared with great care. It abounded in happy thoughts and felicitous expression. It was simple, direct, manly. It avoided a directly polemic form; but the antagonism between the current notions of religion and the new faith was sternly drawn. It was a critical hour and a critical act. It was an arraignment and denunciation of the weaknesses and errors

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of Christian Churches as they appeared to Emerson, and an indication of what he thought a better way. Premising that our account gives no hint of the beauty and charm of the discourse, let us attempt a statement of its doctrinal positions. The preacher surveys man as a being capable of knowledge, capable of obligation, percipient of virtue; cognizant, through intuition of the moral sentiment, of the perfection of the laws of the soul, and related through his own choices to all possible good or evil. These facts have always suggested to man the sublime creed that the world is the product of one will, of one mind; that one mind is active every-where, in each ray of the star, in each wavelet of the pool; and that whatever opposes that will is every-where balked and baffled because things are made so, and not otherwise. It is the perception of this law which awakens in us the religious sentiment, our highest happiness. It teaches man that the spring of all good is in himself, that he is an inlet into the deeps of Reason. This sentiment is the basis of society, and successively creates all forms of worship. Access to it is free to all, but under one stern condition, namely, it is an intuition. The evils of the times grow out of neglect of these principles. So far the discussion was general; but the preacher next proceeded to point out two gross errors in the administration of Christianity. He paused to give his conception of Jesus. He was a true prophet.

> He saw with open eye the mystery of the soul. . . . He saw that God incarnates himself in man, and ever goes forth anew to take possession of the world. He said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, "I am divine. Through me, God acts—through me, speaks. Would you see God? see me; or see thee when thou thinkest as I now think." Thus was he true man, and the only soul in history who rated man at his true worth. Hence, popular Christianity errs by making too much of the person of Christ, by insisting that men shall subordinate their natures to his. That which gives me to myself is best. The sublime is excited in me by the stoical doctrine, Obey thyself. Others help us only by stimulating us to this duty. Thus, and thus only, can Jesus aid us.

The second great error of the Church lies in her inquest for light on personal duties and public questions; not in the moral nature where God speaks, but in a written revelation.

From these positions the preacher naturally went on to say that faith was nigh extinct in society. "The soul is not preached.

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The Church seems to totter to its fall; almost all life is extinct. It would be criminal complaisance to tell you that the faith of Christ is preached." "In the soul, then, let the redemption be sought. . . . Yourself a new-born Bard of the Holy Ghost, cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity." The remedy for existing ills "is, first, soul; and second, soul; and evermore, soul."

One cannot easily conceive the mingled emotions of delight and vexation awakened in the audience by such a discourse, according as men accepted, denied, or doubted its doctrines. Here was a distinct and unequivocal negation of the authority of Church and Scripture, and such an exaltation of the soul as had never before greeted men's ears in America. No wonder that prudent men were startled, and even rash men held their breath. The thing had not been done on the sly, and could not pass without protest. That evening Henry Ware, Jun., expressed to Emerson his approval of portions of the address, and the next day sent him a letter to forestall a possible misunderstanding. Ware says:—

It has occurred to me that since I said to you last night, I should probably assent to your unqualified statements, if I could take your qualifications with them; I am bound in fairness to add, that this applies only to a portion, and not to all. With regard to some, I must confess that they appear to me more than doubtful, and that their prevalence would tend to overthrow the authority and influence of Christianity. On this account I look with sorrow and no little anxiety to the course which your mind has been taking.

Emerson replied:—

I could not but feel pain in saying some things in that place and presence which I supposed might meet dissent, and the dissent, I may say, of dear friends and benefactors of mine. Yet, as my conviction is perfect in the substantial truth of the doctrine of this discourse, and is not very new, you will see at once that it must appear to me very important that it be spoken; and I thought I would not pay the nobleness of my friends so mean a compliment as to suppress my opposition to their supposed views out of fear of offense. I would rather say to them, these things look thus to me; to you, otherwise. Let us say out our uttermost word, and be the all-pervading truth, as it surely will, judge between us.

Two months later Mr. Ware sent Emerson a copy of a sermon of his aimed at pantheistic views, with certain explana-

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tions. He says he knows not how far the sermon and the Address will be found in conflict, since he does not clearly understand Emerson's positions, or "by what arguments the doctrine that 'the soul knows no persons' is justified to your mind." This drew a reply from Emerson so characteristic and important that it must be transcribed entire:—

CONCORD, *October* 8, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR: I ought sooner to have acknowledged your kind letter of last week, and the sermon it accompanied. The letter was right noble, and manly. The sermon, too, I have read with attention. If it assails any doctrines of mine—perhaps I am not so quick to see it as authors generally—certainly I did not feel any disposition to depart from my habitual contentment that you should say your thought while I say mine.

I believe I must tell you what I think of my new position. It strikes me very oddly that good and wise men at Cambridge and Boston should think of raising me into an object of criticism. I have always been, from my very incapacity of methodical writing, a chartered libertine, free to worship and free to rail, lucky when I could make myself understood, but never esteemed near enough to the institutions and mind of society to deserve the notice of the masters of literature and religion. I have appreciated fully the advantages of my position, for I well know that there is no scholar less willing or less able to be a polemic. I could not give account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the "arguments" you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands. For I do not know what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men. I do not even see that either of these questions admits of an answer. So that, in the present droll posture of my affairs, when I see myself suddenly raised into the importance of a heretic, I am very uneasy when I advert to the supposed duties of such a personage, who is to make good his thesis against all comers.

I certainly shall do no such thing. I shall read what you and other good men write, as I have always done, glad when you speak my thoughts, and skipping the page that has nothing for me. I shall go on just as before, seeing whatever I can and telling what I see, and, I suppose, with the same fortune that has hitherto attended me; the joy of finding that my abler and better brothers, who work with the sympathy of society, loving and beloved, do now and then unexpectedly confirm my perception, and find that my nonsense is only their own thought in motley. And so I am your affectionate servant, R. W. EMERSON.

We get another glimpse of Emerson in those stirring days from the Journal of Dr. Francis: —

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September, 1838. Spent the night at Mr. Emerson's. When we were alone he talked of his discourse at the Divinity School, and of the obloquy it had drawn upon him. He is perfectly quiet amid the storm. To my objections and remarks he gave the most candid replies, though we could not agree on some points. The more I see of this beautiful spirit, the more I revere and love him; such a calm, steady, simple soul, always looking for truth, and living in wisdom and in love for man and goodness, I have never met. Mr. Emerson is not one whose vocation it is to state processes of argument; he is a seer who reports in sweet and significant words what he sees. He looks into the infinite of truth, and records what there passes before his vision. If you see it as he does, you will recognize him for a gifted teacher; if not, there is little or nothing to be said about it. But do not brand him with the names of *visionary*, or *fanatic*, or *pretender;* he is no such thing—he is a true, Godful man, though in his love for the ideal he disregards too much the actual.

We may well be thankful to foolish Francis that he did not blab his own commonplaces altogether, and leave Emerson standing there in the dark, wholly dumb. Such men teach us the worth of a Boswell. But some value attaches to Francis's report, since he was probably a mere echo of Emerson's notions about himself, as we gather from the similarity between Francis's record and Emerson's letter to Ware a few weeks later.

In the lecture on "The Transcendentalist," Emerson reports that Kant showed—

There is a very important class of ideas, or imperative forms, which did not come by experience, but through which experience is acquired; that these are intuitions of the mind itself, and he denominated them *transcendental* forms. The extraordinary profoundness and precision of that man's thinking have given vogue to his nomenclature in Europe and America to that extent, that whatever belongs to the class of intuitive thought is popularly called at the present day *Transcendental.*

Although, as we have said, there is no pure Transcendentalist, yet the tendency to respect the intuitions, and to give them, at least in our creed, all authority over our experience, has deeply colored the conversation and poetry of the present day; and the history and genius of religion in these times, though impure, and as yet not incarnated in any powerful individual, will be the history of this tendency.

We now have all the materials needed in order to see wherein the new religious views of Emerson are in conflict with the Christian faith. Emerson rejects written revelation as impossible and unnecessary, denies that the Church is the pillar

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and ground of truth, repudiates the peculiar divinity, supreme religious authority, and redeeming work of Christ, and brands as encroachment any attempt at enforcing the claims of Christian creeds. He affirms that the soul is the only oracle of truth; that it has access to all truth; that its clear decisions are of final authority; and that it perceives truth by direct contemplation or intuition, and not by logical process. Hence, it appears that Emerson had broken totally with Christianity on the vital question, What is the ultimate authority in religion? His repudiation of arguments, as of no force in regard to the questions raised in the Address, is worthy of especial attention. It shows that he rests his assertions on intuition as their sufficient basis; for surely arguments are of great consequence in all matters which do not fall under the immediate notice of the soul. He not only represents man as an inlet into all reason, but tells him, "In yourself slumbers all reason," and makes it a duty to worship the soul. "Nature and man are of one root; and that root—Is it not the soul of his soul?" "I conceive man as always spoken to from behind, and unable to turn and see the speaker. In all the millions who have heard the voice, none ever saw the face. . . . That well-known voice speaks all languages, governs all men, and none ever caught a glimpse of its form. If a man will exactly obey it, it will adopt him, so that he shall not any longer separate it from himself in his thought—he shall seem to be it; he shall be it. . . . His health and greatness consist in his being the channel through which heaven flows to earth; in short, in the fullness with which an ecstatical state takes place in him. It is pitiful to be an artist, when, by forbearing to be an artist, we might be vessels filled with divine overflowings, enriched by the circulations of omniscience and omnipotence. Are there not moments in the history of heaven when the human race was not counted by individuals, but only as the Influenced, was God in distribution, was God rushing into multiform benefit?" In one place he complains "that the community in which we live will hardly bear to be told that every man should be open to ecstasy or a divine illumination, and his daily walk elevated by communion with the spiritual world;" in another he boasts that "it almost seems as if what was aforetime spoken fabulously and hieroglyphically was now spoken plainly, the

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doctrine, namely, of the indwelling of the Creator in man." In another place he distinctly repudiates the ancient religion, and says: "I stand here to say, Let us worship the mighty and transcendent soul."

These sentences contain the pith and marrow of the Emersonian doctrines. The most careful analysis of what he published before the first series of the essays appeared will reveal no other general principles. They are stated with the utmost beauty, and with all possible variations of emphasis; the results which are ultimately to ensue from their adoption are also stated:—

We are to revise the whole of our social structure, the State, the school, religion, marriage, trade, science, and explore their foundations in our own nature; we are to see that the world not only fitted the former men, but fits us, and to clear ourselves of every usage which has not its roots in our own mind. What is a man born for but to be a reformer, a re-maker of what man has made?

The poems repeat the same thoughts:—

"Out from the heart of nature rolled
The burdens of the Bible old;
The litanies of nations came,
Like the volcano's tongue of flame,
Up from the burning core below,
The canticles of love and woe;
The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
Wrought in a sad sincerity;
Himself from God he could not free;
He builded better than he knew;
The conscious stone to beauty grew. . . .
The passive Master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned;
And the same power that reared the shrine,
Bestrode the tribes that dwelt within.
Ever the fiery Pentecost
Girds with one flame the countless host,
Trances the heart through chanting choirs,
And through the priest the mind inspires."

Again:

"Thou seek'st in globe and galaxy;
He hides in pure transparency.
Thou askest in fountains and fires;
He is the essence that inquires.

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He is the axis of the star;
He is the sparkle of the spar;
He is the heart of every creature;
He is the meaning of each feature;
And his mind is the sky,
Than all it holds more deep, more high."

Before going on to show what results Emerson has reached, let us try to see what his method is:—

Our thing is a pious reception. Our truth of thought is therefore vitiated as much by too violent direction given by our will, as by too great negligence. We do not determine what we will think. We only open our senses—clear away, as we can, all obstruction from the fact, and suffer the intellect to see. We have little control over our thoughts. We are the prisoners of ideas. They catch us up for moments into their heaven, and so fully engage us that we take no thought for the morrow; gaze like children, without an effort to make them our own. By and by we fall out of that rapture, bethink us where we have been, what we have seen, and repeat as truly as we can what we have beheld. As far as we can recall these ecstasies we carry away in the ineffaceable memory the result, and all men and all ages confirm it. It is called truth.

The same thoughts are expanded in these words from "The Over-Soul:"—

We distinguish the announcements of the soul, its manifestations of its own nature, by the term *revelation*. These are always attended by the emotion of the sublime. For this communication is an influx of the divine mind into our mind. It is an ebb of the individual rivulet before the flowing surges of the sea of life. Every distinct apprehension of this central commandment agitates men with awe and delight. A thrill passes through all men at the reception of new truths, or at the performance of a great action, which come out of the heart of nature. In these communications the power to see is not separated from the will to do, but the insight proceeds from obedience, and the obedience proceeds from a joyful perception. Every moment when the individual feels himself invaded by it is memorable. By the necessity of our nature a certain enthusiasm attends the individual's consciousness of that divine presence. The character and duration of this enthusiasm varies with the state of the individual, from an ecstasy and trance and prophetic inspiration, which is its rarer appearance, to the faintest glow of virtuous emotion. . . . A certain tendency to insanity has always attended the opening of the religious sense in men, as if they had been "blasted with excess of light."

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Such are the fundamental principles which Emerson felt moved to proclaim to the world. He had renounced the pulpit; he was incapable of regular and methodical production, and admission to suitable journals was not easy to obtain. He sought to establish an organ for the new views, but the enterprise always failed. Hence he was more and more driven to lecturing. These lectures were afterward worked up into book form, and aided in creating for him a small but appreciative audience. His writings are full of poetry, with the exception of his poems. He thinks in images. Hence his most illogical essay abounds in beauties which would make the fortune of any writer. His pages bristle and are alive with pictures and allegories. These always please those who do not puzzle themselves with his peculiar doctrines, but give themselves up to his imaginative splendors. For thirty years the poet in Emerson has procured toleration for the philosopher. Curiously enough, too, he has fancied the philosophy the main thing, while the wiser public has humored his whim for the sake of something far better. In another article we shall show the results to which these doctrines have led, and test their philosophical worth.

Art. II.—SKEPTICISM AND FAITH CONSIDERED AS MOTIVE POWERS.

Sense, Consciousness, and Reason considered as Authority for Faith.

This is the age of materialism. Never before has it lifted its head so high, or exerted so large an influence over the popular mind. Science has been pressed into its service, very openly and very effectively. Great men have lent the influence of their names to its support. The doctrines of the correlation of forces, microscopic examinations of the nature of protoplasm, experiments seeking to determine the nature of organic life, all conducted by experienced and skillful men, have been pressed into the service of completing the fascinating generalizations of the age. The modesty which the scientific man usually exhibits, while interpreting the results of his ex-

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ploration in his own peculiar domain, sometimes abandons him; especially when he ventures upon the less familiar ground of metaphysics and theology. Here, the candid, cautious bearing of the physicist is too often replaced by the blustering self-sufficiency of the egotist.

That scientists, in their own domain, are as earnest, capable, and honest as any other class of men, may be freely admitted. But sometimes they wander away from home—these princes in physical science—and, in their new surroundings, cannot realize that they are simply strangers; distinguished, indeed, but unqualified to judge or dictate. When Prof. Huxley boasted that skepticism had done more for the world than faith, he was either exceedingly ignorant or exceedingly careless. A man of less prominence might use words in that loose way without attracting much attention; but Prof. Huxley cannot take such liberties without causing alarm. The Professor's deservedly great reputation will give, not only currency, but authority to the preposterous idea among the thousands of less eminent men who are ever ready to echo any infidel sentiment.

But what can the Professor mean when he attributes to skepticism the functions of a motive power? What example can he give of doubt or disbelief ever prompting to any kind of action? Does not the experience of any one tell him that, just in proportion to his skepticism in any direction, is his tendency to act in that direction diminished? Skepticism, in regard to religion, has never been known to make one anxious to secure his peace with God, any more than it has ever stimulated one to become a philosopher when it has been directed toward science.

The strange assertion can hardly be explained to mean, that skeptics in religion have done much more for science than believers in religion have done, and that, therefore, skepticism must receive the credit for scientific progress; because it was not skepticism in religion, but rather faith in the productiveness of scientific exploration, which was the stimulus to all such labor. Skepticism may represent stagnation, but never action. All the powers which it covers droop and die; all the energies which it touches are paralyzed. One may as well say that inertia accomplishes far more in the physical

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world than momentum, as say that skepticism does more than faith.

If, on the other hand, the learned Professor really meant to say that skeptics have done more for the world's progress than believers, it is time to appeal to the evidence of history and fact. In this examination it matters not if, sometimes, the religion were false, if the people believed in what did not exist, and expected what could never happen. The fact that scientists labored for ages, and are probably yet laboring, to establish theories which are false upon the basis of principles which are imaginary, is no reason for saying that the efforts were not for the cause of science. So in this case, what has been done for the world through the impulses of religious faith is of equal weight, whether the faith were or were not well founded.

Consider, then, the influence of religious faith upon the *Architecture* of the world. In every nation and in every age the temple of worship is ever the most grand and impressive structure which meets the eye. Faith built the cromlechs and the pyramids, the pagodas and the mosques. Faith erected and adorned the Christian churches of Italy, Germany, France, England, and America, and gave them such beauty of proportion, richness of decoration, and grandeur of effect, that they are the pride and wonder of the world.

What has skepticism done for architecture? What has it done to command the attention of the world? Where are its trophies? It evidently furnishes no adequate motive for what is truly great or noble in this art.

The *sculpture* of the world is equally the product of faith. What else could have inspired the genius of those great men who symbolized in stone the divinities of Egypt, Syria, Greece, and Rome? What but religion could furnish such subjects as those of Jewish history, from Moses to Christ?

Painting is also indebted to faith for its highest triumphs and its most glorious conceptions. Christianity led the art from darkness to light. Before the advent of Christ the art of painting was hardly in existence; its forms were crude and unnatural, and its execution unskillful and inexpressive. The grandeur of Bible history furnished the fitting subjects, the sublimity of Christian ideas gave the inspiration, the demand

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of the Christian world for the highest efforts of art, afforded the requisite occasion.

Where are the sculpture and the painting of infidelity? Infidelity can furnish no motives or inspirations for art. It has no place in the galleries.

In the department of *poetry* it shows to no better advantage. What lofty theme has it afforded to the poetic muse? Very manifestly there is no poetry in infidelity. Its home is in the latitudes of perpetual congelation, where no flowers bloom and no balmy breezes blow. On the other hand the poetry of faith covers the world. Not only did Job, Moses, the Hebrew prophets, and Psalmists worship God; but Milton, Dante, and the modern poets, utter their noblest strains at the bidding of faith.

Literature, in all its departments, acknowledges its chief indebtedness to the same power. Examine the libraries of the world for proof that the best exertions of the greatest masters in language, metaphysics, history, and morals, have been developed under the dominion of faith. All this may be said without deteriorating from the credit due to such skeptics as have honored science and literature.

Not many ages ago all learning in the natural sciences—as well as in all other things—was in the hands of the clergy. To-day, the colleges and universities of the world, with the higher academies and scientific schools, are nearly all under the control of the religion of the world. Not only their founders, but their professors and teachers, act under the influence of faith. These higher institutions were organized, endowed, and carried on as the instruments of religious zeal for the enlightenment and elevation of the race.

But, chief of all, consider the *home*—the family. Is it not faith which has organized it, as it is found in its best state of development? Has not faith thrown her protecting arms around virtue, made home sacred, and given the enlightened world a domestic life infinitely above the loftiest dream of skepticism? Infidelity cannot appreciate this life. It has contributed nothing toward either its material, its advancement, or its stability. On the contrary, whatever effort it has made to mold either the social or domestic institutions of the world, has invariably comprehended in its plan either the breaking down of the

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barriers between vice and virtu
tian Sabbath, or the weakening
conjugal life. If infidelity had
duce the world, not merely to a
of brutality. The triumph of
of civilization. It is the faith
from universal stagnation and c
world does not at all support th
more for it than faith.

In direct contrast to skepticisi
In its broadest sense it is the ba
and religious movements of in
also of all other enterprises and
tion. The statement of a few
this position.

The husbandman laborious
the precious seed upon it, an
warmth, light, and moisture, ar
knows that he cannot control
a single seed grow, but he *beli*
vest to repay his toil. This fait
possible.

The merchant invests his fort
to a ship, that they may be carr
sold advantageously in a forei
stand navigation; he cannot c
but he has *faith* in the skill of
sails and the vessel that, whethe
or south, or east or west, they
sired haven.

The physicist carefully interr
of her mysteries. He experim
which give sleep to others. H
before he can cease to watch an
longs to hear—every sense awal
Again and again he retires fro
bling and exhausted; still un
Why does he labor and suffer
that he will be answered, pro
asks aright; because he belie

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these answers will do good in the world. His faith upholds him in all his efforts.

Into whatever department of human enterprise we look, we see that faith is the power which moves all the energies employed in the work.

In previous numbers of this "Quarterly," Dr. Jewell very forcibly exhibited the carelessness of statement and looseness of definition indulged in by some leading scientists even when treating upon their own professional subjects. This shows that there is some need of a re-investigation of the fundamental conditions of knowledge. A good thinker once said that "embarrassed, obscure, and feeble language is the result of embarrassed, obscure, and feeble thought." Is it possible to clearly state the difference between believing and knowing, between faith and science? At least, may there not be given a description of the circumstances under which one can really know, or merely believe, and of the organs and faculties concerned in these several acts? This description, if successful, may enable us to see the true basis upon which knowledge and faith must rest.

By knowledge is not meant guesses, surmises, opinions, or probabilities, but absolute *certainty*. What one knows he cannot be made to doubt by any process of reasoning, or by any considerations whatever. For example, a man meets his friend on the street, takes him by the hand, converses with him, exchanges views with him on items of business known only to themselves. It would be impossible to persuade this man that he had not encountered his friend. He *knows*. The certainty of this knowledge can be neither increased nor diminished.

All the objects of knowledge are evidently comprehended in the two classes, objective and subjective—the outer world and the inner. God's design in creating man could not be accomplished without this power of knowing, and he therefore gave him certain organs and faculties accurately adapted to this purpose. No one has been bold enough to question this adaptation in any particular, No one has ever seriously suggested any improvement in the construction of a human being. He is made right.

Regarding the outer world, all that can possibly be known

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must have relation to the existence and the action of matter, and to the expression of the mental states and acts of others. The physical organs through which all this knowledge must come are called organs of sense; the mental faculties upon which these physical organs act directly are called the senses. That a knowledge of the existence, properties, and action of matter can come only through the senses needs no exemplification; but some may doubt if the action of other minds approaches through the same channels. But how does one human being act upon another? Only by language, natural or artificial. But all language, whether spoken, written, or printed; whether it consist of gestures, inarticulate sounds, or play of countenance, is the result of muscular action alone, and, therefore, can appeal only to our senses. We are so constituted that we cannot resist this appeal, any more than that of matter. In both cases the reception of knowledge through the senses is direct, automatic, and *infallible.*

In examining this subject two sources of error must be carefully avoided.

The first is found in the tendency to confound the organ with the sense. They are radically different. The eye is the organ of sight, but not the sense. Even a telescope or a microscope might be called at least an artificial organ of sight, since either will enable us to see what cannot be seen without it; but it would be absurd to call them senses. The true distinction between the sense and the organ appears to be that the organ is always external, belongs to the outer world of matter, and is the *creation of the higher nature;* the sense is always internal, belongs to the inner world of mind, and has power to prepare the physical action of the organ for the use of the higher nature.

If, therefore, the organ be imperfect or diseased, and yet capable of acting upon the sense, it may transmit a knowledge of its own condition, as a part of the outer world, in connection with whatever other intelligence it may have to report. For example, if the eye be jaundiced, it is quite as important that a correct knowledge of this state of the organ be conveyed to us, as that we should know the condition, as to its action on light, of any other portion of the outer world. This knowledge is also absolute. It would be as impossible to persuade

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a jaundiced patient that he does not see a yellow tint spread over all objects before him, as to persuade him that he does not see the objects themselves. What he receives from both is knowledge—absolute certainty. The fact that he knows that a sheet of paper is white, does not in the least interfere with his knowledge that, to him, it now appears yellow.

The second error grows out of a tendency to confound the results of judging and reasoning with the sensations. The voice of a person out of sight might remind the hearer of the voice of a friend. He listens; compares it with his conceptions of his friend's voice; finally, judges it to be really his, when it proves to be the voice of a stranger. An object may be seen at a distance so great, or in a light so uncertain, that the form is only obscurely defined to the sense. The observer is not satisfied with this. He wants to know precisely what it is. He compares, judges, reasons it out, to be a man. He approaches nearer. It begins to take definite form, and he finds it to be only a stump. In both of these cases the senses gave exact information of the action of the outer objects upon them, but hasty judgment, and reasoning upon these false judgments, drew wrong conclusions from the sensations. It is the judgment and reason which commit these mistakes, and not the senses.

May it not be concluded, therefore, that the knowledge derived from the senses consists of the action of the outer world upon them; that we are constructed in such a manner that the action upon an organ of sense is followed by the corresponding mental state, as certainly as the motion of the weight of a well-constructed clock is followed by the motion of the hands; and that the will, the judgment, or the reason, has nothing to do in the case? What the senses report we cannot help receiving. If the organ be distinguished from the sense, and the reports of sense from the efforts made to interpret them, there can be no difficulty in seeing that the evidence of the senses is infallible.

On this sure foundation rest all the facts of physical science, and by far the greater part of those of common life. Notwithstanding the most elaborate proofs of the uncertainty of the action of the senses, and of the impossibility of being certain of even the existence of matter, we implicitly rely upon the

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testimony of our senses, and *know* that their testimony is true. However erroneously we may reason on the facts, the facts themselves are invulnerable.

A brief examination of the reason, and of the circumstances under which it acts, will show its value and reliability as a source of knowledge. So far as the process of reasoning is concerned, it is evidently infallible. But, as the conclusions are always based upon the comparison of two judgments, and these judgments may be erroneous, it follows that the conclusions, though accurately inferred from the premises, may be false. This liability necessarily results from finite knowledge. To render the deductions of reason infallible requires absolute omniscience.

Again, the action of reason is always voluntary. This is also true of the judgments upon which the conclusions are based. But, if voluntary, the process can be arrested at any point of its progress, and the conclusion fail to be reached. Even when the judgments are complete, the process may still remain unfinished. It would appear that this is practically true in a vast majority of cases. A change of purpose, the arresting of the attention by something else, or indifference as to whether a conclusion be reached or not, will always be sufficient to arrest the process. If we add to this the difficulties which attend the process in the many complicated questions of science, and in the still more intricate labyrinths of the events of common life, it will cease to be wondered at that we often tire of the labor, and either jump at conclusions before the half of the reasoning necessary has been accomplished, or abandon the task in despair.

If to the above considerations be added this also, that one never reasons but at the instigation of desire, the way is prepared for a proper estimate of the rank and authority of reason. Let any one examine himself carefully, and note when and why he reasons upon any subject, and he cannot fail to see that the reason is entirely subject to the desires. Without discussing the functions of the will in this place, it may be sufficient to ask whether it can do any thing more than merely act as the messenger that carries the commands of the *ego* to the faculties which do the work. One thing is certain, the reason always obeys this messenger implicitly, promptly,

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and with the required energy. No matter how vile, how polluting, how degrading the work it is commanded to do, it enters upon it as readily and energetically as if it were the most holy. The slanderer or murderer obtains as ready service from his reason as the apostle or the philanthropist. It has never been claimed that the reason of wicked men was any less ready to plot for the success of wrong, than that of righteous men to plan for the accomplishment of right.

And yet many talk of reason sitting on a throne and swaying a scepter! Is there not more poetry than fact in this assertion? Examine the reason candidly. Has it one attribute of freedom? Is it not the veriest slave of which we can form any conception? Did not God intend it to be the servant, and not the master, of the man; and do not all the facts corroborate this position? It has its special work, however, which cannot be performed by any of the other faculties, and it is endowed with adequate and corresponding powers. At the bidding of desire it can "take the wings of the morning," and explore the uttermost parts of the sea; it can penetrate the depths of the earth, examine its structure and condition, and reveal the mysteries of its regions of fire; it can travel backward through periods of time, under the contemplation of which imagination staggers, and find how matter was created, how the universe was built, how elements were formed, how the stars were lighted, and how systems of worlds were bound together. It can mount higher still. It can approach the Almighty and Eternal God, and reverently study his unsearchable, incomprehensible glory. But, wherever it may be sent, whatever treasures of wisdom it may collect, it brings them all home and lays them at the feet of the master whose behests it has obeyed. God made the reason a ready and faithful servant. It is true, that in all this work there are elements of uncertainty, but the results are, nevertheless, immensely valuable. In the process of reducing and refining this material gathered by the reason, fine gold is often found in the bottom of the crucible; and in the process of washing, diamonds of pure luster are seen to glisten among the worthless sands.

The science of mathematics is so peculiar as to deserve a brief description. Its peculiarities are these: it does not depend upon any actual existence; there is nothing in it which

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the mathematician did not put there himself; it has no existence or foundation outside of the mind of the mathematician. It is not wonderful, therefore, that he can define exactly what has no existence but in his own definitions, and manage the relations which he himself establishes. Out of these peculiarities grows the fact that this science admits of certainty. In both material and management it is eminently finite. It deals often with infinities—that is, with certain phases of them—but always in an exceedingly finite manner. One other peculiarity deserves special notice—the idea of force or causation does not exist in the science. It takes cognizance solely of certain classes of relations.

Although not depending upon any actual existence, it is capable of most important applications; and, as an instrument of investigation in certain directions, its value can hardly be overrated. The sensitive lines of its analysis, arising from correct data, are capable of the most astounding accuracy of indication.

In the study of natural objects or real events, the reason operates on a totally different material. The philosopher did not endow these objects with their being and properties, or establish the relations which exist between the events. As he can never be certain that he knows all the properties, and that he makes proper allowance for every influence, his judgments must be liable to be erroneous and his conclusions doubtful. In the fields of physical science and real life, he is an explorer and not a master; he deals with force and causation, rather than with abstract definition; he studies the manifestations of the power of God, and not theorems spun from the minds of men. Infinite knowledge, the condition of absolute reliability here, does not exist, and therefore the conclusions are fallible. As authority for faith the senses are infallible, the reason fallible.

The same philosophers, who consider the evidence of the reason more reliable than that of the senses, appear disposed to place its authority above that of consciousness also. The infatuation for the "supremacy of reason" appears to make them forget that the floods of erroneous theorizing, which are always overflowing the world, are the work of reason, and that all which endures is fact. The consciousness has its world of facts, as well as the senses. That man should have reliable in-

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formation of all that transpires in his own inner being, is necessary to the compatibility and harmony of his nature. To control and guide his mental states and acts, he must *know* them all. Probability will not do. There must be no mistake here, and, like the beating of the heart, this knowledge must be independent of the will. The bare possibility of error in this matter would destroy all human responsibility, and prove that the great Creator of heaven and earth was less wise than the creature which he had made. Such blasphemy can hardly be supposed to exist.

The faculty whose function it is to report to the *ego* all internal states and acts has been named the consciousness. Its action, like that of the senses, is wholly involuntary and automatic. We are so constituted that the evidence of this witness is irresistible. It is simply absolute, and cannot be either weakened or strengthened by any means whatever. When consciousness tells you that you are thinking certain thoughts, are affected by certain emotions, or distinguished by certain desires, you *know* that the testimony is true. Nothing can weaken your confidence in its accuracy. If it should be asked, How much of the testimony of consciousness is true? the answer must be, Every particle of it. No mistakes can ever be made by it. Its evidence is as true as the voice of God—it is *infallible.*

Desirous to know more of the mental state than consciousness is able to report, the judgment and reason are often employed to supplement this report, and decide upon the origin and other relations of the state reported. In this case, as in regard to the senses, they sometimes greatly err, and the error is wrongfully attributed to the consciousness. A person may have certain thoughts whose origin he does not know, and he erroneously considers them a revelation from God. This error is not the fault of consciousness. One may deceive himself to any amount in these things as well as in regard to objects of sense. He may see visions, dream dreams, and experience raptures which neither the senses nor the consciousness had any thing to do with originating. He has used imagination and reason for the purposes of self-delusion, and has succeeded in confounding their work with that of the higher witness.

This grave error is possible, however, only in one direction.

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A person may suppose that the sense, or the consciousness, is acted upon when it is not, but he can hardly suppose that it is not acted upon when it is.

The possibility of sometimes misinterpreting the evidence of consciousness militates no more against the reliability of that evidence than the same possibility regarding the evidence of the senses militates against its reliability. If the evidence of the senses is properly regarded as a sure basis on which to build the noble structure of the physical sciences, the evidence of the consciousness must be regarded as an equally sure basis on which to erect the more noble structure of the metaphysical sciences. If the metaphysician is in duty bound to accept the statements of the physicist concerning the phenomena of matter, the physicist is equally bound to accept the statements of the metaphysician concerning the phenomena of mind.

If it be objected that metaphysicians often show themselves ludicrously ignorant of physical phenomena and principles, it is equally true that the physicist shows himself, full as often, ludicrously ignorant of the phenomena and principles of mind. Fairly considered, metaphysics rests upon as firm a basis as physics. The evidence of consciousness is quite as reliable as that of sense, and quite as authoritative considered as a basis of faith.

Among the various classes of phenomena reported by consciousness, one deserves a separate and distinct recognition. It is that class of phenomena called religious. The whole of religion, like the whole of science, whether historical, revealed, or experimental, rests upon evidence. It will be at once conceded that experimental religion, like experimental science, is a widely different thing from either of the others. As one may be profoundly versed in the history of the sciences and know nothing of them experimentally, so one may be deeply versed in the historical and revealed lore of religion and be utterly destitute of the experimental knowledge which is the basis of its history.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present the evidences upon which the Scriptures claim to be a revelation from God, but only to examine the foundations of experimental religion. Experimental physics rests upon the evidence of sense, experi-

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mental religion upon the evidence of consciousness. Reason has nothing to do with either, and can add nothing to the certainty of either. Faith, in one as much as in the other, rests upon direct and *infallible testimony*.

The idea, that faith can exist without evidence, is so preposterous that it may fairly be questioned if it has ever been seriously and thoughtfully entertained by any man. But some cultivated men talk as though faith were the opposite of reason, and that it signified believing without evidence. They also talk as though reason must furnish the only evidence sufficient to command belief; and yet, when the deductions of reason conflict with the facts of either sense or consciousness, all the world admits that it is the reason which is wrong, and not the facts. How many beautiful theories have been compelled to succumb to facts! The reasoning appeared to be perfect. Not the slightest flaw could be seen. It stood the test, perhaps, for ages. At last a fact is found which is incompatible, and the theory falls.

It is supposed that a little reflection will easily remove the idea that reason furnishes the only appropriate evidence in every case. What reasoning convinces us that the sky is blue, or gold yellow, or iron malleable? Reason could never originate such ideas. Instead of increasing the authority of sense, the inductive syllogism actually diminishes it. For example:—

When every part of a homogeneous substance, which has been examined, uniformly exhibits a certain property, it is *probable* that all other parts of the same substance will, if examined, exhibit the same property.

But every piece of gold which has been examined is yellow; therefore, *it is probable* that all the rest of gold is yellow. It appears, therefore, that, from the *certainty* of the evidence of sense, reason can produce only *probability*.

The same is true when applied to the consciousness. Every theory, however beautiful; every induction or deduction, however finely wrought, must yield to the authority of this witness wherever there is a conflict.

Knowledge is obtained directly by consciousness, just as it is obtained directly by the senses. Whoever wishes to know just how one feels when he receives an electric shock, must him-

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self receive such a shock. No words, however well chosen, can give him the idea; no reasoning, however clear, can supply the plan of experience. If, on the other hand, one desires to know how the learned Newton felt when he made his great discovery, his only way is to make a similarly overwhelming discovery. Without this his efforts will be in vain.

Applying this principle to religious experience, it follows that the desire to know the feelings of one who "has fellowship with the Father," or who has the "witness of the Spirit" that he is "born of God," or in whom "Christ is formed, the hope of glory," can be gratified only by actually having this fellowship, by having Christ actually formed within him, by really having the witness of the Spirit that he is born of God. Until he has this experience he must remain ignorant of this class of ideas. Even Christ did not attempt to communicate them to the ruler who came to him by night, by any verbal formulas, but only impressed upon him, by illustration, the impossibility of learning them in any such manner. He knew that he had created man according to a model which must render such a task impossible, even to himself. Reason is not concerned at all in this evidence any more than in proving that grass is green, or gold yellow. The evidence of such states or experiences belongs wholly to consciousness. One who has never had such experiences knows nothing about them. He is as incompetent to judge or reason accurately concerning them as a blind man would be to criticise a painting, a deaf man to judge of the effectiveness of an oratorio, or a living man to judge of the experiences of the dying.

The physicist rightly holds that one unacquainted with his sciences is incompetent to judge them; the Divine claims, with equal justice, that he who has never complied with the commands and invitations of the Gospel, is quite as incompetent to judge concerning its claims. If one wishes to know what repentance is, he must repent. If he desires to know what forgiveness includes, he must sincerely plead the promises of the Gospel before the mercy-seat of God in the name of Jesus. God will pardon him, will "regenerate" him, and give him the "witness of the Spirit," while his own consciousness will give the corresponding testimony, that this work has been done in him, thereby authorizing him to "rejoice with

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joy unspeakable." There is no other way in which correct ideas of these experiences can be obtained.

Should a skeptic claim that he has no faith in the Gospel; that he does not believe in God, or in Christ; and that, therefore, he cannot be affected by the Gospel, or properly obey its calls; the reply is, first, that he has rejected religion without any adequate knowledge of its nature, or examination of the evidence on which it rests. He has overlooked the fact, that experimental religion is not a set of opinions, or a theory of God and our moral relations to him, but a fact of consciousness; that it is not of such a nature as to demand, for its reception, a highly cultivated intellect and extraordinary powers of reason—for the weakest and least tutored intellects, as well as the strongest, are included in its call.

The weakness of abstract reasoning regarding matters of fact is aptly illustrated by the case of the great English philosopher, who proved most conclusively that it was impossible to cross the Atlantic ocean by steam at the very time when a steamer was actually doing that very impossible thing. In this case, however, Dr. Lardner did not cling to his reasoning and repudiate the fact. The reasoning was very conclusive, but the fact was overwhelming. When certain observations were lately disputed by one who was not an experimentalist, the other very aptly asks, "Why did you not observe for yourself? It needed only a nettle and a microscope—things easily obtained—to settle the point." In like manner, why does not the skeptic experiment for himself in religion? It does not need even a nettle and a microscope. An ever-present God supplies every need.

In the second place, the influence of infidelity, in the direction of experimental religion, exhausts itself merely in *inaction*. It applies only to theology. The reasons urged for the being and attributes of God, and for the inspiration of the Scriptures, may appear inconclusive to him. These reasons, however, do not support the facts; but the facts support the reasons, if they are supported at all. The most potent influence of skepticism appears to be, that it furnishes no motive to attempt either an investigation or recognition of experimental religion—the tendencies in other directions engross the attention and direct the energies. Were it not for the restlessness and misgivings

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which the Spirit of God begets in even the most confirmed of this class, there would be nothing to move them toward any religious action.

Many facts appear to prove that, if a candid skeptic would place himself under powerful religious influences for a few days, or even a few hours, his speculative infidelity would be very little in the way of his being speedily and soundly converted to God. Many an infidel has attended the prayer-meetings of humble and, it may be, unscientific Christians, expecting to stifle the "still small voice" within, and to be strengthened in his unbelief. But, as the religious fervor of the meeting increased, an irresistible conviction of the sincerity of the worshipers, and of the reality of their experiences, steals over him, his sympathies begin to move; he at length begins to be convinced; he is met by the power of God; his consciousness reveals a new force, in the presence of which his speculative theories melt like wax before the flame, or vanish like dreams before the light of day. Reason cannot resist for a moment the higher evidence of consciousness. His astonished and joyful utterance is, "One thing I *know*, that, whereas I was blind, now I see." It is an ignorant or a dishonest heart, rather than speculative errors, which keeps a man from the Saviour. One whose speculative creed is orthodox, but whose life is false and dishonest, is harder to be won than an infidel of candor and honesty.

On the evidence of the senses reason constructs theories and builds up systems of philosophy, to stand or fall according as they harmonize with existing and known facts or contradict them. In the flight of time how many such systems of philosophy have been overthrown! As their authors and supporters endeavor to marshal fact after fact under the banners of this sect of philosophy or that, how often does it happen that they obstinately refuse to fall into line, and the cohort has to disband. In like manner, how many theories and systems of theology has reason erected upon the evidence of consciousness and the testimony of history; and how vainly has it tried to marshal under the banner of this sect or that all the phenomena of religious life! Reason is not infallible in religious matters, any more than in those that are physical or intellectual. Mistakes are possible in either direction, and long experience has proved that they are very often actual. How

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much is consumed in the trial by fire! Theories and systems are, of necessity, only provisional.

In addition to the fact of finite knowledge is there not another source of error, and one which, unlike this, might be greatly diminished or, perhaps, removed altogether? Is it not true that men who have no experimental knowledge of the matters on which they write, but who are dependent entirely on verbal description for all their ideas, nevertheless, undertake to construct systems upon this very inadequate basis, without any misgivings of their own presumption? Verbal descriptions of facts, whether of sense or consciousness, however expressive to those who have proper experiences, are, to others, always inadequate and often misleading. To one who had always lived within the tropics, how insufficient would be a verbal description of a snow-storm, of the glaciers of Switzerland, or of a polar winter! To one who has never witnessed them, what words could do justice to a volcanic irruption or a destructive earthquake! Who ever obtained an adequate idea of the beauties and wonders of the kaleidoscope or zoetrope by any form of words, however fitly chosen! How much more must this means of obtaining ideas fail, when employed to describe the religious states revealed by the consciousness of the true Christian!

One risks nothing in saying that he who has not studied phenomena, can have only imperfect ideas of their significance; that he who has never explored with the telescope or microscope, can have but feeble ideas of their revelations. For this reason much that is said in opposition to certain phases of physical science must consist, to such an author, of forms of speech without any corresponding ideas.

To an equal, if not greater, extent, this must be true of much that is said against religion. It cannot be otherwise. The religious facts revealed by consciousness are to him utterly unknown, and it would be as impossible for him to have a correct idea of them as it would be for a blind man to enjoy the beauties of a landscape. All that such an one can say of such experiences must be, to himself, sound without sense. Reason deals only with relations. The relations are stated by the judgments. The only safe basis of judgments are the facts of sense and consciousness.

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The possibility of reasoning conclusively without ideas of any thing but relations is easily illustrated. For example, take this syllogism:—

All tylopherni are hypnocroids;
But every condrargus is a tylophernus;
Therefore, every condrargus is a hypnocroid.

This syllogism is evidently conclusive, whatever be the signification of the terms; or, even, if they have no meaning. The reason is not concerned, either, as to whether a condrargus be or be not a tylophernus. The absence of ideas, or even of truth, does not in the least impede the freely-rolling wheels of reason. But who can justify the labor of writing elaborate treatises on such a plan. Surely it is more important to judge correctly than to reason blindly.

The nature and authority of conscience as an infallible witness cannot be discussed in this paper. If it be clearly distinguished from judgment and reason, it will hardly be difficult to conclude that its evidence regarding the moral state of the person is as conclusive as that of the senses or consciousness in the several domains; that its action also is automatic; therefore necessary and infallible. Whether the standard of morals, which has been set up, be right or wrong, does not affect the case. If any one freely does what he believes to be wrong he is a wicked man, and his conscience will tell him so. The only way to change the verdict of conscience is to change the moral standard. Even when this is done the previous verdict of conscience was, at that time, right.

If the soundness of the preceding views be admitted, it appears certain that religion stands upon a basis as sure and rational as that of the physical sciences. The final appeal cannot be to reason in either case, but to facts: of sense in the one, and of consciousness in the other. Reason furnishes theories, speculations, and systems. Its work is susceptible of continual improvement as new facts and relations are discovered, and is liable to multitudinous corrections and overturns. Its conclusions must change, and ought to change, as the scenery changes to the tourist. The mountain which, at a distance, appears to close up all escape from the valley along which he has been traveling; on a nearer approach, detaches itself from one side or the other, and opens up the way to new and more glorious

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scenes beyond. Systems, however useful, are only temporary; facts are eternal.

The undue exaltation of reason has been a fruitful source of error in both theory and practice. God has given it a definite place in the human being, and definite work to perform. Surely, it is better to clearly understand this place and this work, than to make mistakes so disastrous to truth and right as those which are set forth in human history. The reason sustains a relation to ideas and thoughts similar to that which the muscles sustain to things. The muscles, directly or indirectly, build cottages and palaces, hamlets and cities, machinery and factories, steamships and balloons, halls of debauchery and halls of science. They arm the assassin with a dagger, the husbandman with a cultivator, the astronomer with a telescope, and the missionary with a Bible. Reason builds temples and palaces of thought, rears castles of theories and forges argumentative weapons, to be used for either the benefit or the destruction of truth. It has built, alike, mythologies and theologies, temples of Hindoo and of Christian cosmology—skepticism has no cosmologies; it cannot account for the *origin* of any thing—pagodas of fashionable morals, and bulwarks of honesty and virtue. The reason is the laborer of the *ego* among the material of thought, the hands among the material of sense; both are alike servants.

It happened once, in the history of the world, that a formal attempt was made to elevate reason to the throne to which the philosophical world thought she was entitled, and to place a national scepter in her hands. Proclamation was made to the people; a symbol was procured, placed upon a chariot, decorated with a scepter, and presented to the people. In the extravagance of their zeal, they were not satisfied with making a monarch. They made a god. They offered incense; bowed down; worshiped. Proclamation was made. The voices of the infatuated people arose, louder and louder, "Reason is our God." But did all this make reason a god, or even a monarch? When God creates a slave he makes it perfect. It has not the least attribute of freedom. So that, notwithstanding all that was done—the ensigns of royalty, the worship, the proclamation—reason was still just what God made it, the humble slave of passion and desire. It is not strange, there-

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fore, that, in the name of reason, the most absurd and suicidal positions were taken, and that such atrocities were enacted as filled the world with horror. In one word, it was "The reign of terror." The reason was simply doing, faithfully, the work which the worst of passions and the most bloodthirsty desires required. Never exceeding the commands of its master, never falling short where its power is adequate to the work enjoined, reason justified the character of so true and faithful a servant. It was the degraded, besotted, and wicked people who ruled their reason, and not their reason which ruled the people.

Is it premature to say that no man ever was ruled by his reason in the sense claimed, and that God never intended that he should be so ruled? To prevent misconceptions upon this important point an illustration may be useful.

The human being may be likened to a general and his army. Suppose him and his army to be passing through an extensive and unknown country. He wishes to gather all the information he can of the resources and capabilities of this new region. He has a company of faithful and energetic scouts, and he sends them hither and thither to examine and report. They bring him most valuable reports bearing upon present and future supplies of food and water, and on the founding of villages and cities. The general hears all reports, gathers all the information he can of every description, selects what he needs at present, and orders his movements and lays his plans according to this information. Although he would be most foolish to neglect the reports brought by his scouts, no one would say that the scouts ruled the army. The general has still the entire control of both the scouts and the army, and guides the movements of both by his command. In like manner the reason is the scout, the *ego* is the general, and the *ego* rules the reason and all the rest of the man for its own purposes, and in accordance with its own condition, be it groveling or elevated, wicked or righteous.

To the thoughtful it is hoped that the preceding attempt to elucidate some of the functions of both the physical and higher nature will not appear inappropriate to the times, or wholly destitute of that symmetry which must characterize every exhibition of truth.

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The following brief summary of what has been stated, or only suggested, may form a fitting conclusion to the essay. Let it be regarded as a statement of the general structure and functions of the human being.

Consider whether or not a man consists of—

1. A higher nature, or *ego*—free, responsible and supreme; having power to use for its own purposes every organ and faculty with which it is endowed.

2. Senses, to receive the action of the outer world, and to report it directly to the *ego*, these reports being automatic and infallible, the basis of all physical science, and the substance of much of real life.

3. Consciousness, to report to the *ego* all internal states and acts, such reports being also automatic and infallible, and being the basis of all metaphysical science and the greater part of all religious life.

4. Conscience, to report to the *ego* its true moral condition. This report is also made automatically, and is the basis of all ethical philosophy outside of revelation.

These three original witnesses give man all that he possess, deserving the name of knowledge, concerning actual existence and events, whether external or internal.

5. Emotions, expressing the states of the *ego* which are directly dependent upon the reports of the three witnesses already described.

6. Desires, expressing conditions of the *ego*, dependent upon such emotions as are cherished, always tending to such action as may contribute toward their gratification.

7. Reason, to elaborate the material furnished by the senses, on the one hand, and the consciousness and conscience on the other, according to the wants of the *ego*, and at its command.

8. Muscles, to execute the desires of the *ego* upon the outer world. These are the only organs which God has furnished for this purpose. We appear to have no other means of acting upon either matter or mind.

9. Will, to carry the commands of the *ego* to the reason or the muscles, for the purpose of working out its desires.

If this be a true representation of the general structure and functions of man, it can hardly be doubted that the claims made in this paper are established. Experimental religion has as

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sure a foundation as physical science, and furnishes us just as competent authority for our faith. "If any man *do* his will, he shall *know* of the doctrine"—that is, experiment and *know*. Theology rests upon as firm a basis as natural philosophy, having as undoubted facts for its support and, in addition, an inspired history of many centuries, as a sample of its character, and a standard of comparison.

This brief and imperfect essay is ended. May some far abler pen, inspired by a much more lofty spirit, correct its errors and do justice to its theme!

Art. III.—EWALD'S HISTORY OF ISRAEL.*

Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Von Heinrich Ewald. Bd. I. *Die Einleitung.* Bd. II. *Die Gottherrschaft.* Bd. III. *Die Königherrschaft.* Bd. IV. *Die Heiligherrschaft.* Bd. V. *Geschichte Christus' und seiner Zeit.* Bd. VI. *Geschichte des Apostolischen Zeitalters.*

History of the People of Israel. By Heinrich Ewald. Vol. I. Introduction. Vol. II. The Theocracy. Vol. III. The Monarchy. Vol. IV. The Hagiocracy. Vol. V. History of Christ and His Time. Vol. VI. History of the Age of the Apostles.

1. At length one has arisen to do for the history of Israel what Niebuhr did for the history of Rome, and in these massive volumes we have the quintessence of historical truth distilled from the Bible. The work which the Reformation commenced, but left uncompleted, and which has been in suspense these three hundred years, has been resumed by a master and carried to its logical *ultimatum*, and now Bibliolatry lies shivered into ruins. Here is an answer to the inquiry, said to be *the* question of the hour, how to retain as a practical conviction faith in Christianity as eternal truth without the aid of the artificial prop of an infallible book, hitherto deemed essentially necessary. Here is Christianity pure and simple, freed from the incrustations and morbid growths of ages past—a Christianity all throbbing with life and glowing with moral enthusiasm, of which Christ is heart and head, and in which he shines infinitely great and glorious—but a Christianity without superstition and without idolatry. And finally,

* We give here in an abridged form an excellent article on "Ewald," by Rev. William Salmond, from the British and Foreign Evangelical Review.—Ed.

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here, in finished symmetry, we have presented to us the form of doctrine toward which all Christendom has these many years back been invisibly moving, and the goal is clearly defined toward which, from innumerable pathways, the feet of all true inquirers are making. Ewald is harbinger of the Church of the future. Is it so? Or is all this ponderous learning misdirected and erratic? Is this great and glowing book only a wild romance? Would its writer carry the Christian Church back to a hollow and unfruitful Ebionism? Can it be that the Christian centuries have been dominated by error, and their creations only the building of a tower of Babel? Is Ewald only shrinking in terror from the majesty of Christianity—nothing but a fervent arch-heretic? We raise a profoundly important question. It is already before us, and in its presence most of the controversies, the noise of which fills the air, seem sheer idleness. A beginning has already been made in the translation of Ewald's great work, and it will speedily be before the English public. It is of the kind which for the time being *magnetizes* the reader, and no one acquainted with it can doubt that it will be much read, exercise a profound influence, and make many converts; indeed, it is already discernible that Ewald is powerfully controlling theological thought. We propose, therefore, as faithfully as possible, to reproduce Ewald's view of the nature and development of Christianity as the true and absolute religion, and also to subject it to such criticism as will test its validity, and show what insuperable difficulties it has to encounter before it can hope to obtain the acceptance of Christendom; nay, how it contains within itself the elements of self-refutation and self-destruction.

2. With Ewald's negative position we may be brief. The idea of an infallible Divine book, every word of which records actual history, is superstition—one which flagrantly ignores the very aspect which the Bible wears, and can only be bolstered up by a system of pious fraud. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is a groundless tradition, and, to modern criticism, even a self-evident absurdity and impossibility. The Athanasian creed is idolatry. The Prophets of Israel were only the embodiment of the theocratic spirit, and the Apostles only Christians who had drunk most deeply into the mind of Christ—

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otherwise entirely creatures of their age, with all its imperfections and limitations. There is no such thing as prophecy in the sense of a supernatural knowledge of the future. Its utterances are only the intuitions and forebodings of religion evolving its contents and aiming towards self-completion, or sure calculations on the ground of the relation of the eternal righteousness to the world. Nor is there any such thing as a miracle. What seems a miracle is only a higher law—the dynamic force of spirit over matter; and narratives of miracles only show how religion, looking back, idealizes and glorifies its own manifestations in life and history. There are no angels, and there is no kingdom of darkness. The idea of angels is the poetry of religion, and the idea of devils is of foreign growth, one which obtruded itself on Israel, and, from a combination of circumstances, unhappily obtained possession. The true religion is no supernatural revelation, but only the culmination of a natural historical process—for the human mind has a natural determination toward it—and Christ is therefore only ideally from heaven, but really only the ripe fruit of humanity. God's relation to the world and method of dealing with men is uniform from age to age, and fixed as nature's course. In all past time history pursued its course as now, and all the history of the past was shaped by the same forces which shape modern history. There never was a cessation of supernatural interventions, for there never was a supernatural intervention. But all this is only the shadow cast by the body of Ewald's positive doctrine, and therefore it chiefly concerns us to apprehend his affirmations.

3. The point of departure is found in the conception of religion. Religion is a fact in the world—not simply a theory or speculation, but a fact of immediate consciousness and experience. Every man who has found it would as soon question his own existence as its reality, and wherever it reveals itself it makes itself known as the highest and greatest of all the possessions of the human mind. Although the impulse toward religion is native to man, and he cannot be otherwise than religious, it is at the same time necessary that he should be quickened from without—for the most part by the pressure of physical and spiritual wretchedness—that his higher self may awake and seek God. When in such an hour a man descends into the

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unsearchable depths within himself he finds God already there, who reveals himself to him as the Holy One and the Saviour—at once as a flaming fire consuming the evil, and, as inexpressible love, lending health and might to the spirit, whereby it swings itself away over all evil, and feels itself blessed, saved, redeemed. He who has attained this experience becomes a new man, is henceforth spiritual, (*pneumatikos*,) and, indeed, in the measure of the intensity and purity of his experience, is a prophet and light of men, for has he not seen God and heard his voice, even with the same certainty with which his eye has seen the face of man and his ear heard the sighing of the wind? There neither is nor can be any inspiration but this, and this, too, is revelation.

4. Such, then, is religion. Now, every truth which is destined to become the possession of many, or the common possession of the race, must first of all become, most inwardly and firmly, the possession of one man, in whom it reveals all its glory and all its might. Such a man arose. The man Moses attained to this experience, which is true religion, in such a manner as no other before him had done, and as no other after him did before Christ came—possessed it with unexampled intensity, purity, might, and clearness; and also by a reflective act made its substance the conscious treasure of his spirit as it never before had filled any human spirit. Also, he obeyed it with the most rigorous earnestness, following its guidance into thought and action with undeviating truthfulness. Once, in deepest silence and hiddenness, the divine fire shone before his eyes and thrilled his spirit—he saw God and heard God, and his hour had struck. The shepherd becomes a prophet, and arises to obey the voice which speaks within—a prophet and man of God, having obtained the true religion as fully as the age rendered possible, was sent to put his mind on Israel, and make his individual possession first the peculiar treasure of that nation, and then of all nations.

But it is not to be supposed that Moses was the first man who found the true religion. It had been found by many of his ancestors, and without the inheritance which he had received from them, he could not have become what he was. Nay, in all ages and among all nations men have sought religion and found it. In Egypt, in China, in India, there have been men

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who were not inferior to the patriarchs—possibly little inferior to Moses. How was it, then, that Moses became the founder of the true religion? How came he to leave his mark on universal history? The age was ripe for him, and circumstances favored him. The very fascination of the false religion of Egypt, by its sharp antagonism, developed the true religion with unexampled precision; and while all nations have more or less striven to reach the true religion, so much so that it was only as it were by accident that Egypt did not become its home, yet Israel possessed the purest religious instinct and ripest religious genius, and was at that time in such a condition, externally and internally, that it only awaited the summons of the prophet's voice. However, let it be understood that when we speak of Israel we do not speak of a nation which literally sprang from Abraham; for Israel was the collective name given to successive tribes which had at various times emigrated southward, and at last, attracted to the rich and cultivated land of Egypt, had there been fused by a common religious disposition.

Never did man betake himself to a task of greater magnitude than that which now awaited Moses. The religious antagonism between the Egyptians and the Hebrews had at length developed itself to such proportions, that either Pharaoh must utterly crush Israel into submission, or Israel must be permitted to quit Egypt and seek for itself a new home. There arose a religious war. The actual history of it no longer exists; but we cannot picture to ourselves as too sublime the man who, in such an unequal struggle, gained the victory, and his antagonist is an ever-memorable illustration of the vanity of man's rebellion against truth and right. Israel went forth to seek a new home. Having gained in the struggle in Egypt, and in a wonderful deliverance at the Red Sea, such an experience of the hand of the invisible God fighting for them, that trust in the unseen arm became an imperishable treasure of the people, and in all the future a conviction shaping their history.

But now, what will Moses do with this race which his hand has rescued? Into what shape will he mold them? Whither will he lead them? The soil of the national mind had indeed been prepared for him. Israel was in such a condition of religious susceptibility and elevated enthusiasm as made it possible for Moses entirely to fill it with right conceptions of the

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true God, the true religion, the true worship, and the true morality; and the great thoughts of his spirit passed from his lips as a glowing fire, fusing Israel, and enabling him to cast it into the mold which henceforth distinguished it from all other nations. The sublime picture of the giving of the law at Sinai exhibits to us a nation thrilled, from the center to the circumference, with pure religious enthusiasm, and proclaims to us that now, for the first time, the true religion has ceased to be a sporadic phenomenon, and has become so interwoven with the existence of a nation that it can never more perish, unless that nation can be annihilated: religion will henceforth be interwoven with history. We can therefore well understand how the government of this people became a theocracy, nay, how it could become nothing else than a theocracy; for it was a religious idea which had fused it into a nation, and the central formative passion of the national mind and heart was to serve the invisible King who had delivered them, and whom it felt ever near in his might, purity, and grace. The theocracy was a sublime and truly gigantic conception, one possible only to a young people glowing with fresh enthusiasm; one, however, which raised them to a giddy and dangerous height, and which would prove itself inoperative when a Moses was no more, when the oracle was dumb, and the heart of the nation had grown old.

All the higher possessions of the human spirit can only blossom, nay, can be retained only, amid civilization, order, peace, and external well-being—according to the vision of the Apocalypse, "the earth helps the woman." A home had therefore to be found for Israel. On Canaan all eyes were fixed, and to Canaan Moses would have quickly led the people had they been altogether worthy. They required, however, long probation, and time for consolidation. Although the generation which came out of Egypt did not reach Canaan, nothing can convincingly demonstrate the earnestness and purity of the national heart, and the depth of the educational guidance of Moses, than the spectacle of the fervor, prowess, fidelity, and young energy of the subsequent generation, who pursue their way with songs of rejoicing, (Numbers xxi,) whose faces were as the faces of lions, and their feet swift as the roes upon the mountains. Moses departed this life without bringing his work fully to completion, but not without the joy of seeing around him

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a people altogether of the right mind and heart, and a leader in whom he discerned his own spirit reproduced. Joshua, without delay, led the nation to the conquest of Canaan; and such was the martial enthusiasm with which their religion inspired them, such might did it lend to their hands, such rapidity to their feet, that in a very short space of time they had made for themselves a secure habitation. On looking back, it seemed to them that the very river had become dry ground; that, upon their battle-shout, the ramparts of walled cities had fallen down with a crash; that the stroke of their sword had been like the raining of stones from heaven; that so much had been compressed into a short period, that days had surely been gathered into one, as if the very sun had tarried in the heavens till their work was done. Verily, Jehovah had fought for them. And so, at last, there is a strange new thing in the world—a nation in secure possession of a land and home, having in its keeping the true religion, and conscious of a mission to keep it as its peculiar treasure, and develop it till it is ripe to become the treasure of universal humanity. When will it be? What will be the course of such a nation's history?

5. The next great experience which Israel made was that of the absolute impossibility of prosecuting its mission and fulfilling its destination, nay, even of retaining the treasures of the past, under a theocracy. The early glory of Israel under a pure theocracy held the national imagination in such thraldom that no man ventured to blame it, and every man said that hope and help lay in returning, not in advancing. It required centuries of experience before the nation learned to utter the thought, "It is because we have no king that we are as water spilt upon the ground; give us a king, that we may be united and strong, and, in secure possession of external peace and well-being, prosecute our high mission." The theocracy was only a sublime ideal—like other ideals, unworkable, and requiring conditions which, in the nature of things, could not long continue. The successive judges, whom the necessities of Israel called forth, were imperfect attempts to supply the requisite bond of unity to the nation; for, in spite of heroic lives like those of Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, Israel fell deeper and deeper, till it felt itself ready to perish from internal anarchy and outward hostility.

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It is to Samuel belongs the honor of at last clearly discerning what Israel required, and of peacefully accomplishing the revolution. During his earlier life he had thought that the salvation of Israel lay in restoring the age of Joshua, and anew building the theocracy on the great truths which he had anew apprehended in all their grandeur, and which he labored to imprint on the national heart through the agency of the school of the prophets. He was fully aware of the demand for reformation, but opposed it with all his energy, till at last —recognizing its imperative necessity—he became himself the reformer, and introduced the new era. The age of the theocracy ceases, and the age of the monarchy begins; or rather, the monarchy was superinduced upon the theocracy, and there began the era of Basileo-Theocracy. It is important to mark the distinction, for a king in Israel must be other than a king of a heathen nation. He only was competent to be anointed king of Israel whose inmost soul was theocratic, in whom was concentrated the peculiar spirit of Israel, who was imbued with a profound sense of the peculiar mission of the nation, and who was entirely devoted to the mind and will of Jehovah. It was indeed nothing else than the Messianic hope which burst into expression in the cry, Make us a king. Israel must have such a theocratic king, and if ever he seems not to come, yet ever must be demanded and waited for.

Saul failed—failed to be a true theocratic king; went so far as to show that he would usurp also the prophetic and priestly office, and found an arbitrary autocracy. The true king of Israel was found in the son of Jesse, and his life-work showed how truly Samuel had discerned what alone was wanting to the nation. David was a warrior-patriot, because he inmostly felt and clearly perceived that Israel's national existence and well-being were one with the existence and triumph of the true religion, and that in fighting for Israel he was fighting for God, for truth, for right, for humanity, for redemption. David handed over a magnificent heritage to his son Solomon, and during his reign nothing seemed to be wanting that the true religion should ripen to perfection and take possession of the earth. Wherefore did it tarry? Has not Israel attained its ideal height?

The sad issue of the reign of Solomon reveals in an aston-

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ishing manner at once the sublimity and the overwhelming difficulty of the task assigned to Israel. External prosperity produced its usual demoralizing influence, and made the nation worldly and effeminate. The monarchy gradually ceased to be theocratic in its spirit, and became heathenish and worldly, after the pattern of Egypt. Solomon prematurely introduced universal toleration of religious beliefs and usages, when as yet the true religion was too little conscious of its nature to resist the fascinations of idolatry, and too weak to stand as a purely spiritual might. Thus was brought about a divorce, nay, a fierce antagonism, between the Prophets and the Court—between the former as representing the pure theocratic spirit, and the latter as representing the secular rule. Had these two powers only wrought harmoniously, how soon might the grand issue have come! How totally different might have been the history of the kingdom of God! But the nation was brought to the dust by the struggle between prophet and king, a struggle in which each acted tyrannically, and neither knew that love must reign in God's house. Thus the issue of Solomon's reign is, after all, only to show that the perfect theocratic king of Israel who could lead it to its destination had not yet come—must, when he comes, be greater than David and greater than Solomon. Would he never come? Will not the next who sits upon the throne of David be he? This cry is the deepest impulse in the time which now begins. Further and further seemed to recede the greatness and glory of the past, feebler and feebler became the hope of their recovery; but deeper and more plaintive became the yearning for the true king, and the conviction that he must come unless the religion of Israel be a lie, and its vision of a sublime destination a delusion. Still he came not. The house of David became a ruin and Jerusalem a desolation, and still he came not. These long trials and awful calamities were the means of deepening and purifying the Messianic hope, and were rewarded by this conviction, that Israel can attain its destination only by the coming in absolute perfection of that religion of which it had the beginning; that the only true king of Israel must be the perfect man, who should perfectly realize the life of true religion, and in virtue of it rule over all with divine power; wherewith also was connected the humbling

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persuasion, that the form of perfect religion had never yet been seen upon the earth, that there must be a new law and a new covenant, for all that had been was a shadow.

After the captivity the nation entered anew into possession of the land, with high hopes of recovering all its vanished power and glory, but was doomed to disappointment, ever renewed disappointment, and sank into greater external weakness and wretchedness. Its recollection of a magnificent past, its sense of a sublime world-wide destination, still remained, however, glowing secretly and concentrating, till at last the national pride found its exponent in the mind and arm of Judas Zelotes, and in his vain effort to hurl back heathendom as once David did.

The experience of these centuries was a bitter trial and heavy temptation. It had upon a great part of the nation the effect of producing an almost skeptical tone—at least, languor and indifference—in regard to the Messianic hope. Such a book as Ecclesiastes, which belongs to this time, shows how the wretchedness of the age and the apparent uselessness of any longer waiting for the hope of Israel, had led even deeper natures to seek satisfaction in a speculative and practical wisdom all tinged with sadness, and in which the Messiah has no place.

But yet, indeed, the Messianic hope was as imperishable as religion itself. Wherever the religion of Israel revealed itself in its divine light and might, the Messianic hope burst forth as an irrepressible fire. And there always was a true Israel hidden in Israel.

In individual religious life the soul often makes an experience like this: its passionate searchings seem only to remove God further and further away, and to open up a deeper and ever deeper mine of darkness and sin within the heart; greater and more glorious seems the prize which it seeks, and although it seem to recede, deeper and more earnest grows the yearning of the spirit, till at last the blessing comes from out the infinite distance in answer to an unutterable cry. So was it with the true Israel now. It learned more and more to discern the imperfections which adhered to its religion, and its inability either to remove or correct them; and thus was led to feel that Messiah must be something absolutely new, accom-

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panied with hitherto unknown power, and must be allured as from out of heaven by such a general religious fervor as had hitherto belonged to isolated men. The hidden ones cried and waited; and yet the perfect One tarried—age after age, tarried—seemed to recede further and further, even as the yearning for him grew softer and more impassioned. Israel was learning to sublimate and glorify (*die Verhimmlichung*) the conception of the King. When he comes, he can be nothing else than perfect religion beaming forth in heavenly luster and with mighty power. In proportion as he seemed to bury himself in the depths of heaven, and the conviction that he *must* come intensified itself, they began to think of the Messiah as an eternal necessity of the universe, as hidden in God from all eternity, as above all limitations of earth and sense, as the ideal Son of God and archetype of humanity as it should have been holy and sublime, never yet had been—as the Word of God whose coming would be the perfect revelation of the hidden Divine Being. Thus, on the one hand, the image of the Messiah grew more lustrous, and the longing for him more profound and plaintive, till at last the hour came. All this was at length concentrated in a small circle of elect souls, represented in such as Simeon and Anna, but with fullest intensity in John the Baptist, in whose spirit the image of the King of Israel shone with ravishing beauty, and who gave himself to make ready a people for Him whom, with fasting, meditation, and ceaseless prayer, he strove to allure as from out the unsearchable depth of God's mercy, struggling as if he would charm living fire from out the stones of the evil time. It was impossible that He could longer tarry. If he had tarried longer the human spirit had been chilled with the night of despair, Israel had perished, and the world's hopes.

6. At length He came—quite otherwise than was expected, and yet perfectly responding to all the thoughts and desires of the past—the perfect man, the incarnation of the true religion, its ideal perfection, the true King of Israel. Out of the unsearchable spirit of man had the greatest and best at last blossomed into being. From the first, Jesus of Nazareth had a divine destination and plenipotence for the work of the Messiah. He saw the task which the age imposed, and for which the age was ripe; it revealed itself to him at once in

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its overwhelming difficulty, and its inexpressible charm and infinite gain, so that he had no rest in his spirit till he grappled with it. It was the voice of John which developed in Jesus to fullest self-consciousness his calling to the Messiahship. With his spirit-glance John recognized his sinlessness, and beheld the immeasurable grace of the Holy Ghost radiating from his person, and, hailing him as King of Israel, the spirit of Jesus cried Amen to his voice. It was the hour for which the ages had waited. "The kingdom of God is come because the perfect man is here—purest embodiment of true religion, most complete union of the divine and human," is the message which now sounds forth into the world, the *Gospel*. "Behold it and believe it, I am he!" It goes forth as the triumphant shout of a King. It never waxes feeble even in death. He steps forth announcing *himself* and the kingdom of God in him, and acts and speaks with royal plenipotence and glory.

All the working of Jesus resolves itself into the revelation of himself as perfect man of God, or personification of true religion in its ideal glory. The perfect religion shone forth in all his condescending love and royal graciousness, and it radiates forth in the light, power, tenderness, depth, and heavenly purity of his words. A word, a look, from him kindled enthusiasm, and awoke a divine life where an inward susceptibility existed. So from age to age, every little act, and every word, stamped with his unique incomparable impress, is found to be charmed with moral force to quicken a higher life and raise men to God. What can compare with the faintest quivering echo of his voice and footfall?

He was a King. His acts could not be common and ordinary. The kingdom of the perfect and true religion must break the power and destructive consequences of sin, and with sin are inseparably connected all human ills, even the corporeal. Into the abyss, therefore, of all the monstrous evils of that hour, Christ descended with all the love and might of his Spirit. He healed physical evils by an intensified spiritual influence, profoundly thrilling the spirit of the patient. Why should it be incredible? Who can lay bare the hidden links of connection between moral and physical evil? between spirit and matter? Who can set limits to the triumphant power of spirit

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over material force? Who can measure the forces which lay in *that* spirit, in which was realized the highest possible union of God and man? But let it not be imagined that he wrought his marvelous works in order to attract attention, allure followers, or make converts. He was only revealing himself as Messianic King in showing mercy, and wished to be accepted because the light of his spiritual glory was shining with self-evidencing power.

If Israel had but known its King! If his own had but received him! But it soon became manifest that as a nation Israel was impenetrable, irrecoverably lost, and both unable and unwilling to own him. Christ therefore proceeded to gather round him a band of elect souls—the disciples—the most susceptible whom his eye could discern, upon whom his image might be imperishably imprinted, and whom he might fashion into the living stones wherewith to lay the foundation of the kingdom of the true religion. In proportion as the hostility of the world increased, he concentrated his activity; and, while the world was threatening his work with utter destruction, he was laying its foundation so deep in a hidden circle of souls that the gates of hell could not prevail against it. The greatest part of his earthly activity consisted in the training of the twelve—the creation of a body in which his Spirit would continually live and work, and from which it would propagate itself till it filled the whole earth.

Still the world which had once seen and hated Christ would not leave him alone. Its hatred grew fiercer, and as it grew he answered it only by uninterrupted self-revelation, by ever fuller outstreaming of the whole wealth of his love, purity, and power. Thus on the one hand the image of sin and darkness rose up in its perfect hatefulness, and on the other hand the image of perfect religion rose up in its divine beauty, and there were revealed the abysses of hell and the depths of heaven.

Christ exhausted every means to overcome the hostility of the world, and give a peaceful triumph to his cause. But recognizing at last its impossibility, and discerning that he had now so filled with himself the souls of that select band, which was the germ of all the future, that his cause would triumph even without his personal presence, he quickly ad-

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dressed himself to meet the inevitable end, nay, even joyfully, for he saw how temporal ruin would become everlasting glory, how his innocent death would most majestically reveal the glory of his person as King of the true religion, would prove itself a power to thrill the whole old-world fabric to its very foundations, and break the power of the sin and guilt of Israel and of wide humanity. Such was his death on the Cross, the glorification of the Son of man, the world conquering force, the sacrifice of love for a world needing redemption. It was finished, and Christ disappeared from the stage of time. The world had done its worst, but no power could henceforth destroy the spiritual thing which he had created. He died in shame and woe, to be eternally glorified in spirit through his image in believing souls.

The hour in which the merely temporal and the purely spiritual in Christ were sundered was the birth-hour of a new world. As a kind of natural glorification passes upon every human life at death, for all that was impure and imperfect is now clearly recognized and put aside, and all that was pure and good shines more brightly and works more powerfully, so was it with Christ in the highest degree. He was now glorified. "Glorification" is a word to express the might of the purely spiritual influence of Christ when his whole self-revelation, within time and space, was beheld with the eye of the spirit. The tragic and humiliating death of Christ, for a few days, cast the minds of the disciples into a state of utter stupor and despair; but speedily they felt his glorious image revive in their hearts, their faith and clear intuition of him as Messiah and Son of God awoke as from the dead; they had power to apprehend him as the ever-present and glorified, with such intensity of emotion and inward certainty that it was as if they had seen him, heard his voice, felt his hand and the breath of his mouth. The narratives of the appearances of the risen Christ present an exact parallel to the theophanies of the Old Testament. They are the forms in which the recollections of his spiritual resurrection clothed themselves —embodied expression ravishingly declaring the *imperishable* impression made by his whole self-revelation—and in the presence of this great idea, it is but idleness to ask what literally became of Christ's body. Every high experience of

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religious enthusiasm and ecstacy, having reached its culminating point, is followed by a sense of rest and soothing in which the substance of the experience quietly nestles down into the heart for an everlasting joy; so also was it with the disciples—such is the import of the narrative of the Ascension, of the vision of Christ peacefully and with benedictions passing away into the eternal glory and highest heavens, there to *dwell.*

7. Our limits forbid us carrying the narrative into the apostolic age; nor, indeed, is it for our purpose necessary. Ewald's conception of the nature and development of Christianity, as the true and absolute religion, must now be sufficiently clear. But we feel it to be further necessary, in as few words as possible, to refer to his biblical criticism, or rather to his views concerning the origin of the sacred writings, and the reasons which have determined the shape and character of their contents.

We have heard that the Red Indian, by noting the bending of a twig or blade of grass, can tell who has passed, and track his foe with unerring step; and that a Cuvier, from one little bone, will name and describe the animal to which it belonged. Ewald seems to feel himself endowed with a similar critical faculty, and, from indications which the common eye cannot see, to be able to trace the origin of a book, a psalm, nay, a single verse, with an incommunicable tact or instinct. Thus he knows that the book of Deuteronomy was written by a prophet whom the persecutions of Manasseh had made a fugitive in the land of Egypt, and with a view to revive the theocratic spirit of the age of Moses; that the ninetieth Psalm is a penitential prayer, belonging to the last days of the perishing monarchy; that the forty-fifth Psalm was composed in honor of Jeroboam II., son of Jehu. As a magnet can sunder the particles of steel from a heap of dust, so he puts his hand, now on this chapter, and now on that verse, and shouts, "pure and very history;" as, for example, with Genesis xiv. He knows that the Pentateuch and the Gospels exhibit successive strata of composition, and passed from hand to hand before they took their present shape; nay, he can discriminate the strata as keenly as geologists the formations of the rock, and mark the change of hand in paragraphs, verses, and phrases. There is undoubtedly a

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critical faculty of this sort, and who can limit its possible perfection?*

The idea which lies at the foundation of Ewald's work is that the narratives of Scripture are not history, but that history looks through them. A great personality, like that of Abraham and Jacob, made an indelible impression, and took captive the minds of men; but, in proportion as the actual circumstances of their lives were forgotten, the imagination clothed their image in some adequate historical form. A great action or event leaves an imperishable recollection, and the imagination glorifies it till, for example, the war in Egypt becomes a procession of miracles, the giving of the law a visible descent of God, the sustenance of the nation in its wanderings a story of bread from heaven and water from the rock. More and more the earthly, the imperfect, is forgotten, and the pure idea, the ideal glory, the eternal truth wrapped up in an incident or series of incidents, alone remain, and the narrative assumes a form of etherial beauty and grace, as in the history of Joseph. An idea, a feeling, weaves for itself an historical dress, as, for example, where the repugnance of Israel to Moab and Ammon expressed itself in the story of Lot and his daughters, or when the impression of Christ's uniqueness and sinlessness clothed itself in the narrative of his conception by a virgin. So it comes to pass, that the veritable history—actually "what happened"—is found more faithfully in the Psalms, Prophetic books, and Epistles than in the professed histories, for they are productions of the hour, not reproductions of a vanished hour. The histories of the Bible are therefore traditions, with a kernel and background of historical truth, which have passed through the glorifying (*vergeistigend*) process of time, imagination, and religious idealism. Nor can they possibly be anything else, unless we suppose—what is absurd—that miracles, theophanies, and angels are facts, and that there has been a supernatural influence exercised upon the mind and memory of man—insane suppositions of what Ewald names "die falsche Heuchelei der Unwissenschaftlichkeit," which may be translated,

* It is only just to notice here, that Ewald's work is disfigured by a spirit of most audacious arrogance. We hear him constantly asserting, "I am, and none else beside me;" for example, that sentence, "Men, such as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Keil, stand beneath and outside of all science," (unten und ausser aller Wissenschaft.)

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"the falseness and hypocrisy of the barbarians." This is the only view of the sacred writings which can justify itself to science.

8. The theory which has been thus rudely sketched is no solitary phenomenon of our age. It does not materially differ from De Wette's and Hase's.* Probably the theory of the author of Ecce Homo is substantially the same. Ewald is outdone by others, and viewed as still in the bondage of tradition and "Unwissenschaftlichkeit" by many of his compeers, by Spinozists, Hegelians, and Positivists, who loudly beckon him to follow them. But there are reasons for believing that he will exercise on the next generation a unique and very profound influence, and will be heard when many fail to obtain a hearing. His immense erudition, the glow of enthusiasm which pervades his volumes, fusing the masses of his learning into the witchery of romance, the finished symmetry of his theory, the great wealth of positive truth which it retains—retaining, as many will say, all that is necessary for religious life, not to mention the almost sublime certainty of conviction with which he speaks—will all conspire to win acceptance. The modern mind is clearly in such a condition that thousands will welcome Ewald's voice as that of a prophet, and feel that he has articulately uttered the words for which they waited. The soil is prepared for him. His work wonderfully falls in with many of the most powerful tendencies of modern thought. It will be recognized as a daring and brilliant application of the modern historical method, and illustration of the marvelous results of its pregnant touch. There are thousands who cannot part from Christ and Christianity, but labor under an invincible repugnance to the supernaturalism of evangelicalism; who feel that their head and heart have parted company; who own themselves "heathens in the head and Christians in the heart;"—and these will welcome Ewald as one who points them the way to an inward unity and self-reconciliation. While so many things promise success, we cannot ignore the fact that the Evangelical Church is in many respects unprepared worthily to answer for itself and repel the foe, while the time has passed for declamations and the vociferations of ignorance. The ade-

* De Wette's "Biblische Dogmatik;" Hase's "Leben Jesu;" Hase's "Dogmatik: Christus in der Geschichte—Christus im Gemuth—Christus in der Kirche."

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quate learning is wanting in many quarters. A sufficiently profound religious life is wanting. There is want of consolidation in the Evangelical ranks. Nay, within the Evangelical Church there are active tendencies already in league with the enemy, tendencies which a little rigorous logic (*Folgerichtigkeit*) will speedily develop to Ewaldism. An example may be found in the indefinite character of prevailing views on the nature of the Inspiration of the Scriptures. There are those, perhaps, who maintain an infallible book and an infallible text; those who maintain only one originally infallible book and text; those who surrender the idea of unerring accuracy in names, and numbers, and subordinate details; those who extend this reserve further and further, in gradually widening circles, and retain at last only infallibility of moral and religious truth; those who boldly say the Bible is not, but *contains*, the Word of God, and so on, gravitating downward till they reach a position which Ewald would accept. Another example may be found in the unsettled state of opinion on the nature of the atonement. There are those who maintain the commercial or huckster theory of the atonement; those who say that the sufferings of Christ were a satisfaction to vindictive justice, as a necessary attribute of God; that they were a compensation to the outraged honor of God; that they were rendered necessary by an emergency in the Divine government; that they were a dramatic representation to the universe of the purity of God's law; that they were an exhausting of the curse of the world in an historical process, a bearing of sin in an internal sympathy with its misery—the ethical theory, in endless modifications, retaining as long as possible the idea of satisfaction, till at last it vanishes; and, finally, those who say that divine righteousness demands only the destruction of sin, and that the cross of Christ satisfies it, because it is a moral force to expel sin from the heart and universe—to which Ewald would give unqualified assent. When it has once come to this, the mind awakes to discover that the idea of the proper divinity of Christ is altogether superfluous, and that the Christ whom Ewald depicts is adequate to our needs. We might therefore well be induced to fear that the age will fall an easy prey into the hands of Ewald.

But, on the other hand, one may boldly affirm that the

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triumph of Ewald's theory, and its general acceptance by Christendom, is a thing incredible and impossible. The Evangelical Church feels itself greater than Ewald, recognizing that there is not a single important element of positive truth in his theory which is not already included in its belief, and that it rejects only his negations. Nothing is fitted so quickly to sap the foundations of our belief in Christianity as eternal truth, and in Christ as heaven's crowning boon to the race, as to hear it said, that from the hour in which Christ disappeared, having finished his work, the Church commenced to run a career of the most wild and extravagant error, and must now proceed to undo the work of ages. We might be prepared to learn that the Church had hitherto erred by defect, and had not yet sufficiently appropriated its own treasures; but to hear that its errors have been all errors by excess, imagining God's words and works more magnificent than they really were, and Christ too great and glorious, startles the mind, and awakes revulsion. As we ponder Ewald's plausible and fascinating theory, there comes over the mind a feeling that it somehow has wrapped up within it all the superficial and plausible errors in regard to the nature of God and his relation to the world—human nature and man's sin and heaven's remedy—with which in ages past the Church grappled victoriously. We cannot imagine that the promise of the Holy Ghost to guide the Church into all truth can have been so awfully belied, and our heart answers back, while our intellect is stunned, "We cannot thus part company with the apostles, the fathers, the confessions of all Christendom, the utterance of the universal Christian consciousness." There is no use of saying that it is only a completion of the Reformation, or a second Reformation. There is no parallel between what Luther did and what is now proposed. It is utter destruction of the past, and entire revolution. The beliefs now threatened have so grown together with Christendom that, before Ewald's theory can ever be dominant, the existing Church of Christ must be swept away as the waters of a deluge.

9. Ewald's work imposes a serious and very arduous task upon biblical criticism, showing, as it does, how the highest questions of doctrinal truth are inseparably connected with its inquiries and conclusions. Biblical criticism has been too

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much esteemed among us a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. Its place is that of a son in the house, for it is apparent that even so momentous a question as that of the person of Christ is inseparably connected with it; that if the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be maintained and the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels defended against all comers, the proper divinity of Christ will also have to be surrendered, and Christ henceforth counted only the perfect man, or probably only the least imperfect hitherto. Let biblical criticism then to its task, and let us tolerantly give it room. Meanwhile we do not seem to have much to fear. We can meet Ewald confidently with a verdict of "Not proven." His peculiar opinions are accepted by very few, even of his own countrymen, and his theory of the composition of the Old Testament books is regarded as in the highest degree arbitrary. The views of those who reject the traditional opinion are legion. We may rest till their self-contradictions are hushed, and meanwhile leave them alone, as we do the biologists. The objections, on the other hand, urged against the inherited views do not seem very formidable, and seem to press lightly on the minds of thoroughly competent scholars; while the external and internal evidences in their favor are such as to shield us with strong battlements. For example, Ewald's view of the origin of Genesis and Exodus seems a sheer impossibility in the face of the minutely accurate personal knowledge of the usages of Egypt, its laws, religion, character, and climate, which every-where appears in the most artless manner. But whether the traditional opinions can be maintained or not, it is plain that such views as those of Ewald concerning the nature of the biblical narrative can never commend themselves to the popular mind—meaning, by that, sound and vigorous common sense. It will quickly answer him by saying, He makes the sacred writers no better than fools and liars, drivelers and forgers of pious frauds. Did they, or did they not, suppose themselves to be writing history and narrating facts? If they knew that the truth of the matter was as Ewald represents, then they were gross impostors —impostors, verily, of a strange sort; for who can reconcile such a supposition with the purity, guilelessness, and *naïveté*, which lend such a charm to their compositions? And if

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they did suppose themselves to be writing history, then they were only driveling idiots, and upon them falls the charge of the "falsche Heuchelei der Unwissenschaftlichkeit." Nor can we shelter ourselves from the horns of this dilemma by saying, It was a primitive age, to which we must not transfer our historical sense—for Ewald supposes the sacred writings to be the work of the sublimest spirits of an age of highest culture. If we could thus shield the writers of the Old Testament, what of the writers of the Gospels, who speak as eye-witnesses? If John was simply, as De Wette says, a "Geistestrunkener," or, as Ewald says, like a musician who, having caught a melodious strain, draws it out and rings changes upon it till it becomes a flowing symphony, then he has perpetrated a most audacious falsehood in the name of the Holy One.

10. Nothing could possibly be more suicidal than Ewald's treatment of the question of miracles. He is in the unhappy position of one who can neither altogether accept them nor absolutely reject them, and lays himself open to attacks from before and from behind. On the one hand, he cherishes a deep repugnance to the idea of miracles, starts back from them as if scared, and resolutely explains them away; but, on the other hand—and this is most apparent in his treatment of the Gospels—he has too fine and truthful an historical instinct, and too profound a sense of the glory of Christ, to endeavor to reduce even the wonderful to the common. His idea of a dynamic power, latent in spirit, potentialized in Christ to the highest possible degree, which can accomplish what transcends the normal limits of man's power, may have in it a kernel of truth. Nay, it probably contains a great and sublime truth —the truth which will be fully revealed in the glorified body and in the spiritualized heavens and earth. But if this idea be true, would it not be sufficient to conduct him to an unqualified recognition of all the miracles as literal facts? For *into what*, after all, *does the idea of the miracle resolve itself but this*—that *all the laws and forces of nature are the expression of the will of the eternal Spirit who fills the universe, whose breathing is its life, and for whom all nature is a vail and garment;* that as man's spirit can enter in among the forces of matter, and mold and bend them, so the eternal Spirit, into the energy of whose will all forces are to be

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resolved, can in a moment so direct the currents of his will that a new phenomenon shall start into being, and the *natural world is not a granite wall defying God and man, but a plastic substance*, nay, a *spiritual living thing, born* of the eternal Word, and having an ear to hear God's voice. But Ewald refuses to carry his own idea to its legitimate length. It is truly pitiable to hear him explaining away the miracle of Cana of Galilee with the trite remark, "Christ's spirit at all times turns our water into wine;" and that of the feeding of the multitude with the remark, "The true faith and love despair least where the want is greatest, and in joyful giving and receiving convert want into superfluity;" and, at the same time, gliding over the narratives in a manner so saponaceous that one can scarcely tell whether he affirms or denies the miracle. What can he expect but, on the one hand, to awake sorrow in the hearts of all who adore Christ, as he himself also does; and, on the other hand, to be greeted with the jeers of those who have advanced to an unqualified rejection of the miraculous in every shape and in every degree? We only add here, that the untenableness of Ewald's whole position in regard to the miracles is most apparent in his treatment of the resurrection of Christ. The whole question of the miraculous may be staked on the point, Was that a literal historical fact? Is there any thing in all history established by a greater weight of evidence? Can we be expected for a moment to believe that, when the apostles speak of Christ's resurrection, they meant it in Ewald's sense? Were they raving, and did they not know the meaning of words? And if that was a fact, all the miracles are facts. Ewald's narrative betrays his sense of a vast difficulty here. Who, for example, can reconcile these expressions: "Nothing is more firmly established, historically, than that Christ rose from the dead and appeared to his disciples." . . . "This condition of ecstasy through the vision of the risen one, however nearly it may border on sensible experience, was purely spiritual."—Vol. vi, pp. 69, 76. With the first of these sentences Ewald overturns his whole theory; with the second he shows how slippery the ground is on which he treads.

11. We approach a still more momentous question when we proceed to consider Ewald's view of the person of Christ.

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In the most unqualified manner he rejects the doctrine of his pre-existence and proper divinity, the incarnation and miraculous conception. "Never did Jesus, as the Son and Word of God, confound himself or presumptuously put himself on the same level with the Father and God."—Vol. v, p. 498. He reproaches the Churches with making of Christ "an idol, who will forgive their sins if they feign before him with vain words."—Vol. v, (Vovrede.) In what sense he understands the expressions commonly supposed to express his divinity and habitually used as such, we have already shown, (p. 114,) attaching to them only an ethical or ideal meaning, and denying to them any metaphysical and ontological background. Christ was simply the culminating production of humanity in its religious development, for every tendency of human nature works onward irresistibly till one appear who perfectly embodies it. Christ was literally son of Joseph and Mary, probably from one side descended from Judah and on the other side from Levi, distinguished from other men only by sinlessness, and, as such, purest expression of the true religion and of humanity according to its archetype, (Urbild;) of God also in whose image man was made, and therefore king of Israel, Lord of the kingdom of heaven, leader and commander of humanity, eternal light and Saviour, verily "the way, the truth, and the life," and "the first-born among many brethren."

Here again we have an example of the unhappiness of any man who tries to occupy a middle position, laying himself open to attack from before and behind. Ewald must advance or he must retreat; Christ is less than the perfect man, or more.

"Distinguished only by his sinlessness." But how do we know the fact of his sinlessness? From the impression which his whole self-revelation makes upon our souls, awaking on the one hand a perfect consciousness of sin, and on the other hand a quenchless aspiration to attain that ideal of holiness and blessedness which we behold in him. But there are those —such as F. W. Newman and Theodore Parker—who avow that Christ makes upon their souls no such impression of unique and transcendent moral perfection; and what answer would Ewald give to them but this: "You have not seen and known him enough; *my* Christian consciousness gives a totally different verdict on the value of Christ's self-revelation."

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What manner of answer, then, will he himself give to the witness of the Christian consciousness of centuries, when it rises up and says to him, "*You* have not seen and known him enough; we cannot rest but in a much higher answer to the meaning of Christ's self-manifestation." Will the question thus resolve itself into one of religious life and experience? Must the true and final answer be given by a profounder and intensified religious feeling?*

12. It is scarcely necessary at any length to notice Ewald's conception of the work of Christ, as it really forms an integral part of his conception of Christ's person. He does not regard him as in any proper sense a Saviour; not in the sense of procuring redemption, or alone making a life in communion with God possible to sinful man. Man could always attain the true religion without him, only not perfectly. He is king in the kingdom of the true religion, and his whole self-revelation is an infinite and inexhaustible force to raise all who yield to it to moral perfection and everlasting blessedness. Holding such a view, it is still quite possible habitually to use most of the biblical and ecclesiastical language concerning redemption, to call Christ Saviour and Mediator, to find in his cross the meaning of the Old Testament ritual, to speak of his blood as cleansing from sin, and of himself as ransom and sin-bearer; in short, to propound an ethical view of the atonement as good as that

* In the above paragraph we have twice permitted ourselves to use the expression "Christian consciousness." It is time the expression were fairly accepted and naturalized, for it compactly expresses a fact for which we have no equally pointed word. The expression is Schleiermacher's, but the idea of the word is as old as Christianity. It is no more mystical than these words of Scripture: "He that believeth hath the witness in himself;" "The sheep follow him for they know his voice, and a stranger will they not follow." Owen has expressed the idea as nearly as possible in these words: "There is a great answerableness and correspondency between the heart of a believer and the truth that he doth believe. As the word is in the Gospel, so is grace in the heart; yea, they are the same thing variously expressed. . . . The doctrine of the Gospel begets the form, figure, or likeness of itself in the hearts of them that believe; so they are cast into the mold of it. The principle of grace in the heart and that in the word are as children of the same parent, completely resembling and representing one another. Grace is a living word, and the word is figured, limned grace; as is regeneration, so is a regenerate heart; as is the doctrine of faith, so is a believer—*such a soul can produce a duplicate of the word and so adjust all things thereby.*"—On the 130th Psalm, ver. 4. Reckless charges of mysticism, and such like, are sometimes found striking nearer home than those who make them are aware of.

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of many who profess belief in the Athanasian Creed. Nevertheless, it is all non-natural language and an emasculated doctrine, and the Church will refuse to own it as reflecting its sense of redemption, or as a true reproduction of apostolical experience as mirrored in the Epistles.

13. We have adduced reasons enough to justify our refusal to become Ewald's disciples; shown sufficiently what insuperable difficulties still lie in our way. It were enough to induce us to remain standing, that we see in the theory presented to us no finality; that, by inevitable steps, it conducts further, to pure Deism or to Spinozism, nay, to Positivism, nay, to Darwinism. We are well aware, however, that the difficulty just lies here. Many see clearly enough that, if once they leave their moorings, they plunge into a bottomless abyss, and therefore remain. But they are still unhappy, and feel as if some strong force were impelling them away. The central difficulty scarcely admits of being reasoned with; it is a deep-rooted repugnance to the idea of the supernatural, not a repugnance directly based on arguments, but a kind of moral creation of innumerable currents of influence coming from many quarters, which is so fixed in thousands of minds that the Old Testament narratives awaken a sense of the ridiculous, and seem as incredible as stories of ghosts and witches. It is *the* characteristic of our age and time, and one of our deepest wants is an influence to counteract it. Ought we not to look for help to the higher mental philosophy? May it not be that Locke and Reid and Mill have been tyrannizing over modern thought? What if the truth should be found yet in some form of philosophical idealism? Or, seeing that the repugnance to admit the supernatural is to a large extent a creation of our abundant wealth and physical well-being, our material progress and our commerce—what if we need some awful baptism of blood and sorrow to loosen our grasp of material things, and compel us to own that man is spirit, and that Jehovah is greater than mighty ocean billows? Meanwhile the tendency is there, and ere long it will not only count it ridiculous to believe in Balaam's speaking ass, and in the water which issued from the jaw-bone which Samson found, but also find it as much the mark of a weak mind to believe in God and in prayer, as to believe in the mediæval legends.

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We shall now conclude this paper by indicating the services rendered by these volumes in making clear what are the pending theological issues, and what questions are most urgently demanding consideration. (1.) Not undeserving of notice, first of all, is the powerful manner in which they protest against the one-sided abstract theological tendency, and recall theology to the historical basis on which it rests. Christian truth comes to us, not as scholastic abstractions, but as the life-breath of a history. Only by the Gospel history can we approach our highest conceptions of Christ—the historical Jesus is the bridge leading to the theological Christ. But from many quarters attention is being called to this point. (2.) Ewald makes it clear that the key of the position in the present war between Evangelicalism and Rationalism is the historical veracity of the Old Testament, and, in special manner, of the Pentateuch. Every thing is lost if that must be surrendered. (3.) He makes it also manifest that these two questions, What is the Bible? and, Who was Christ? are inseparably linked together, and that the answer given to the former must determine the answer given to the latter. (4.) His hand has therefore completely torn asunder the thin vail which now separates Rationalists from Unitarians, shown where a few steps of consecutive reasoning will land the former, and how illogical is the position of those who have surrendered the proper Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, and still repeat the Athanasian creed. (5.) He has shown, therefore, that the question of questions for the hour is, What is the Bible? and that no one can render a greater service than by more thoroughly grounding the doctrine of Divine inspiration, and confirming the tottering faith of the Churches in the truth and divinity of the Bible contents. It is amazing to what an extent belief in the divine origin of the Scriptures is at this hour a mere tradition in Evangelical circles, and how few can give an intelligent answer to the question, Why do you believe the Bible to be the word of God?*

We part from Ewald with strangely mingled feelings—with such feelings as a son may be supposed to have toward a father,

* On a point of so much importance, we may be excused for calling attention to two works, "The Reason of Faith," by John Owen; "Einleitung in das System der Christlichen Lehre," von J. T. Beck. Beck's German is untranslatable, but his ideas might be reproduced.

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whose sins and errors he cannot ignore, and whom he yet tenderly reverences and loves. There is in his volumes such earnest truthfulness and noble courage and fearlessness, such fervent piety and moral enthusiasm, such a sustained recognition of inward religion as the true glory and treasure of the human soul—aye, such adoration of Jesus Christ—that one's mind is spell-bound; and while you feel that you cannot and dare not surrender yourself, you cannot but wonder, admire, and reverence. We know that most of us live far beneath our great and sublime beliefs, and that they are often rather a beautiful remote vision than an inward light and power; but there are fervent natures that inwardly appropriate every element of positive truth which they hold, whose souls refuse to allow as truth that to which they are unable to give a place in their spirit's life, and who are often greater and better than their formal beliefs. Such a one is Heinrich Ewald; and of such it is written, "To him that hath shall more be given, and he shall have abundance."

Art. IV.—DR. BENDER ON THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF MIRACLES.*

PREPARED FROM THE GERMAN BY PROF. J. P. LACROIX.

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

The question of miracles falls, first of all, into the hands of historical criticism. But after criticism has done its work, and verified the traditional assumption that the primitive records of Christianity do actually contain miraculous elements.†

The dogmatics of the past has manifestly been largely shaped by a belief in miracles; and though the dogmatics of the present lays considerably less stress on their worth for the practical religious life, still they are of really great significance

* Dr. Bender is Professor of Ethics and Hebrew at the Gymnasium of Worms. The essay, of which the first half is here presented, embraces the substance of a stout *brochure* published in Frankfort in 1871.

† The question whence these elements spring, and upon what religious conception of the universe they rest, still remains to be examined.

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for the construction of our modern Christian ontology. Dogmatics will always have to look to the history of Jesus for the elements out of which to construct its system of religious truth. Now this history, as is universally admitted, is so interwoven with miraculous occurrences, that every one who assumes any relation to Christianity at all is forced directly to face the question of miracles. In confronting this question criticism must act frankly and fearlessly. It must be indifferent as to the definitive result. It must settle the antiquity and character of the Evangelical narratives, just as it judges of other historical writings.

It has done this. It finds the antiquity of the Gospels to be such as in ordinary cases to establish their credibility. But this is an *extra*ordinary case. The import of the Gospels is, in part, of a quite unheard-of character. Hence criticism takes another step. It compares the Gospels with other writings of marvelous contents—with legends and mythology—and attempts to reduce them to the same category. But if it fails in this—if it finds traits in the Gospels which sharply distinguish them from ordinary myths and legends—then it concedes to them the right to a separate and special treatment as records of miracles, thus restoring to them the honor of being regarded as authentic history, which for a moment they seemed to have lost because of their unheard-of contents.

Thus far literary criticism renders efficient service. But now we need other help. We need now to inquire, how the Gospel writers came to their conception of miracles: whether they invented the miracles by their own formative fancy; whether they transformed into miracles mere natural phenomena; or whether their conception of miracles sprang from actual occurrences. If the latter proves to be the fact, then we can rationally proceed to examine the miracles themselves.

Now criticism affirms that miracles are, in general, a *religious* phenomenon of the nature of a reaction of the spiritual influence of Jesus upon the realm of nature. If this be correct, then it follows that miracles are legitimate material wherewith to help to the construction of dogmatics; and also, that dogmatics may be called upon to help in the construction of the idea of miracles. But as all dogmatizing, in such a case, is fruitless save in so far as directly based on the historic records, it is first of all

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requisite that we seek for the naked New Testament conception as our starting-point.

To this work we now proceed. And,

I. What Conception of Miracles did the Authors of the New Testament Form?

This question may be resolved into these two:—

1. How do these writers represent miracles?

2. How do they conceive of them as being wrought?

In answer to these questions very little help is afforded either by the particular *words* by which the miracles are designated, or by other general allusions to them.

The most common expressions for miracles are words which designate merely the unheard-of, the inexplicable. Such is this oft-recurring expression, *σημεία καὶ τέρατα*, (signs and wonders.) Both words are applied to the same occurrence, and appear merely to regard it from different stand-points. While *σημεῖον* (*signum*, sign) refers to the unseen world which reveals itself in the miracle, and which thereby invites the thoughts of the spectator toward invisible things, the other word, *τέρας*, (*portentum*, marvel,) expresses merely the effect of an unheard-of occurrence upon the earthly spectator. St. John prefers the simpler term *ἔργα*, (works, deeds.) But neither of these words contributes any thing to the notion of a miracle, as all of them may equally well designate works of magic.

Also the other stronger expressions, some of them referring to the cause of the miracles, are little more helpful. Thus the expressions: *σημεῖα μεγάλα*, (great signs,) *δυνάμεις*, (forces,) as instrumental causes or individualizations of the *δύναμις*. Also the seemingly more specific phrases: *ἔργα θεοῦ*, (works of God,) *σημεῖον ἐκ οὐρανοῦ*, (sign from heaven,) are still of so general a character that they could be used just as well of natural occurrences as of miracles.

Not finding the character of miracles in the words used to designate them, we therefore turn to the examination of the miraculous occurrences themselves. And for the sake of convenience we classify them thus:—

1. Miracles of Healing. 2. Visional and Phenomenal Miracles. 3. Miracles in the Realm of Nature and in the Person of Christ.

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1. MIRACLES OF HEALING.

That Jesus and the apostles wrought *cures*, and that these cures attracted great public attention, is abundantly attested by the New Testament. But also here the mere words used have no miraculous import. The most frequent word is *θεραπεύειν*, (to heal;) for example, Matt. iv, 22; ix, 35; Acts viii, 7. Then the like-meaning word *ἰάομαι*; for example, Luke xiv, 4. Or the more general terms, *σῴζειν*, (to rescue;) for example, Matt. xvii, 42; *χαρίζεσθαι*, (to give;) Luke vii, 21; *ποιεῖν*, (to do;) John iv, 45. Of the healing of the "possessed," the phrase *ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια*, (to cast out the demons,) Matt. xii, 27, is used in accommodation to the notion of the times as to the nature of this mysterious ailment.

Here also, therefore, we shall have to seek for the miracles proper, not in the mere words used, but in the circumstances of the occurrences. For, according to the spirit of the New Testament, the miracle is not *that* Jesus and others healed, but *how* they healed.

First, then, *What kinds* of sick were healed? They were mostly such as had been given up as hopeless by the physicians of the day—such as were considered past hope; for example, Mark v, 26. Among them were the "possessed"—utter outcasts from society; the chronically lame; the deaf and dumb; the blind; the born blind; the leprous.

Now though we cannot ascertain the precise virulence of these ailments, so as thence to infer their incurableness, yet we do find certain attendants upon their cures which imply the miraculous element.

(*a*) Nearly all of the cures are wrought *without previous examination* of the patients. It seems utterly indifferent what the precise ailment may be. The cure takes place without any medical diagnosis, and usually *suddenly*.

(*b*) Neither Jesus nor the apostles heal *as physicians;* but Jesus heals *as the Messiah;* and the apostles heal as standing nearest to him and being the *best endowed* with the graces of the Messianic kingdom. The cures are wrought in the interest of the *spread* and *edification* of this kingdom.

Hence the cures belong among the *signs* of the *advent* of the *kingdom of God*, and have, therefore, an ethical worth, in addition to their physical result. Hence they imply, both in the

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healers and in the patients, a spiritual effort; in general, a *faith* in the result; and, as the result is guaranteed solely by the character of Jesus as the Messiah, a faith *in him.* Indeed, it is directly said that this faith itself effected cures. See Luke vii, 50, *et al.* This faith constrains Jesus to accomplish cures, (Matt. xv, 28,) and encourages his apostles to attempt them. Acts xiv, 9. And unbelief is an obstacle to the cures, both on the part of the healers and of the patients. Jesus stigmatizes his disciples as γενεὰ ἄπιστος, (faithless kind,) when they proved unable to heal a demoniac. In his own home he was unable (οὐκ ἠδύνατο) to work miraculous cures because of the unbelief of the inhabitants. He directly exacts faith that he is "able to do so" as a condition of his cures, and he heals in virtue of this faith. Matt. ix, 28. And the operativeness of the healing power increases with the increase of faith. For example, Matt. viii, 5. The faith of the people and of the patients invites and aids the faith of the healers, but never takes the place of the personal faith of the latter in their own ability to heal. For example, Mark ix, 19. This faith, which the Messiah never, but the disciples often, lacked, was simply a rock-firm conviction of the success of a great work. Luke xvii, 5. Such was the faith of Jesus; hence he removes mountains, and casts them into the sea. And this faith has nothing in common with the deceptive, cunning mysteriousness of magic, or with the heated imagination of the fanatic; it seeks its power in prayer—in sober, rational prayer. It is a faith in God, who alone is the ultimate author of the cure; a faith of such character as, without him can do nothing, and with him every thing. John xi, 23–42.

This is that which distinguishes the New Testament cures from all other cures: it is their Messianic, their religious, character. We meet, in the person of Jesus, with a gift of healing which seems to come into play at first from inner Divine necessity without the conscious design of him who possesses it; (for example, Mark i, 21, *sqq.;*) and which then, heightened by its first successes, and by the awakened and confirmed faith of a people, advances step by step in potency, until finally it stamps upon the majestic brow of its possessor the seal of conscious creative power.

This gift of healing the New Testament authors interpret too deeply and earnestly to admit of its comparison with the em-

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pirical skill of a physician, or with the lunacy of an enthusiast. They represent it really as a grand religious performance, awakening among the people a wide-spread Messianic movement. Like a mighty stream, it pours its efficacy upon a whole nation, and raises a stupid, discouraged population to the height of religious faith: the kingdom of God had come. This religious character of the cures was so prominent in the minds of the writers that they could see in them scarcely any thing else. This is little or none less the case, even where there is mention of curative *means*. And precisely the consideration of these means is very helpful toward a clear view of the New Testament idea of miraculous cures, as they clearly show that Jesus and his disciples healed, not as physicians, but as bearers and sharers of the Divine Spirit.

These *means* fall under four heads:—

a) Jesus and his disciples heal through their uttered will, or their word.

b) They heal by physical means, especially spittle and oil.

c) They heal by a union of words and physical means.

d) They heal by contact with their miraculously-gifted persons.

a) The cures effected by the mere *uttered will* are by far the most numerous. In these cases a curative power is associated with the uttered words. But what the precise relation between the words and the Divine efficacy was, the narrative does not inform us. It declares simply, realistically: Jesus spoke, and the cure occurred. Luke naïvely says, that Jesus drove the fever from Peter's mother-in-law by a mere *threat*, (ἐπετίμησε,) iv, 39. Generally Jesus uses the simplest words, but sometimes he uses more ceremony, examining the condition of the patient and uttering a more solemn formula. Thus, with demoniacs, Mark ix, 25.

The patient needs not to hear the healing words; they can act from afar. Matt. viii, 13. Here, though the uttered word cannot, as word, affect the patient, yet the healing will of Jesus does not dispense with its verbal expression: the verbally-uttered will and the effected cure coincide in time. Luke v, 13.

So thoroughly did Jesus pass as possessing miraculous power, that the general consciousness of the public found expression in the words, "If thou wilt, thou canst." This is seen in Luke xvii, 14. The ten lepers had no sooner said, "Have mercy

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upon us!" than Jesus formally directs them to present themselves, as healed, to the priest. It is only while on the way that, suddenly or gradually, the leprosy disappears. The simple word, "Look up!" heals a blind man. Luke xviii, 42.

Of the apostles, also, a number of cures by mere word are recorded. But while in Jesus the miraculous power appears first as a permanent endowment from God, and then as a full personal possession, the miracle-working faith of the apostles is much less unhesitating, and is based in their presumed confi dence that Jesus had endowed them with such a power. Hence we observe in their miracles, not an appeal directly to God, but to the Messiah as the bearer of God's power. Hence their words are not the utterance of their mere personal will, but of their will as seeking its power in union with the will of Christ. They even literally attribute the causation of their cures directly to Jesus. Acts ix, 34.

Thus, however much it might seem as if the sacred writers in some cases represented the uttered words as an auxiliary means of the cures, it is yet clear that they really mean to attribute them to a spiritual power which was *native* in Jesus, and which was conferred upon his disciples as a *grace*. The uttered word appears, thus, not as a real means at all, but simply as the unessential sign of the solely operative Divine will.

b) As to the *physical means*. While the cures through uttered words are represented as taking place suddenly, they assume here the form of an organic process. We cite especially the cure of the deaf and dumb man, Mark vii, 32. Jesus takes him aside, puts his fingers "into his ears," and touches his tongue with spittle. Then he announces the accomplished cure under the form of an absolutely confident prayer. Here the spittle and the hands of Jesus are represented as *conductors*, that is, as media of the healing power. In the case in Mark viii, 22, the eyes are spit upon, and the vision returns only quite gradually. In the case in John ix, 6, spittle mingled with clay is put upon the eyes, and the patient directed to wash in the pool of Siloam. This does not seem to be a mere trial of the patient's faith; the more prominent intention seems to be, to give the means a longer time to operate. *

* Were not these complex "conductors" rather formal methods of signalizing the connection between the Lord's act and the healing result?—Ed.

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In these cases we are forced to one of two inferences: either we must hold that at that period this spittle and this oil had healing efficacy, and hence regard these cures as merely natural, or we must admit that the narrators intend to place them in the same rank as the cures effected through uttered words, and thus place their real causation in the personal power of God.

c) The union of uttered words and of physical means. Such are especially the cures effected by words *and* the imposition of hands. It is true, in many of these cases the laying on of hands is manifestly merely symbolical; in a few of them, however, the cure is fully as closely associated with the physical contact as with the uttered words. For example, Luke iv, 40.

d) Through *mere contact.* This is the highest intensity of the notion of cures through physical means. For example, the case of the woman with an issue of blood, Mark v, 30. Jesus is in the midst of a throng. Doubtless he had been many times accidentally, and even unpleasantly, touched. But he sharply distinguishes between *those* touches and the touch of the cure-seeking woman. But he observes this peculiar touch only after it had wrought its effect, for he perceived that "virtue had gone out of him." The woman, in full faith that miraculous power dwelt in his body—and induced, perhaps, by seeing him work cures, to believe that this power was set to work by mere contact—attempts to obtain the healing efficacy of Jesus, as it were, by *stealth.* The question whether Jesus had not recognized the woman's faith in the peculiarity of her contact, and hence whether the cure was not effected by his unpronounced will instead of by the mere contact with his person, can hardly be decided. The natural sense of the narrative, however, implies the contrary. It makes the person of Christ the healing power, and the faith of the woman the appropriating means.

To what result, then, do we arrive? How do the evangelists represent these cures as effected? It is clear that while in some cases they approach a physical conception of their causation, yet in general the spiritual conception preponderates. And are not the former cases readily explainable as an accommodation of the narrative to the popular impression of the day? What right would one have to expect here a strict scientific discrimination

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between the healing power and the healing means; between the healing spiritual power and the virtue-charged body? How plausible that this body was not a mere dead organ in the hands of the healing spirit! How very natural that the whole person of Jesus came to be looked on as a miraculous fountain of healing; and that the people, in thinking of the cause and means of the cures, contented themselves with the tangible and visible—his body! In fact, were it not that the majority of the cures were seemingly effected by his mere word, we would not have been surprised to find the physical notion the sole one given. As it is, however, we find this notion give way on the one side to the spiritual conception, and degenerate on the other into the superstition that the mere touching of the clothes of Jesus obtains a cure, or that it even suffices to step into the mere shadow of an apostle. Acts v, 15.

From this examination of the New Testament conception of the miracles of healing we reach the following inferences:—

1) It is unquestionable that the cures made an altogether exceptional and unique impression—an impression based on their differentness from all medicinal cures; on the absence, or merely incidental character, of the means; but especially on the undefinable religious character and superhuman power which actuated those who performed them. Equally unquestionable is it that the conception entertained by the first Christians and the evangelists, of the manner of the occurrence of these cures, was based upon the direct objective impression made upon the spectator by the cures themselves. The sacred narrative is, therefore, not scientific, but popular and realistic.

2) This conception, however, is twofold. It is never that of a purely physical influence, though sometimes that of a purely spiritual one, but mostly that of both combined. While little stress is laid upon the merely physical means—spittle and oil—perhaps because they were known not to produce the same effect in the hands of others, we observe a predominant tendency among the apostles to attribute the real source of the cures to a miraculous spiritual power *inherent* in the person of Jesus, and *imparted* as a grace to his disciples. This power was regarded by the populace as obtainable through mere physical contact; but the evangelists tend toward a higher view.

3) The fact that the cures are wrought equally readily, utterly

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irrespective of the inveteracy of the ailment, strongly suggests their spiritual source. This admission of their spiritual causation helps toward the acceptance of their historical reality. The condition of the cures was faith in the Messianic movement that went out from Jesus. The cures were moral acts on the part of healer and the healed. The emphasizing of this moral character by all the sacred writers is additional evidence that these writers regarded the ultimate ground of the miracle-working power as possessing a spiritual character.

The healing power exerted by Jesus and his apostles reached its climax in the *reanimation of the deceased*, four instances of which are recorded—three accomplished by Jesus and one by Peter.*

The text which relates them is no less genuine than any other portions of it, there being as much reason for accepting it here as elsewhere, save alone the contents of the text.

These four cases are:—

a) The raising of the daughter of Jairus, related by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with slight variations. The records do not admit of supposing her merely apparently dead. She is raised in response to the faith of the father. In the presence of the parents Jesus cries out, (seemingly to her,) "Maid, arise!" whereupon, adds Luke, naïvely, her "spirit came back." Food is at once furnished for her, thus reinstating her case into the natural order of things.

b) The raising of the youth of Nain, Luke vii. Though wrought in public, it seems to be occasioned by the chance meeting of Jesus with a funeral procession. Sympathy with the grief of the widow at the loss of her only son is the motive to the act. Jesus shows no fears of unsuccess. He calls on the procession to halt, comforts the mother, and bids the youth to arise.

These two cases are very far from being mere miracles of display. It is a touching misfortune which, in the first case, comes to Jesus for help; and which, in the second case, Jesus spontaneously or incidentally meets. The motive of compassion is *given* in the one, and is naturally supposable in the other. Though seemingly higher, the writers place these miracles on the same footing as the other cures. They do not

* Would not Eutychus be a fifth case?—ED.

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emphasize them; they attempt no explanation. Their conception of miracles is not thereby in the least heightened. It is the same Jesus who calls back life into dead limbs, and who calls back souls into dead bodies.

c) The raising of Lazarus, John xi. The catastrophe of Jesus' life is at hand. He has to avoid the hostility of the Jews. When he hears of the sickness of his friend he declares definitely, but mysteriously, that the case would not turn out fatally, but to the glory of God. It is perhaps the news of a relapse that induces him to start for Bethany. A mere cure was probably what he now proposed. But while on his way he learned, we know not how, that Lazarus was dead, and he foretold his rising. He even rejoiced that he had not been present, for his disciples would now have their faith confirmed. To Martha and Mary, who meet him with the news of their brother's death, Jesus said their brother should rise again He strengthened himself for the act by prayer: "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." Then, with a loud voice, he called into the grave, "Lazarus, come forth!" and at once he was obeyed.

We cannot regard this account as a parable. It shows no marks of being invented as a mere "allegorical proof that Jesus is the resurrection and the life." We cheerfully admit that the tendency of the writer is not to emphasize the miraculousness of the incident, but only to set it in its proper light. But this tendency does not affect the simple realistic narration, and proves nothing against the actuality of the miracle.

d) It remains to mention the raising by Peter of the benevolent Christian lady, Dorcas, of Joppa. Acts ix, 36–42. Peter happens to be in a neighboring village. He is invited, probably, to the funeral. The corpse is in an upper room, surrounded by mourners. Peter is shown the garments which Dorcas had last made. No hope is expressed that he would raise her. He himself seems to have come upon the thought all at once. He immediately drives all out of the room, and, falling upon his knees, prays for the miracle. The word of faith, "Arise," gives back life to the dead. She opens her eyes, and begins to rise. He helps her, and then presents her alive to the others.

That in these four cases the writers intend to record real

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miracles, real raisings of the dead, is not to be doubted. Though the miraculous factor is here so much greater, still the conception of the occurrence is precisely the same as with the mere cures. The writers describe the unheard-of, with even more naked simplicity than the lesser, miracles. This we can explain only as a solemn suspension of judgment in the presence of the indescribable magnitude of the occurrence. Where there was the greatest occasion for rhetorical coloring we find the greatest absence of it. Hence we cannot regard them as feats of display. They are not wrought to *make an impression.* They are not volunteered, but are called forth by cases of great distress. They are the fruits of faith in God. Mysterious as is their cause, they yet take place within the realm of nature. They are born of the same moral character as are the minor cures of the sick, and they are wrought by the same means—the word of faith. Only in one point do they differ from the cures: in the cures, the faith of the patient co-operated with the faith of the healer; but here, the healer stands alone in the presence of passive death. Doubtless, therefore, there was here a much greater intensity of faith required on the part of the healer, an intensity that was reached only on a few occasions. Hence, perhaps, the reason that so few raisings from the dead are recorded.

2. VISIONAL AND PHENOMENAL MIRACLES.

a) The visions proper. It is significant of the life of Jesus that only one vision of this kind is ascribed to him—his baptismal vision. It is given by the synoptics, and is cited as giving Jesus the stimulus to his entrance upon his public ministry. John needed not to mention it, as he begins with Jesus when already fully conscious of his Messianic character. But he mentions one that was given to the Baptist. We need not pause to reconcile the two visions. We seek only the conception that is implied. This conception of an incident that belongs chiefly to the inner soul-life of the receiver is found, naturally enough, to be quite variant. Mark conceives of the vision as a mere *inner seeing* and *hearing* on the part of Jesus, intended to certify to him his Divine call. (i, 9.) Note especially the word *εἶδεν*, (he saw,) and the address to Jesus alone: *σὺ εἶ*, (thou art.) But he also conceives

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of this vision (however occasioned by the Messianic nature of Jesus and by the popular expectations awakened by the Baptist) as having its real cause, not in Christ's personal life, nor in the popular expectation, but in the *general life of God* that hovered over them both. It is, then, this Spirit of God—to which Jesus freely yields the guidance of his personal human life—that now takes possession of him, and impels him into the desert for self-collection and self-examination. Matthew, on the contrary, does not relate that Jesus *saw* the heavens open. With a view of indicating the objective reality of the Divine impulse, he says, "The heavens were opened." But the additional remark, "And he saw," places the center of the occurrence into the sphere of Christ's subjective life, and it is uncertain whether the Divine voice was audible to all, or to him alone. The tendency to affirm the objective reality of the miracle is much more evident in Luke. To this end he describes it under the "bodily form" of a dove descending upon Christ. But he also makes the voice from heaven audible to Jesus alone, and gives to his narrative the essential features of a spiritual inner vision. Finally, John represents a Divine voice as directing the attention of the Baptist to the descent of the Spirit of God "like a dove" upon Jesus as the sign whereby he should recognize him as the Messiah. Here the conception is most nearly that of a real sensuous seeing, for it was by the tarrying of the dove that the Baptist was to be helped to the recognition.

Now, though we do not find here the same conception in all four evangelists, yet their variations are very easily reconcilable. Moreover, we stand here in the presence of absolutely undefinable occurrences, occurrences which those who experienced them could by no means fully understand. Hence the writers cannot be justly charged with gross materialization, from the mere fact that they threw the transaction into a visible form. The essential features of their conception are these: *a*) They place the scene of the vision in the inner soul-life of Jesus, or of the Baptist. *b*) They find the cause of the vision, not in the subject in whom it occurs, nor in any external incitement, but in a spiritual reality which reaches into the life of the subject, namely, in God. *c*) This Divine impulse occasions a reflex movement back to its starting-point,

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which the plastic phantasy can grasp only by giving it some sort of form. For this act of *forming*, in which the subject is plastically active, the dove, the well-known symbol of the Divine Spirit, was the most natural pattern. We have, therefore, here a vision proper—although this word really describes only the last act in the process—that is, we have a psychical state which is generated, not by the will and knowledge of him who experiences it, but by a spiritual reality outside of the subject; and the transcendent nature of this generating cause becomes the occasion of throwing it into form and place. Hence the visional beholding is really not the essential spiritual process, but only a result of it.

Quite similar to this baptism vision is the vision of St. Stephen, Acts vii, 55. Stephen had just been holding up before the Jews the mirror of their own history, perhaps in full anticipation that this frankness would cost him his life. Filled with the Holy Ghost, for whose voice the Jews had no ears, he looked up at the close of his address, as it were seeking approbation for what he had said, and he "saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand." "Behold," said he to the unbelieving multitude, "I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." Evidently the Holy Ghost is here conceived of as the cause of the vision; but this Spirit, also, as intimately in union with his own. It is the burning central thought of his discourse that now presents itself before his spiritual eyes in transfigured supermundane form. We see so clearly into the personal genesis of this spiritual beholding, that it is not very difficult to follow it step by step. This vision is, much more readily than the baptism vision, comprehensible as a psychical process; for though the Divine factor, the Spirit, is present also here, yet we readily see how, through the inspired speech of Stephen, this Spirit pours itself over into the soul of the orator, and then causes this soul to behold, in a spiritual vision, that which agitates it within. Of course, here also the inner picture naturally projects itself without, and seeks form and place outside of the subject. Another example of how readily an intense spiritual emotion assumes the form of a concrete picture is furnished by the utterance of Jesus, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," Luke x, 18.

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In this place belong, also, certain recorded *visional addresses.* These, though widely differing from the visions proper, yet resemble them in having their cause outside of the subject. But back of the spiritual impression made by them stand not only the word-form, in which they clearly clothe themselves, but also the bodily shape of Him who, though *per se* without form, is yet beholdable by man under some assumed form. In several passages it is said that God, or the angel representing or personifying God, spake "in a vision" to the bearers of his revelations. For example, Acts viii, 26; ix, 10; xviii, 9. These are doubtless to be understood in the spirit of the above remark. We need only allude here to the analogous psychical process whereby all inner impressions at once shape themselves into words and images.

Accordingly, we think we do no violence to the spirit of the sacred writers in asserting that they really locate the miracle proper in the Divine proto-cause, as affecting the personal life of the beholder of the vision, that is, in the spiritual process, of which the vision itself is but the effect. But just as, and for the same reason as, in the case of the cures, they give not directly the incomprehensible first cause, but the more visible instrumental cause,—so also in the visions they abide by the formal manifestation. Hence in these cases the real miracle is no more the outer vision than are the outward means the miracle in the case of the cures.

But how fully this spiritual seeing is an integral part of the life of Jesus and of his disciples, and how much we should beware, even where it attains to its climax in spiritual visions, of strongly emphasizing, or of finding the miracle proper in, the special form and the sensuous colorings in which the sacred writers had to receive and present them, is manifest from John i, 51, where the Lord promises to his disciples as a permanent gift of Divine grace that they, with him, should see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

It is still more easy to form some conception of the genesis of a *dream-vision*, such as is found, for example, in Acts xvi, 9. But readily as we may understand how the vision of this man of Macedonia, calling Paul to come and preach in that country, should rise up before the mission-filled soul of the apostle,

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yet this dream is specifically different from others, in that it induced Paul and his companions to feel that God had *thereby* specially called them to a specific duty. The peculiarity lay, doubtless, in its definite intensity.

b) Visional ecstasies. Though doubtless no vision can be conceived of without an ecstatic state, yet the ecstasy itself is sometimes so emphasized in itself, or so distinctly mentioned as accompanying the vision, that we feel justified in making this subdivision. And by an ecstasy we mean, in general, the withdrawal of the soul from the totality of its immediately surrounding and influencing relations, by the concentration of its attention upon one single all-absorbing object.

We have to consider here especially the Pentecost miracle, (Acts ii, 1,) and the visional ecstasy which forced Peter to renounce his Jewish prejudices, and to carry the Gospel into a Gentile house, Acts x, xi.

The narrative in Acts ii, does not inform us of the incidents that preceded the wonderful phenomenon of Pentecost. It does not appertain to the naïve grade of historical composition represented in the New Testament, to seek out the logical causal *nexus* of the incidents described. The narrative is for the most part a mere successive enumeration of objective facts; and it remains the duty of ripened Christian thought to seek and explain influences and chains of causation which are only remotely explained in the sacred text—chains which were yet hidden from the writers by the sensuous objectivity of the occurrences. Whether or not in that "accordant assembly" burning words had been uttered which refreshed their memories of the risen Christ, and intensified their glowing expectation of his return among them; and whether, at the moment of such intense spiritual emotion, the fullness of the Divine Spirit was not poured out, which thenceforth rested upon the disciples, the writers do not inform us. But even if, as is probably the case, such a relative preparation had taken place, yet we should do the greatest violence to the spirit of the narrative were we to place in this mere preparation the actual cause of that Spirit-outpouring, the essential and divine fullness of which is so manifest in its effects. For the real miracle is not placed in the intensified God-consciousness of the disciples, but in this consciousness as suddenly and freshly gifted by an

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outpouring from above. Now, although this coming into the soul of new Divine energies, this awaking of the soul by a Divine inspiration from without, was the real significance of the pentecostal phenomenon, yet it is very natural that the realistic description of the same should stop at the sensuously visible extraordinariness in which the spiritual miracle immediately reflected itself. It is a general experience that the impressions which strike our senses stir us most deeply, even though also most transiently; and it is undeniable that our descriptions of all spiritual processes are largely made up of mere materializing and personifying expressions. How natural, therefore, that the unscientific historical consciousness of the evangelist should pause longest at this sensuous phase of all earthly reality! And how readily explainable that his description should appear more helpless, and even clumsy, precisely where it touches upon phenomena which have purely spiritual causes, and which, therefore, are all the less definable, and all the more vague in outline!

Hence the curious circumstance, that what we scarcely allow to the Christian artist of the nineteenth century as mere visible symbols, we yet find quite excusable in the pen of the Christian writer of the first century, as a first attempt at the description of the indescribable—we mean the "divided and fiery tongues," and the Spirit that "settled upon each." The sensuous reflex which was produced in the transfigured countenances and burning tongues of the pentecost Christians by this extraordinary effusion of the Spirit, appears, indeed, more simply and beautifully described in Acts vi, 15, as an angelic glowing of the face. But doubtless the first glow of the Spirit shone more vividly in the eyes and on the lips of its first heralds than on later occasions. Thus we can partially understand why the thunder-like roaring of the wind, and the trembling of the earth, should have more violently struck the sensuous consciousness than did the invisible beginning of a new spiritual life; and thus we can also understand why these physical attendants should be placed by the writer in the foreground of his description. That the writer has in mind a real trembling of the earth, as attendant upon the effusion of the Spirit, appears clear from verse 6, where he seeks in this natural phenomenon the cause that brought together a multitude

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of people around that birth-house of the Christian community. It is equally clear that the writer means to say, that this first mighty fullness of the Spirit broke course for itself before the collected multitude in languages with which the speakers were but very slightly acquainted.

We have here, accordingly, a visional ecstasy which, as described by the historian, has the following characteristics:—

a) It was produced by a substantial cause lying outside of the will and consciousness of its subjects. It was wrought suddenly, though not without the intervention of means. Its cause did not merely intensify the God-consciousness of its subjects, but actually implanted in their expectant souls, qualitatively, new divine life-forces—forces which formed the basis for the actual Christian life of the Church.

b) It not merely throws a beaming reflex upon the physical being of its subjects, but it also, at the moment of its entrance into their personal life, sets free and awakens spiritual capabilities, which seem again to have disappeared with the subsidence of the first over-pressure of this spiritual effusion. The so-called speaking with tongues, elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament, is uniformly explainable after the analogy of prophetico-apocalyptic imagery.

c) It reflects itself in a convulsion of nature; but we are not informed whether that convulsion stood in a merely accidental, or in a necessary, or in what sort of, connection with the effusion of the Spirit. It, however, furnishes an illustration of how spirit and matter are, in the last analysis, moved by the same almighty God.

The term "visional ecstasy" applies less literally to the miracle of pentecost than to the *vision of Peter*, Acts x.

This vision is all the more noteworthy as it appears to have been forced upon Peter without the least predisposition in him for it, in order to break down his obstinate prejudice, that the Gospel was to be preached first to the Jews, and then imparted to the Gentiles only as perfected Judaism. Peter had gone up upon a housetop just before noon to pray. While in a state of hunger he is suddenly thrown into an ecstasy, and made to see that well-known vision intended to teach him that nothing that God has created is unclean. This significance of the vision becomes clear to him only by its strict coincidence with the mes-

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sage from Cornelius. If it be insisted that the hunger was a predisposing cause for this vision, it is still very difficult to explain, from this cause, how the offered meal should be one that was so unpalatable, and even disgusting, to any Jew. On the contrary, the purpose of the writer is to show that the whole vision, with its (at first not understood,) meaning, was directly sent to Peter by God. This is evidenced by the subsequent conduct of the apostle, by whom it is so difficult to regard the Gentiles as no less prepared for Christianity than were the Jews. We have here, therefore, as it appears, the first instance of an entirely unmediated miracle—a Divine hand grasping into the totally unprepared, nay, even resisting, personal life of the apostle. However, that which seemed to be lacking in the preparation is made up in the result. The impulse that Peter receives at first as a violent shock is afterward fully overcome; the mission that is imposed upon him becomes, at last, his deepest personal conviction; and fruits of it all are the Christianized Gentile family.

The nature of this vision must, according to the spirit of the whole account, be regarded as a purely inner one. Here, then, as also in the pentecost miracle, we see in the vision a direct sensuous reflex of the Divine impulse.

The chief additional feature is the address which Peter hears. Of course we are no more bound to lay here great stress upon the articulated words which are represented as attending the vision, than upon the sensuous forms and colors in which it is portrayed. It is quite conceivable that the vision itself, *as such*, impressed him who saw it, and that he, then, shaped this silent speech into the words in which alone he could understand it. So also in the case of the vision of Ananias, (Acts ix, 10,) the essential miracle is the injunction to go and help Paul; the form in which this direction was given—the minute naming of street, etc.—may be the work of the man himself, who, perhaps well-acquainted with the stopping-place of Paul, naturally enough attributes the naming, etc., to the author of his dream. Compare also Acts xxiii, 11; xxvii, 23. For the understanding of these visions, the passage 2 Cor. xii, 1 is of weight. Paul glories here in his "visions" and "revelations" as of quite frequent occurrence, and as constantly attending his life. He cites the case of, as it seems, a friend of his who was "caught up to

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the third heaven." And Paul adds the noteworthy remark, that he knew not whether this friend was "in the body" or "out of the body." Thus, therefore, we have here a conception of those ecstasies according to which the entranced soul may, with the object of its Divine longing, rise entirely above its earthly body.

c) Visional apparitions. In the middle space between visions proper and ecstasies on the one hand, and real miraculous appearances on the other, there stand a number of visions which apparently result from a real apparition. Of course the sacred writers were just as unable as we to draw a definite distinction between the visions and the apparitions. But certainly we would go too far should we conclude, from their lack of critical ability and of clear conceptions of space, reality, essence, and phenomenon, that they were totally incapable of distinguishing between the reality of a vision projected into the outer world from their own inner life, and the reality of an apparition influencive from without upon their whole personal life. For the clearness of one's conception of space is by no means the measure of the correctness of one's judgment as to the reality of an apparition. The plain, natural judgment of uncultured man is not easily deceived as to whether an impression arises purely from within, or is wrought by a real cause outside of the subject. And it is quite indifferent whether this cause produces its effect outside or inside of the subject. The person affected will always distinguish it from himself, and project it outside of himself, if he is convinced of its substantial objective reality as different from his own being. Whether philosophical reflection discards sensuous objectivity as a medium for these seemingly unsensuous apparitions, and regards them, like visions proper, as falling merely upon the spiritual retina, is here quite indifferent. Enough that the sacred writers recognize, in addition to the above discussed visions, also such ones as, in their view, are produced by appearances to which they seem to attribute a reality quite other than that of the appearances in the acts of visional phantasy. This is evident also from the fact that they regard these appearances, not as the results, but as the causes of the visional state.

1. Among these middle phenomena, between mere visions and real apparitions, are the cases which are introduced by the

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words "in a vision." Thus it is related of the Roman centurion Cornelius, (Acts x,) that he saw an angel in a vision in broad daylight. The objective reality of the vision is vouched for by the terror with which it inspired him. But that these apparitions are seen, as it were, with other eyes than those which see ordinary things, is clearly implied in the expression "in a vision," that is, in the ecstatic state. The cause of the appearance seems, therefore, previously to prepare the person to whom it appears for the act of beholding; that is, it must itself initiatively bring about the mysterious conditions under which alone it is visible. This itself distinguishes it essentially from the vision, which only projects, as it were, an inner experience upon the enlarged retina of the phantasy. The apparitions are beholden in the visional ecstasy, but they are the *cause* of this ecstasy, and they thereby have claim to a higher reality than that of the visional phantasy. However probable it may be that this "seeing in a vision" implies that the appearance is unsensuous, and perceptible alone to the spirit, (2 Cor. xii, 1–7,) this much is quite unquestionable, that to this "appearance in a vision" a different reality is ascribed from that of the "appearance of the vision."

The sudden "trance" that fell upon Peter enabled him to see that great sheet full of unclean beasts; the "appearance" that had occurred to Cornelius raises his condition to that of ecstasy. The reality of the apparition is evident also from the seemingly strange, or at least unexpected, requirement to send for Peter. But, as already observed, the difference between a miraculous vision and a miraculous apparition is vague and fluctuating. In the case in Acts xxii, 17, the distinction would be difficult to make.

2. This is now the proper place for the consideration of the scene of the Transfiguration. The expression *δραμα*, (vision,) which Jesus himself applies to the strange occurrence, may as well designate the thing beholden as the beholding of it; hence it argues no more strongly for the visional than the substantial character of the incident. The conception of the sacred historians is, however, most unquestionably, that the *δραμα* was primarily produced by a change which took place in the person of Jesus. The decisive word here is, *μετεμορφώθη*, (he changed himself,) Mark ix, 2. Luke (ix, 29) adds the significant obser-

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vation, that this change in the appearance of Jesus took place while he was in the climax-act of the spiritual life—in prayer. Of course this change in Jesus is meant in a quite different sense from the angelic-appearing countenance of Stephen. And yet we cannot be justified in taking the face that shone "as the sun," and the raiment gleaming "like snow," as other than a practical attempt to utter an unutterable reality, sublime above all poetry.

Thus far we have before us unquestionably the real miraculously spiritualized and clarified appearance of Jesus, which reveals its inner glory through the crude materiality of earthly garments; an appearance that is certainly to be understood in close analogy with the subsequent appearances of the Resuscitated, whose higher nature already here gleams through its "earthly house." But now there immediately join him the heroes of the Ancient Covenant, in order expressly to recognize him as the Messiah in the presence of the disciples. Peter, impressed with the objective reality of the miraculous occurrence, raises the rash query whether he shall not build tents for them. And though Mark excuses this question by the observation that Peter, from fright, knew not what he said, yet this does not imply that Mark conceived the occurrence as less objectively real than the other evangelists. The audible Divine voice, which here solemnly ratifies afresh the Messianic character of Jesus, and which coincides in time with the appearance of the mysterious visitants of Jesus, causes the disciples to lose consciousness of the outer world, and they fall powerless to the earth; and when Jesus arouses them with cheering words the vision has vanished.

3. Also the conversion of Paul is represented as occasioned by a real appearance of Christ. No other miracle of the New Testament is better vouched for than this. However much Paul may have been prepared for a sudden change in favor of Christianity, still to take this preparedness for also the *cause* of his conversion, or even for that appearance of Christ which occasions it, and upon which he bases his apostolic authority, would be a gross violation of all the laws of life and of thought. Both the narrative and the apostle himself place the decisive impulse which casts the Jew to the earth and causes him to rise a Christian, in an apparition to him personally of the ascended

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Saviour. This apparition is seen by Paul alone, and not by his attendants; a fresh confirmation of our previous remark that a visional appearance imparts to its subject a higher and more spiritual power of vision. For this heightened ability there must of course be a prepared ground in the nature and character of the persons receiving it.

While the appearance was of a spiritual character, yet it also presents itself in its physical effects as in some manner sensuously perceptible: Paul becomes blind from the rays of a light suddenly falling upon him. Also, the attendants of the apostle *hear* a voice, though without understanding it.

The undefinableness of the occurrence appears also in the judgment of Paul himself. While the declaration that God had revealed his Son "in him" seems to favor the visional explanation, other expressions, such as, "I saw the Lord," assure us of the objective reality of the appearance, without which, in fact, neither his prostration to the earth, nor his being blinded, nor his subsequent thorough change of life, can be accounted for.

4. The conception of a real angel-apparition is also recognizable in the account of the rescue of the imprisoned and sentenced Peter from the power of Herod Agrippa. Compare Acts xii, 9. And the fact of the rescue, and of the overcoming of the opposing obstacles, vouch for the correctness of this conception of the historian. Even should the angel here be regarded but as a symbol for the miraculous presence of God, still the falling chains, the passing by the guards, and the opened prison door, are such an unheard-of wonder that we can hardly avoid the thought of some sort of sensibly-perceptible Divine manifestation. This presence of God leads the dreaming Peter into freedom; and this feature of the case sharply distinguishes it from any form of somnambulism.

5. The angel-appearances at the empty grave of the risen Saviour are presented in the Gospels as visions based on reality. But the circumstances were peculiarly adapted to poetic personification. Hence the slight difference in the narratives are readily explained. The process of personification seems to have grown with the remoteness of the date of the narrative. The earliest writer, Mark, relates, quite simply, that the women had *seen* at the empty grave a "young man." Luke describes *how* they saw him, or them. Matthew uses much more sensuous

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expressions, describing how an angel "came down from heaven," and, amid a terrestrial convulsion, rolled away the stone. Evidently, here the conception of the apparition which announced the resurrection is merged into that of the angel which personified the power of nature. Compare Acts xii, 23. Also the terrifying impression represented as being made upon the woman, argues for the realistic conception of the historians. Finally, John introduces the angel at once as talking, and declaring the resurrection.

d) The appearances of the risen Christ. The appearances of the risen Saviour differ from all of the apparitions thus far examined, in the fact that they are not said to have occurred to the disciples "in a vision"—ἐν ὁράματι. On the contrary, they behold him with clear, cool, criticising, though astonished, bodily eyes. His appearance, although in a changed form, bears the impress of his personal character; it manifests itself in personal actions, enters into the existing state of things as if perfectly at home in them, and is looked upon as a miracle, but not as a mere spirit from the other world. In short, the appearance of Jesus, as presented to us in the New Testament, is that of a life perceivable by fleshly hands and bodily eyes.

Mary, who was one of the first to see the risen Lord, fails to recognize him at once. She takes him for the gardener; but he addresses her, and by this address she recognizes her Lord. Why he now tells her not to touch him is difficult to understand. Also, Jesus accompanies the disciples to Emmaus without their recognizing him. They take him for a man like themselves, and are astonished only at the circumstance that he seems to know nothing of the crucifixion of the Nazarene whom they had taken for the Messiah. This non-recognition is explainable from the fact that they had not clearly understood Jesus's prediction of his own resurrection, and hence they were so far from the thought that the crucified One could be alive again! But Mark observes that Jesus had appeared to them ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, (in another form,) xvi, 12. Hence Jesus finds it necessary to resort to characteristic signs and acts in order to bring to their consciousness his real identity with his former self. Among these belong especially his breaking of bread and the repetition of the miraculous draught of fishes, John xxi, 2.

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All these appearances are but transitory, simply sufficing to satisfy the disciples of his resurrection. He appears suddenly in the room when the doors are shut; he is in an instant in the midst of the disciples, and as suddenly he vanishes.

As the first appearances assure the disciples that their crucified and buried Lord is risen, so the later ones overcome their doubt as to the objective reality of his risen nature. This nature must, therefore, have been of a very strange, though sensuously perceptible, character, as is also evident from the manner of his appearing and vanishing. Hence, in order to banish from them the suspicion that he is *only* a spirit, he eats in their presence. Hence he causes doubting Thomas to feel the wounds in his side; and the recognition of his identity induces him to fall at his feet with the confession, "My Lord and my God!"

The expressions *ἐφανερώσεν* (appeared) and *ἐφανερώθη* (was manifested) designate, therefore, the coming into visibility of the now glorified, and hence essentially invisible, life of the risen Saviour. They seem to imply, also, that this entrance into the world of sense was of a sudden character. And, in fact, every appearance of Jesus is essentially a becoming-flesh of his exalted life. This thought furnishes the solution of many a difficult point—such as his post-resurrection eating, his being felt, his appearance in a room when the doors were shut, and his vanishing under like circumstances. As the earthly Jesus had once revealed to his disciples upon the Mount of Transfiguration the eternal essence of his life, so now the immortal Jesus reveals himself to the same disciples in order that they may learn to believe that he is the true, living, and Divine Messiah. The vision-hypothesis has, therefore, no application to the accounts of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus.

Of the departure of Jesus from the earth, Luke says (xxiv, 51) simply, *διέστη*, (he was parted.) Mark says, *ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, (he was received up into heaven.) In Acts i, 9, it is said, *ἐπήρθη*, (he was taken up.) And then is added, "that a cloud received him out of their sight"—the simplest and most evident meaning of which is, doubtless, that he disappeared in an inexplicable and mysterious manner. We may here, therefore, understand this last vanishment of Jesus

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strictly in analogy with the other disappearings and vanishings of the risen Lord. The so-called ascension of Christ is accordingly simply the last appearance and the last vanishment of the glorified life of the Lord.

On glancing back now at the different kinds of miracles passed in review—at the miraculous cures, and visions, and apparitions—we cannot avoid the conclusion that it is the same Divine Spirit that pervades them all, that exalts these visions high above all baseless delusions, that gives these cures their ethical and spiritual character, and that manifests itself also morally in connection with them. These miracles, almost without exception, mark mighty epochs in the establishment and development of the kingdom of God, and they are either the direct and immediate causes which did the work, or they contributed thereto as essential factors.

As with the cures, so also with the visions and appearances. We can point to their conditionment through persons and circumstances, both in their origin and in their efficacy, as an indication of their historical truth; and we can point to their inexplicability out of any predisposition of the persons, or out of the preparedness of the ground upon which they were wrought, as also to the absolute necessity of the assumption of a new Divine creative reality underlying and manifesting itself in them, as evidence of the same supernatural power which the sacred writers also clearly implied as the true, efficient cause in the cures. Any careful examination of their narratives will leave scarcely a doubt as to the essential identity of their miracle-conception in all the varying cases of healings, raisings from the dead, visions, and objective apparitions. This will appear still more clearly further on, when we shall inquire as to the unitary cause of all miracles. We will here only allude to the fact that the New Testament is inspired both with the recognition of an especial Divine guidance of the agents and incidents of the kingdom of God, and also with the faith that the working of cures was one of the chief functions of the Messiah. The Spirit of God, which is so clearly distinguishable from the human spirit, both by its mightiness and by its irresistibleness, is presented as the guiding principle both in the life of Jesus and that of the apostles. This Spirit can fulfill its providential mission equally well by an impres-

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sion upon the heart, which forms itself for the subject into the shape of audible words, or through a direct vision, whether in waking or in sleeping. This Spirit helped the disciples also by appearing under the form of angels, and by enabling the risen Lord to become visible.

Art. V.—GERMANY AND THE JESUITS.

A CENTURY ago the Order founded by Loyola had succeeded in making itself so troublesome and distasteful to its own Church, that the pope of the period, Clement XIV., issued a decree for its dissolution. The nations which had been rent by intestine feuds, fomented by these universal disturbers of the peace, doubtless rejoiced over this great relief from their burdens, and fondly imagined that their descendants, at least, would be relieved from this scourge. But in this they were mistaken. The Jesuits have no such word in their vocabulary as dissolution. Defeat and discomfiture they are used to, for their history has been a most checkered one; but we fear the world will yet see many revolving years, and perhaps ages, before it will be wise enough to afford them no retreat as an arena for their wiles.

They were brought together into their organization for the special purpose of combating the principles of the Reformation, which, at the period of their birth, were making such rapid progress among all the Catholic nations of Europe; and as long as the antagonism shall exist between the Protestant and the Papist, so long there will be some spot or some cause in which they will be welcome; for the object of their creation was not to assume the pastoral relation in imitation of the great Shepherd, but rather to be the soldiers of the Church, and fight its battles against the inroads of heresy. To this end they assumed the sword rather than the crozier, and made intriguing wiles their daily weapons. They insinuated themselves into the courts of all nations, and, by political intrigues, succeeded in many in gaining so great a foothold that the temporal power, in more than one instance, was in the

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hands of the Church in reality, while the State waked up, too late, to find that its scepter was passing from it.

Thus Jesuitism waged its battles in France, Spain, Italy, Germany; in all Europe, in fact, till the combined nations of Catholic Christendom arose in a body and demanded of the pontiff the extinction of the Order, which was granted, and executed by the head of the Church in 1773. The Jesuits knew that it was necessary to bend for a time before the storm which they had conjured; so they simply sought retreats where they could carry out one of the objects of their organization, which was that of propagating the religion of their Church by missionary effort, and of obtaining control of all public and private education, with a view of silently rearing up a race that would be under their command. In the line of missions, we need merely point to the labors and the conquests of the Jesuit fathers in all Canada, along the chain of our great lakes, down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, throughout this latter country, and, indeed, all South America. It may be safely affirmed that all the Catholicism planted in this entire continent in earlier years was the labor of the Jesuit missionaries.

But many of them found retreats in neighboring lands not under the sway of the Roman pontiff, especially in Prussia and Russia. Frederick the Great took a pleasure in being able to do what other sovereigns feared to do. Though Protestant, he cared but little for the precepts of his faith, as may be seen in his admiration of Voltaire, and his intimacy with him; and therefore he seemed to take a pride in opening his doors to the exiled Jesuits, as his fathers before him had sheltered the fugitive Huguenots. If any other motive than that of pride in the liberty of his country impelled him to this deed, it was the desire to show his power and fearlessness in all combats of principle, for it does not appear that he cherished any love for their peculiar tenets. Suffice it to say, that in this way the Jesuits obtained their foothold in Prussia, and from that day to this have used the advantages accorded to them to further their own special interests, and are now stinging the bosom that warmed them into life. It is rather an interesting fact, that as the Prussians look back with pride to the martial spirit implanted by Frederick's efforts in the

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hearts of his people, and whose military glory and achievements have been their pride and their inspiration, so they may attribute to his indifference in the matter of religious principles the growth in their midst of that power with which their armies and their statesmen are engaged in almost deadly struggle.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, with all their bitter teachings and experience to the various nations of the Continent, gave the Jesuits an enviable and much-prized opportunity to work for their own restoration; and as, at the fall of Napoleon, the world was willing to submit to any action that partook of a conservative character, and to give the Church the power rather than to the State; so, thus, in the heyday of conservative reaction, the pope, who had received so many indignities at the hands of the French conquerors, was willing to embrace and restore any agents who might aid in re-establishing the power of the afflicted Church. Thus the Jesuits were restored to favor with the Holy See, and entered on a new career in the bosom of the Church. As a logical sequence, one might have expected their withdrawal from Prussia, but they were far from surrendering the Protestant ground so fortunately gained. As teachers in the schools and higher institutions, as preceptors in the families of the nobles and princes, they had gradually gained great vantage-ground, and made very fair progress in introducing the Catholic Church into Prussia. This they had done under the shield of protection to all religious faiths, which had been learned from Frederick; and thus the Catholic Church was fairly installed in Prussia, and finally enjoyed the protection and pecuniary support of the State, according to the ratio of numbers.

The sovereigns of Prussia all regarded the Catholic Church as a fair claimant for their care, and especially when the Catholic Rhine provinces were annexed to the ancient Prussian realm of the House of Brandenburg. The Jesuits were therefore allowed to pursue their way unmolested, although they were not formally recognized by the State until about 1855, and but little concern was expressed that they could be of any harm. Occasionally in their so-called missions, which are their revival seasons, they were censured for carrying their work into the midst of Protestant communities, and holding them in the open air so as to become offensively prominent to the Protest-

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ant people. But beyond some little friction of this nature they met with no obstacles, and they were virtually protected by the Government with as much care as was accorded to the regular State Church. They took advantage of these unusual opportunities in a Protestant land to extend their power, and, far more than was suspected by the educational department of the Government, insinuated themselves and their dependent orders into all the schools, high and low, and thus very greatly increased the sources of their power and growth.

The fearful humiliation of Austria by the power of Prussia in the famous seven days' campaign caused, without doubt, many misgivings on the part of the Catholic Church at the rise of Protestant Prussia as the ruling power in Germany; but the conquests of Prussia affected Protestant as well as Catholic powers—as in the case of the kingdom of Hanover, for instance—and the ebullitions of religious feeling were soon quelled. When the Franco-German war suddenly burst upon the scene there was an evident desire on the part of the Catholics of South Germany to oppose Protestant Prussia in favor of Catholic France; but it was by no means so strong as Napoleon had expected and hoped that it would be; and, after a trifling hesitation, the whole German Confederation rose to the patriotic cry of the "Guard of the Rhine," and all that the Catholic priesthood could do, in blessing the departing regiments, was to appeal to them not to let the contact with Protestant soldiers weaken their Catholic faith. The astonishing and unexpected victories of the German columns soon swallowed up the whole land in one glow of patriotic effusion; and commanders and men from all sections fought side by side, and their blood mingled in one common cause, so that it was hoped no question hereafter would divide the German hosts either in council or in war.

But the very victories of the Germans bore with them the seeds of discontent. The defeat of the French arms permitted Victor Emanuel to enter Rome, at the request of its citizens, and to become its temporal sovereign; and the deposition of Pius IX. from his worldly throne was thus virtually the work of Germans. This was, of course, distasteful to the vast mass of German Catholics, who were still under the influence of the bishops; who, though opposed to the dogma at the Council,

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promulgated it at home, to the dissatisfaction and discomfiture of the respective Governments. And, again, it was clear that the fortunes of war had reduced France to such weakness that the papacy need not, for the nonce, look to her for protection who could not protect herself, and therefore, if the temporal power of the pope was to be restored at an early period, it could only be done by the Germans. In the meanwhile the rapid course of events soon demonstrated that the Germans would accomplish their national unity on French soil while intoxicated with the glow of victory, and away from the intriguers who, at home, might have interposed obstacles. The policy of the Jesuits and the Vatican was instantly decided on: "We give our consent and aid to this scheme only on condition that Pius IX. shall be permitted again to ascend his temporal throne." And the powers at the Vatican knew that this scheme of German union was so dear to the German people that they would sacrifice or promise much to secure it.

A messenger was therefore dispatched to King (now Emperor) William, while yet at Versailles, to sue for his interference in the reinstatement of the pope for the *quid pro quo* on the part of the German bishops of support to the German policy of unity. Thus a Protestant prince is entreated to restore to power a Catholic ruler deposed by a Catholic people. It is not often that history presents so cool a proceeding. It is asserted that this confidential messenger was no less a personage than Archbishop Ledochowski, the famous Polish bishop who, in the sequel, has led the ranks of the Catholic opposition up to the walls of a prison-house. The German ruler is said to have met the prelate with kindness, but firmness; to have assured him that the Catholic subjects of Prussia and Germany should receive all the protection from the State that they had ever enjoyed; but that it would be impossible for Germany, and especially for Protestant Prussia, to interfere with Catholic Italy with a view to reinstate the pope in his temporal chair. And because of this very sensible and natural decision the Jesuits accuse Bismarck of having commenced this contest. But, so far from this being the case, it was the ardent desire of the great German statesman to have no embarrassing questions arise to complicate the one great work of uniting all Germany into one consoli-

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dated empire, in accordance with the dreams and hopes of all patriotic Germans since the fall of Napoleon.

Even the probabilities are all on the side of this view of the question; for, without any religious complications, it would be difficult enough to reconcile all the conflicting interests of people and rulers so as actually to effect the work of practical and successful consolidation. But at the very first movement made, after the return of the principal armies and statesmen to Berlin and the other German capitals, to bring together a German Parliament which should represent the whole country, and proceed to crystallize its various elements and organize the new Government, it was very clear that there was a growing opposition on the part of the Ultramontane Catholics to the scheme of a German Empire; and it was also very clear that this opposition was led by the Jesuits and favored by the Pope. Bismarck regretted this alienation, and doubtless feared it, as well he might, and was determined to adopt every means to avoid it that might be honorable and just. He knew that if the Jesuits could control the Pope in this matter between Germany and the Vatican harmony could never be restored, if for no other reason, at least because it was impossible to get his ear for an unprejudiced hearing of the situation, believing that the alienation was more a matter of misunderstanding than intention. He, therefore, resolved to send a special embassador to the Holy Father, as spiritual prince of the Church, who might become the avenue of frequent and direct communication between the Powers, without any Jesuit intermeddlers. And he was fortunate in having at his command for this purpose a high Catholic official in the person of Cardinal Hohenlohe, who, he hoped, would be able to represent the German interests at the Vatican without displeasing the Papal Court, and would be able, if any one could perform this task, to separate him from his Jesuitical surroundings, and convince him that the real welfare of the Catholic Church would be advanced by rejecting their counsels to interfere in the political plans with reference to the German Empire. But the Jesuits well knew that the only way to assist their sole remaining friends in France was to hound on a religious war in Germany, and this they had determined to do at all hazards, and therefore they exerted all their influence on the Holy Father against any thing like con-

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ciliatory measures. They had a splendid plea in the fact that Cardinal Hohenlohe was a brother of the Bavarian prince who had spoken so freely in regard to the plans of the Council before its convocation, of its proceedings while in session, and the dogma proclaimed at its close, and therefore could not come with friendly intent. The result was that the Pope refused to accept him as embassador before he left for his post, alleging for this measure some very frivolous reasons that poorly covered this open hostility to the German Government.

This was heralded to the world in the Italian journals as a victory of the Jesuits, and of course induced an open rupture between the Powers. It was an insult of so decided a character that it would have been sharply resented coming from any other source than the Vatican; but, under the circumstances, Bismarck thought it best to treat it leniently and judiciously; and, while announcing the fact to the Imperial Parliament, still expressed the hope that matters might not take a serious turn, although he could not see the way open to a policy between the State and the Church of a strictly just character, after the promulgation of a dogma which made the spiritual superior to the civil power. He believed, however, the affair one of so much importance that he preferred parliamentary legislation regarding it, and in the meanwhile would do all in his power to have the Romish Curia informed of the real intentions and ardent desires of the German Government, which would by all means lead to a peaceful solution of the sensitive questions separating the Confessions within the realm.

The Papal organs tried to see in the effort to appoint Cardinal Hohenlohe German embassador to the Vatican a stealthy means of securing influence on the occasion of the impending conclave, although it is difficult to see the necessity of resorting to cunning to obtain that to which the German Empire has full and long acknowledged right from the fact that the Catholic Church is the established and supported one in a large portion of its bounds. This accusation was doubtless induced by the fact that just at that epoch were heard the first rumors of some extraordinary measures having been adopted by the Pope in regard to the election of a successor, which, as time goes on, seem to assume even a more serious aspect, and which

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will probably not be entirely cleared up until the period for a new election to the papal chair shall have arrived.

In the meanwhile the Pope seemed to grow more and more irritable at every occurrence which indicated an accord of Germany with other powers, and was especially incensed at the fact that Italy was inclined to form an alliance of friendship, at least, with Prussia, then patent by a visit of the Crown Prince of Italy to Berlin, and later by that of the King. To this he was evidently incited by the Jesuit organs, some of which now became as bold in their assumptions as if the Syllabus had become the adopted code. They declared that the pontiff had made too many concessions already, and that, if the States undertook to withhold acknowledgment to the Church, the latter would be obliged to renounce allegiance to the State. In short, the Jesuits considered the period now to have arrived when they could resume the work in which they had failed in the early part of the seventeenth century—the suppression of Protestantism and the restoration of Catholicism throughout all North Germany, by rooting out Lutherans, Calvinists, and all other heretics that might be found in the way of this project.

The Pope became so free in assuming a position of hostility toward the Germans that he openly announced to a deputation which paid him a visit of congratulation, that he hoped soon to see rolling the stone that might crush the foot of the Colossus in their rebellious land, after the manner of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. It mattered little whether by this Colossus was meant Bismarck or the new empire, the spirit of hostility was the same; and this demonstration on the part of the pontiff now began to do its work in France, which suddenly became enraptured at the boldness of the Holy Father, and resolved to sustain him in his work of crushing the power which had risen on their ruins. The word went forth in France to stop all opposition to the Church and the Jesuits; even Renan declared it the best policy for France to support the Pope and the Jesuits, who would undermine the civil structure of the Germans, and so weaken it by the time that the French would be able to undertake their crusade of "revenge," that a slight push would finish the work. The Ultramontane organs of Germany began to speak in the same tone, and declare that

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the only means of peace in the Fatherland could be found in a unity of faith, and that this must consist in the return of the country to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to submission to the infallible Pope.

These may seem wild ravings, but they were acceptable to those for whom they were written, and their audacity gave courage to the classes whose power was appealed to in their columns. They were, indeed, no more arrogant than were the assumptions of an aulic councilor of Baden some twenty years ago, who declared that they would surround the stronghold of Protestantism in Prussia with a circle of Catholic associations, and firmly bind these together by a numerous chain of cloisters, which would smother Protestantism and relieve the Catholic provinces from the rule of the Hohenzollerns. Such utterances of course emboldened the Jesuits in their work of creating disloyalty toward the State, and they showed themselves and their doings with less reserve in the educational institutions where they had so long been sowing the seeds of their opposition to Protestantism. This was especially the case in the ancient Jesuit College in Cologne, the first on German soil, founded about the middle of the sixteenth century by one of the Jesuit fathers. It seemed exceedingly proper that this pioneer in the work of regenerating Germany should be canonized at a period when his descendants were about to resume the contest with vigor; and rumor was rife through all the lower Rhine provinces that the pope would gratify the general demand.

Hitherto Protestant Germany had been indifferent to the movements of the Jesuits in its midst, in the belief that it was safe from their intrigues within its domains, and the Prussian Government had even permitted the papal appointments of bishops, etc., to go on without that civil indorsement which the authorities of purely Catholic States secured by Concordat treaties. The German Parliament of 1848 made great progress in the line of religious liberty to the various sects, and under its banner the Jesuits had made large advances unmolested; so much so, that even now a reaction in sentiment is taking place in regard to the general principle of religious liberty, in the fear that it may leave an open door to all sorts of intrigues against the national welfare. And this is not to be

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wondered at in the present state of the conflict between the Ultramontane Church and the Prussian Government. For the present papal hierarchy places itself above the State, as it has always done over the laity, and claims the highest judicial power on the earth. It assumes to punish, and to free from punishment, and is by no means willing to give to Cesar what is Cesar's. And as the Pope, in his recent correspondence with the Emperor, claimed jurisdiction over all Protestants, although they may be for the time being in rebellion, so the Jesuits now claim that every thing belongs to the Pope, and that in every collision between the temporal and the spiritual power his children must obey the latter. And since the proclamation of the famous Dogma of Infallibility, the way is short indeed to the exercise of the most refined tyranny on the part of the papal priesthood.

It now became clear that the Germans had two masters, both of whom it was not very easy to serve. The Prussians, especially, had simply nurtured their worst enemies in their own bosom, by giving them a refuge when all Catholic countries discarded them; and, adder like, they were now stinging the bosom that had warmed them into life again. They had never, indeed, acquired the legal right to settle and spread in Prussia until the year 1855; but previous to this period they had been actively engaged in what they call "Missions" in all parts of the country. They had been so offensive in these Missions in strictly Protestant regions that the Government at one time found it necessary to check them, and also to prohibit the study of Prussian students in the Propaganda at Rome without permission of the Minister of Public Worship.

But these momentary checks seemed only to spur them to greater activity, and it was very soon apparent that they were diligently working in the interest of the French, in the effort to build up in the State a political party, whose sole life should be opposition to it and devotion to the effort of preventing the much-desired German unity. And, what made this procedure the more galling to the Prussians was, the fact that a goodly number of these Jesuits were not citizens of the country, and were there simply as claimants to hospitality while engaged in their work, mainly in the educational institutions. The people, therefore, began quite generally to demand

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that these strangers be required to leave the country; and popular assemblies, convened in various parts of the land, addressed to Parliament petitions praying for their expulsion. These measures demonstrated the fact that the Catholics, as a Church, intended to defend the Jesuits, and in this way indorse their action. Counter-petitions were sent into Parliament signed by thousands; and these were presented by the leader of the Ultramontane faction, in which act he virtually declared that the Jesuits were a power fully identical with the Church, and that, if they were attacked, the Catholic spirit would everywhere rise in defense of the cause on whose foundation all States repose.

The discussion thus induced on the floor of Parliament brought out some of the leading statesmen in the most scathing rebukes of this disloyalty. Wagner, a prominent member of Bismarck's cabinet, declared it impossible for a man to be a good Catholic and a loyal citizen at the same time, since the Church claimed of him a higher duty than that of the State, as the Syllabus affirmed that in contested points the Church demanded obedience to its precepts; and he cited the case of a civil officer who had confessed that he took his oath of office with a mental reservation, and thus proved the existence of a state within a state, and deference to a foreign ruler at that. The result of a lengthy and intensely interesting debate was an effort on the part of Prince Hohenlohe, brother of the Cardinal, to present simple measures for the expulsion of the Jesuits from German soil; he, a Catholic, declaring that the benefit which might accrue to the Catholic Church in Germany from the Order of Jesuits, held no comparison with the strife and danger which their presence would cause.

The continuance of this debate, in a subsequent sitting, resulted in a most searching investigation into the work and pretensions of the Order, in which their claims to religious activity were most thoroughly sifted. Gneist, the jurist of the House, dissected their claims to civil protection, and clearly showed, that when they had demands to make, it was on the ground that the State had duties toward them; but when the State asked obedience, they knew no obligations, declaring that the State could make no claims on them. To satisfy the Church the State compels Catholics to have their children bap-

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tized and educated in the Church, compels them to be married by Catholic priests, and to pay taxes for the support of Catholic priests and churches, and in every way protects them as Catholics; but, in return for this protection, the State laws are declared, for them, null and void when they happen to run counter to their desires; and teachers appointed with the sanction of the State, and paid by it, are excommunicated if they decline to teach doctrines which must weaken or destroy all loyalty to the State.

The result of this long parliamentary debate was the passage of a resolution, by a large majority, requesting the Government to lay before the body the draft of a law that would secure religious peace by assuring equal protection to both Confessions, while guarding the citizen from the encroachments of the spiritual power, and defining the position of certain religious orders, and the conditions of their further existence in the State, especially the Order known as that of the "Society of Jesus."

Immediately on the adoption of this action the Ultramontane organ in Berlin, the "Germania," burst forth into the most bitter invectives, declaring that the Jesuits would wage the war to the knife, and affirming that the Catholic dogmas are the work of the Holy Spirit, obligatory without conditions upon every Catholic, and unchangeable for all time. If these dogmas contain in themselves demands which the temporal power cannot or will not concede, then is proclaimed war between Church and State, and to the utmost. Other Jesuit organs, in different parts of Europe, joined in this tirade against the German Government, and helped to increase the bitterness. The "Correspondence," of Geneva, declared that the Pope had endeavored to oppose the governments by gentleness, but had already granted too much, and that the hour of mercy had passed. If the States cease to acknowledge the Church, the latter can no longer acknowledge the State; and the world must soon witness fearful cruelties, because the masses will not obey the governments.

In reply to these outbursts, the confidant of Bismarck, on the floor of Parliament, declared that Germany would meet these threats without fear; that Prussia had ever been lenient toward the Catholics, and had never raised the voice of complaint

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until the "Missions" in Prussian Poland, in connection with the intrigues of the Order in France, Italy, and Austria, had effected their object in stirring up the masses in Germany, and teaching them to be hostile to the Government. Now Prussia felt the necessity of defending itself against the Jesuits; and as the oath of their Order forbids them to be citizens of any country, it could be no wrong to take them at their word, and, as strangers, request them to leave, if they were not satisfied and willing to obey the laws. One of the members declared that the contest was now clearly between Romanism and Germanism, and that the former had made the attack. If matters had remained in Rome in their former position, there would have been no strife on this question now; but under the guidance and control of the Jesuits new decrees of the Church have been declared, which have every-where been productive of hatred or discontent.

The sequel of these discussions was the adoption of the following laws, based on a bill presented by the ministry, but largely modified by a committee of all parties in the House, except the little faction known as the party of the "Center," which, while pretending not to represent the Jesuits, was very careful to protect them in debate and action.

The Order of the Jesuits, and those Orders and "Congregations" affiliated with them, are forbidden.

The organization of new Orders is prohibited, and the existing ones are to be dissolved in at least six months.

The members of these Orders and Congregations may be expelled from the empire if they are foreigners; and if citizens, may be ordered to take up their residence in limits assigned to them.

And, finally, the Federal Council was directed to execute these orders without delay.

Now this action, which has called forth so much censure and objurgation in certain Protestant quarters, is nothing new in history. It was a pope who first set the example, and formally condemned and dissolved the Order as common disturbers of national peace. And, again, it was not the action of Protestant Germany alone, but that of the entire Confederation of States, which felt it necessary to rise in rebellion against the execution, within their limits, of the dictates of the

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Syllabus and the commands of the new dogmas. The famous Gneist, at the third reading of the bill, made one of his most thrilling appeals, the closing sentences of which we append:—

"The last decade has witnessed the systematic creation of new dogmas, and the Syllabus and Encyclical, which curse every thing that belongs to the vital conditions of present society; but these are always arranged for a double use—a papal allocution, and beside it an official supplement, for use according to circumstances; a Latin text, and beside it a German exposition, which is always different for those who are to obey and those who have something to say. Numbered articles are so placed that one can separate or connect them, according as one speaks from above or below, from the right or the left. And, finally, came the conclusion, in 1870, with a council of marvelous composition, which alters the constitution or does not alter it, giving a new fundamental code to the Catholic Church, or merely a renewal of the ancient creeds, according as one speaks to those above or those below. This far-reaching plan has taken possession of the entire government of the Church, and has subjected to its rule the German bishops, after some opposition, by virtue of its solidarity of interest; it has planted its agitating and organizing spirit—the Order of the Jesuits—in fixed positions on German soil, and placed it in lasting connection with clergy and people. By hundreds and thousands, in divers localities, Catholic men have been enticed into separate organizations, in order to transact their civil interests, their money affairs, and even enjoy their pleasures in a sectarian way, in contrast with their heretical fellow-citizens. The battalions and regiments of Catholic men marshaled up in these monster petitions prove to us that they revere the Jesuits, as their guides and spiritual leaders, in an activity of some twenty years. A party, however, that always bears a double face, denies this connection—denies that the Jesuits called the Vatican Council; denies that the Order stands behind the growing assumptions and threatening organizations of the masses. These means, this mode of conflict, this organization, is not a spiritual, but a political one, which endangers all of a different opinion. This untruthfulness, however, which thinks to work to the glory of God, finds

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the vital conditions of its rule, not in Germany, but with our western neighbors. And this double tongue has brought about the schism in the Church. The monk of Wittenberg, who could not tolerate falsity in religious things, lives still in the spirit of the German nation, which believes in religious endeavors as long as they are possible, but which finally loses its patience at the long-continuance of this ambitious and deceitful agitation. After twenty years' advance of this Romish rule in Germany—with means new and old, with self-help, self-interpretation, and artful equivocation—follows again a period in which the German nation must defend itself; and it will be sure of success the more the cause of freedom confides in law and the State secures liberty of conscience."

This closing thunderbolt of the great debate was received with enthusiastic applause from all quarters, and members of every party left their seats to congratulate the orator. The Jesuit laws were adopted by a vote of 181 to 93. They were received with general rejoicing all over the country as an evidence, on the part of the Government, that it did not fear to meet and punish traitors wherever they might be found. In addition to these, the Minister of Public Instruction soon felt it necessary to issue a decree from his department excluding the members of these clerical orders from the schools in which they were acting as teachers; for many of these, both male and female, were employed in the elementary schools of the country, and were instilling into the minds of their young pupils principles of hatred and rebellion toward the Government. In accordance with this decree, the various provinces were to report within six weeks what religious orders were engaged in the work of public instruction in their respective districts. The result of these reports showed a state of affairs that had not been suspected. In Fulda it was found that the Benedictine nuns were teaching in the higher schools for girls. In some of the provinces the congregations of the Virgin Mary, the fraternities of the Holy Family, and other religious associations, were not only teaching in the Gymnasia and high schools, but were actually enrolling the pupils among their members. The minister immediately ordered the dissolution of all such associations in the State institutions, under penalty of expulsion to those pupils who resisted the order.

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He also found it necessary to forbid the teachers of the Association of the "Holy Child Jesus" to collect money in the schools from the children. In one of the Gymnasia on the Rhine it was found that special devotions to the "Sacred Heart of Jesus" had been introduced among the scholars, and that collections were there taken up for the benefit of the fraternity. The interference on the part of these persons had proved of great disadvantage in the matter of discipline, and had virtually divided the scholars into two classes, which had really become jealous of each other, where a feeling of mutual confidence and trust should alone be fostered.

To the surprise of all, there was no special protest on the part of the Pope or the General of the Jesuits against their expulsion. They thought it better to expend their efforts in devising means to lose as little as possible by the action of the Government. Father Beckx, General of the Jesuits, summoned the chiefs of the Order to Rome, to adopt the most effective measures in the crisis; and, after lengthy discussions in the *aula* of the Jesuit cloister in Rome, it was resolved that, as long as the persecution and banishment of the Order should continue in Germany, the lay fraternities must take their place, and double their zeal and activity for the purposes of the Order; and for this purpose funds were voted to these societies bearing the various names, "Society of the United Brothers," "Association for Prayer," and "Fraternity of Good Catholics," and the leading members received fixed salaries, so that they could devote their entire time to the work, and effectively perform the orders and carry out the missions assigned to them. This apparent readiness to yield to the decrees of the Government was a surprise to many who had expected a violent opposition, which was shown in but few places.

In some instances, however, their withdrawal was made under protest, with an endeavor to justify themselves, and prove that their expulsion was an insult to the Catholic community, which had fought so bravely in defense of the country against France. But, in reply to this, they were reminded that it was these very victories which the Jesuits were now trying to turn into defeat by inaugurating such measures and cultivating such feelings as would stir up a religious war in Germany, and

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thus make easy to the French that war for "revenge" for which they are now impatiently panting.

And it will be remembered that this decree of expulsion was not a Prussian measure, but one affecting the whole Germanic Confederation, and decided on by the legal representatives of the entire country—although a hue and cry has been raised and sustained with such persistency against Bismarck, that it would seem as if Prussia alone were responsible for this action; and thus, indeed, the whole opposition of the Catholic Church of late has been waged in its intercourse with the Government. Measures which have been quietly submitted to in other German lands have met in Prussia with the most decided resistance, so that the world at large still crystallizes this quarrel as one between Bismarck and the Jesuits. But they had been expelled from Catholic Bavaria years before, on account of their intermeddling with the affairs of State. This decree they had obeyed as they do all those which do not please them; they had obeyed it on the surface, and disobeyed in deed, wherever they could find the slightest chance or pretense so to do. The Minister of Public Worship now felt it his duty, under the action of the Imperial Parliament, to look more closely after these evasions of the law, and therefore bid a cloister of Jesuits in Regensburg, under the protection of the bishop there residing, to disband and disappear within three days. Only those who were natives of the city were allowed to remain. Here the battle waged so hotly that Count Fugger claimed his right to remain where he pleased, because of his princely birth. The case was taken to the Ministry, which insisted on his expulsion.

A favorite occupation of the Jesuits is, that of preceptors in titled houses of the nobility, and even up to the inclosures of royalty; by which means they learn a vast number of secrets of State, and acquire an influence over their pupils and at court, which makes them at times so powerful in the State, and dangerous to it. All these, of course, found means by figuring, not as Jesuits, but as private teachers and priests, to remain in their places. The Bishop of Mayence distinguished himself by a bold piece of sophistry, in which he proved a little too much for the profit of his cause. He openly invested the Jesuits in his diocese with the rights of the secular clergy, and

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declared in solemn protest that they could not be expelled, because they had ever been clothed with the privileges of the pulpit, the confessional, and the mass, and were thus acting priests. But the astute prelate assumed a little too much ignorance when he pretended not to know that these were just the instruments which the Government thought it necessary to take from their hands, because they were using them as a means to indoctrinate with virus the ignorant rural population especially, and to mislead the youth of the schools into disaffection and disloyalty to the State.

The Prussian town of Paderborn is the seat of a bishopric, and contains a theological seminary, a grand cathedral, a valuable complex of buildings for Church purposes, etc., and is the head-quarters for all the Jesuits of Westphalia, whose great school is there. It was, of course, not very easy to give up all these costly possessions to the heretics, and they therefore managed their temporal matters in the following skillful style: They sold all their valuable possessions for the petty sum of about eight hundred dollars to a certain gentleman of the neighborhood, who turns out to be the brother of the Bishop of Mayence, the most talented and belligerent of the North-German bishops. But an innocent little clause in the contract shows that these valuable possessions were by no means given away, for in return for the sorry figure of sale the purchaser binds himself to support for life certain of the Jesuit fathers on his large estates, under the innocent titles of private preceptors, inspectors, etc. It is very clear that not a dollar's worth of any thing in Paderborn has been sold; it is yet all in their hands by something more than a mere quibble of law; and they expect to hold it till the day when they shall return to enjoy it, or if not they, then their mantle-bearers, for the Jesuits long ago learned how to watch and wait.

In certain sections of the country there were manifestations of sympathy toward the Jesuits from a class from which they might have the least reason to expect it. The industrial sections of Berlin are largely peopled with a class in sympathy with the socialistic views of the Internationals. These patriots, who are so very liberal in all things, even to helping themselves to other people's property under the cry that "property is theft," felt that the law expelling the Jesuits was an attack

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on personal liberty, and they therefore condemned it. Saxony is the industrial focus of all Germany, and has a large artisan population strongly imbued with these unfortunate views, that any body who possesses any thing is their natural enemy. These people, in their way, are magnificent capital, but it is, unhappily, for demagogues alone. One can scarcely suppress a smile at seeing these men, the most of whom are boldly irreligious, if not practically infidel, getting up a mass in the Catholic Cathedral of Dresden for the repose of the soul of Loyola, the founder of the Order of Jesuits. This tender sympathy between the extremes of society is easily explained by the fact that they make common cause in a common desire, namely, the destruction of the Government, in the hope that, from chaos, something may turn up for them; and the Catholic priesthood does thus not disdain to use for its purposes a class of society which it would stamp out for its lawless independence in matters of religion in a day, if it had the power.

Another valuable leverage for the Jesuit intrigues was that of national antipathy, and how well they have used this to their profit may be seen in all the troubles and bitter feeling engendered in Prussian Poland. Had it been fitting, in their estimation, to stir up this turmoil on the ground of national oppression, they have had scores of years in which to do it. But instead of that the Catholics of Prussian Poland have been as active as any other class of the community, until very lately, in the laudable effort to Germanize the country in its schools, Churches, and industrial and commercial interests. But they suddenly discover now that the Prussians are great tyrants, that the German is a barbarous tongue, and that every patriotic Pole should use all his influence to contravene German interests in whatever sphere they may be found.

The open and well-known Jesuits quickly left the country, but their tracks were soon perceived and felt in other, and even distant, regions. The famous Polish emigration in Paris, always so prominent in all uproars and revolutions, even down to that of the Commune, suddenly became active in all its layers, high and low, in fanning the flame of discord both in France and in the province of Posen. War against the Germans was a popular cry in both countries, and this was their device. A serious effort was made to start a new organ among

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the Poles with a view of combating the opposition to the Poles and the Jesuits, and this was to be subsidized by subscriptions from the aristocracy of the Polish emigration in Paris, who also looked for aid from no less a personage in France than the Duke d'Aumale. The Ultramontanes in Posen soon stood in active correspondence with their sympathizers in Paris for purposes of the press, and though for the time they could do nothing more, the notorious "Univers"—since suppressed for some two months, even by the present Jesuitical *régime*, for the bitterness of utterances—secured the services of the superior of a Jesuit College in Posen as regular correspondent, who, of course, could relate the most thrilling stories about the persecution of the Catholic Church in that province. That these agencies have all done their work well is proved by the complications of the Prussian Government with the Archbishop Ledochowski, which finally resulted in his imprisonment for continued and persistent violation of the Government laws.

It was soon perceived, also, that the decrees regarding the Jesuits were circumvented in various ways. A few of the prominent ones, whose existence was patent, took their departure, but they left their mantle behind them in scores of localities and multitudes of forms. In the monastic schools it was found that the very youth were already bound by vows that allied them to certain Orders affiliated to the Jesuits, and forbade their leaving the cloisters. The authorities felt it a duty, in accordance with the new Imperial Code, to visit these institutions, examine their statutes, and take an inventory of their property. They were evidently numerous, and bore various names. In Bonn alone were found three cloisters of women devoted to "Eternal Veneration;" these were known as the "Ladies of the poor Child Jesus," the Franciscan nuns, and the "Merciful Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo." These and a great many other female congregations, so-called, were engaged in various places in the work of teaching in the public and the private schools, and in some cases seemed to have full possession of these institutions. It was clearly perceived that their influence was wholly Jesuitical, and that little else than disloyalty could be expected from youth trained under their auspices. It was therefore resolved, painful as was the task,

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to subject these schools to a severe examination, and remove all who seemed to be using their places for disloyal purposes. This resulted in some places, as in Düsseldorf, in almost total displacement of the female teachers in the people's schools.

The newly-acquired provinces of Alsace and Lorraine also gave the Government a full share of trouble, for they were well supplied with Jesuits who could use the two-edged weapon of religious and national prejudice to embarrass the execution of the laws. In Strasbourg their property was sold, and they were to all appearance gone, when it was found that they had bought a new site in the name of a certain lady who figured as the owner of a house in which the "Christian Brothers" were continuing the Jesuit College, with virtually no change but that of name. Nearly if not quite all the bishops of these provinces protested against the law in such a way as clearly to identify them with the Jesuits. In Metz the Jesuits had a large establishment, with over five hundred students, and a perfect mine of real estate. Two entire streets were said to belong to them. They were desirous of transferring their quarters to the town of Nancy, in France, near by, but the bishop of that burg found that he had a surfeit without them, and they were accordingly received by a certain Countess de Roncourt in her castle, whither some eighty Jesuits, with their pupils, emigrated.

The most of the German Jesuits went to Austria, Belgium, and France. Those of the famous Monastery of Maria-Laach were ordered to cease their activity immediately, and depart within six months. A large number of them left, and still there remain about twenty priests, some hundred and ten itinerant teachers, and twenty lay brothers, under the plea that they do not belong to the Order. It appears that a number of noblemen in Holland placed their castles at their disposal, as did some in Limburg, so that crowds of Jesuits are just over the border of the German States, and in this proximity can work their wires with efficiency and dispatch. Belgium is the most priest-ridden country in Europe, and, as the home of the General of the Jesuits, Father Beckx, has of course opened its doors to crowds of them. About two hundred and fifty are said to have arrived in Paris in one day, and the very same

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Frenchmen who drove out the innocent German artisans with fire and sword, accorded a hearty welcome to these traitors to their country. The English Catholics, under the lead of Archbishop Manning, condemned openly the expulsion of the Jesuits, and that famous prelate made a speech full of gall and bitterness against Bismarck. Not a few of the Jesuits found their way to England, and the most famous settlement of them there is to be met with in Dilton Hall, not far from Liverpool, a large estate given up to them by Lady Brotherton.

And last, though not least for us, it is announced that the old diocesan town of Munster, in Westphalia, has sent the most of its hordes of Jesuit fathers to supply the missions in America, by which is simply meant, that most of them have been detailed to duty in the United States. Would that these were all! Indications are, indeed, too patent, that a steady stream of them is setting toward this country, under various names. The genuine fathers, regularly graduated with the degree of "S. J.," which they openly flaunt to the breeze, are among us holding their Missions by open announcement, at which, as recently in Troy, N. Y., they defend their tenets and blind their ignorant adherents. They are founding their educational institutions all over the land, and are marshaling into their lines their subordinated orders—just those which Prussia has been obliged to interfere with as Jesuit in all but name. For it matters little whether they are called "Christian Brothers," or "Charitable Sisters of the poor Child Jesus," or Paulists, or Redemptionists, their aim is all the same, namely, to thrust their adherents into every educational avenue which they can command; and these, thanks to the liberty which we accord to all comers! are many and various. And the sooner we learn that these soldiers of the Church are here for battle, and burnish our own weapons to meet them, the better for us and our country.

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ART. VI. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, April, 1874. (The Church Press.)—1. The First Resurrection. (concluded.) 2. Periods of Transition in English History. 3. Religious Societies. 4. The Roman Patriarchate during the Arian Troubles. 5. The Satires of Juvenal. 6. Catholicism and the Vatican. 7. On the English Reformation.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1874. (Philadelphia.)—1. Psychology. 2. Religious Freedom in Russia. 3. Causes and Final Causes. 4. Progress and Results of Cuneiform Decipherment. 5. The Relation of Plato's Philosophy to Christian Truth. 6. Our Mission as Baptists. 7. Autobiography of John Stuart Mill.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, April, 1874. (Andover, Mass.) —1. The Foundations of Theology Sure. 2. Galilee in the Time of Christ. 3. Baptism of Infants, and their Church-membership. 4. Herbert Spencer's Religion. 5. On a Passage in Matthew xxvi, 50. 6. History in Alphabets. 7. Remarks on J. G. Mueller's Die Semiten. 8. Parthia the Rival of Rome.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1874. (Cincinnati.)—1. The History of a Great Mind. 2. Should Church Property be Taxed? 3. Conversion. 4. The Religious Future of the Negro. 5. The Catacombs of Rome. 6. The Test of Christianity. 7. The Millennium.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, April, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Walter Scott Griffith. 2. The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth. 3. Portland Churches. 4. May a Woman Speak in a Promiscuous Religious Assembly? 5. May Women Speak in Meeting? 6. The First "Susquehanna Association." 7. An Ecumenical Council of the Congregational Churches. 8. Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1873–74. 9. Congregational Necrology.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of the Hon. Edmund P. Tileston. 2. Marriages in the County of York, Me., 1686–99. 3. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 4. Boston (Eng.) and John Cotton in 1621. 5. The Pilgrim Fathers of Nazing, (Eng.,) with Genealogical Tables of the Eliot Families of Roxwell and Nazing. 6. Early History of Hollis, N. H. 7. Ancient Wills: Will of Solomon Grant. 8. Marriages by Jeremy Belknap, D.D, in Dover, N. H., from 1767 to 1787. 9. English Captives in Canada. 10. Letters of Gov. Thomas Seymour and Thomas Eyre in Time of Queen Anne. 11. Transfer of Erin. 12. Early Bells of Massachusetts. 13. The Daniell Family. 14. Family of William Sawyer, of Newbury. 15. Gen. Washington's Letter to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull on the Death of his Father, Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, Sen.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1874. (New Haven.)—1. Primitive Culture. 2. Is Schism a Necessity? 3. The Emotions in Music. 4. Buddhism and Christianity. 5. Friedrich Adolf Trendelenburg. 6. Sectarism, Alliance, and the Basis of Fellowship. 7. What is the True Doctrine of Christ's Second Coming? 8. Address of the Central Committee of the Old-Catholics for North Germany to the Catholics of Germany.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, April, 1874. (New York.) —1. Presbyterianism and the People. 2. The Pauperism of our Cities; its Character, Condition, Causes, and Relief. 3. Modern Skepticism. 4. The New Faith of Strauss. 5. Catholic Toleration in the State of Maryland. 6. Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 7. The Office of Evangelist. 8. Taxation of Churches, Colleges, and Charitable Institutions. 9. The Disentombment of Troy.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, April, 1874. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Schmidt's Dogmatic Theology. 2. Illustrations of Providence in the History of the Church. 3. The Disfranchisement of Students. 4. The Controversy between the Theist and the Scientist. 5. Women in the Church. 6. The Evangelical Alliance. 7. Mercersburg Theology. 8. Mr. Mill's Autobiography. 9. The Pietistic Controversy.

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SOUTHERN REVIEW. April, 1874. (St. Louis, Mo.)—1. Dogma and Literature. 2. Wonders of Deep-Sea Exploration. 3. The Ceramic Art. 4. History of Infant Baptism. 5. The Women of the Arabs. 6. The Best Government the World Ever Saw; or, Christian Statesmanship. 7. Mary Somerville. 8. The Cummins Movement.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1874. (Boston.)—1. The Emancipation of Capital. 2. Fulfillment. 3. The Natural and the Supernatural. 4. Psychology, Vital and Dynamic. 5. The Opinions of John Wesley. 6. On Toleration. 7. Origen's Hermeneutics.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April. (Boston.)—1. The Ancien Régime in Canada. 2. The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775. 3. The New Trials of the Roman Church. 4. Iwan Turgéniew. 5. The Life of Timothy Pickering.

In a late visit to the South we spent a short time in the beautiful city of Charlotte, Mecklenburgh County, North Carolina, and rejoiced at seeing the locality where the first Declaration of Independence of Great Britain was declared, anticipating by more than a year, not only in essence, but in the very words used, the Declaration written, as history pretends, by Thomas Jefferson, and adopted by Congress July 4, 1776. What was our mortification, however, to find in the "North American" of April an explosion of this claim into thin air!

Article fourth, by James C. Welling, solves the curious historical myth of

"THE MECKLENBURGH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"In the year 1819 the 'Raleigh Register' surprised its readers, and the general public interested in historical inquiries, with the announcement that the people of Mecklenburgh County, in the State of North Carolina, had, on the 20th day of May, in the year 1775, openly declared their Independence of Great Britain, and in terms so similar to those employed by Mr. Jefferson in penning the National Declaration of July 4, 1776, as to create the suspicion that he had borrowed a portion of his phraseology from the earlier paper. The printed copy of the alleged Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, as then given to the public for the first time, nearly forty-four years after the event it signalizes, was accompanied with *an historical statement purporting to have been written contemporaneously with the original promulgation of the manifesto*, [that is, May 20, 1875,] and to recite the circumstances in which the manifesto had its origin and motive.

"According to this statement it would appear that, in the spring of the year 1775, the leading personages of Mecklenburgh

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County held several detached meetings, in which the sentiment was freely expressed that 'the cause of Boston was the cause of all,' and that the first shock of British power in its encroachments on American liberty, if not resisted there, would ultimately overwhelm the people of the whole continent in a common calamity. In this state of public sentiment, and moved, it is said, by the solicitations of others, Colonel Thomas Polk, the commanding officer of the Mecklenburgh militia, issued an order to each captain's company in the county to elect two persons from their number, who should act as delegates at a meeting to be held in the town of Charlotte, the county seat, on the 19th of May, in that year, 'for the purpose of devising ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm.'

"It is stated that a delegation from the militia companies met, in conformity with this order, at the time and place appointed, and, by a fortuitous coincidence, the news of the battle of Lexington, fought on the preceding 19th of April, was brought by express to the town of Charlotte on that same day. The tide of popular indignation, swollen, it is said, by this exciting intelligence, could no longer be restrained within the bounds of moderation, and also, 'after a full and free discussion,' the following Declaration of Independence was unanimously adopted by the delegates."—Pp. 256–258.

The "Declaration" consists, as given, of five resolutions, saying, among other things: "We do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor."—P. 258.

THIS DECLARATION WAS SENT TO CONGRESS.

A few days afterward, proceeds the chronicler, (still purporting to write on the 20th of May,) Captain James Jack, of Charlotte, was deputed as a messenger to convey a copy of these resolves and proceedings to the Continental Congress then sitting in Philadelphia, as also to deliver a letter addressed to the North Carolina members in that body—Messrs. Richard Caswell, William

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Hooper, and Joseph Hewes—requesting them "to use all possible means to have the said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general Congress." On the return of Captain Jack, says the compiler of these annals, still professing to write under the date of the alleged Declaration, he reported that the proceedings were "individually approved by the members of Congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the House."—P. 259.

Thus this document, dated May 20, 1775, and never published until 1819, professes to narrate the facts that took place subsequent to its date! It was also in the "Raleigh Register," accompanied by the following certificate of authenticity:

The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander, deceased. I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned April, 1800; that a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a history of North Carolina, and that a copy was sent to General W. R. Davie. J. M'KNITT.—P. 259.

This J. M'Knitt was son of the within-named J. M'Knitt Alexander, who, for satisfactory reasons, often omitted his surname.

HOW ADAMS AND JEFFERSON RECEIVED THE MYTH.

"The paper, at its appearance, was greeted with universal expressions of amazement. Many among the most prominent actors of the Revolutionary era were then still living, and to them it came with an especial surprise. A copy having found its way to John Adams, he called the attention of Mr. Jefferson to the matter in a letter, under date of June 22, 1819, in which he described it as 'one of the greatest curiosities and one of the deepest mysteries that had ever occurred to him.' 'How is it possible,' he added, 'that this paper should have been concealed from me to this day? Had it been communicated to me in the time of it, I know, if you do not know, that it would have been printed in every Whig newspaper on this continent. You know that, if I had possessed it, I would have made the hall of Congress echo and re-echo with it fifteen months before your Declaration of Independence.'

"The eloquent advocate of the Revolution expressed himself in these emphatic terms under the impression, of course, that the Mecklenburgh resolutions were genuine, and that the historical statement accompanying them was authentic. But

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Mr. Jefferson, in his reply, written under date of July 9, 1819, avowed the opinion that the paper purporting to emanate from Mecklenburgh was but little better than 'a very unjustifiable quiz.' In support of this opinion, he instanced the following grounds of suspicion: 'It appeals to an original book, which is burned; to Mr. Alexander, who is dead; to a joint letter from Caswell, Hewes, and Hooper, all dead; to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Dr. Williamson, now probably dead, whose memory did not recollect, in the history he has written of North Carolina, this gigantic step of its County of Mecklenburgh.'

"Mr. Adams, in writing again to another of his correspondents, Mr. William Bentley, on the 5th of July in that same year, and therefore before Mr. Jefferson's reply could have been received, intimated the opinion that Mr. Jefferson must have seen the paper at the time of its appearance in 1775, because, adds Mr. Adams, 'he has copied the spirit, the sense, and the expressions of it *verbatim* into his Declaration of the 4th of July, 1776.'"—Pp. 260, 261.

THE NORTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE INVESTIGATES.

A committee of the General Assembly of North Carolina was appointed at the session of 1830–31 to "collate and arrange" all the documents accessible to them "touching the Declaration of Independence by the citizens of Mecklenburgh," as also to collect new evidence in support of its genuineness and authenticity. The committee performed their task and submitted a report, in which they expressed the opinion that the testimonials they had gathered respecting the authenticity of the Declaration would be sufficient to "silence incredulity."—P. 263.

Seven witnesses of fertile memory furnish evidence which all desire to have furnished of dim, far-gone recollections.

SUBSEQUENT DISCOVERY.

In 1853 there was published the following certificate of the above-named J. M'Knitt Alexander, which originally accompanied the above copy of the "Declaration" sent to "Davie:"

It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, though fundamentally correct, *may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said delegation and court of inquiry, as all those records and papers were burnt with the house on April* 6, 1800; but previous to that time

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of 1800 a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Colonel William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State, then writing by said Dr. Williamson in New York.

Certified, to the best of my recollection and belief, this 3d day of September, 1800. J. M'K. ALEXANDER.—P. 290.

This is a damper. The original document was burnt, and the existing copy is *from memory*, through a very equivocal medium, of a document that ceased to exist in 1800.

TRUE PATRIOTISM OF THE MECKLENBURGHERS.

The real patriotism of the Mecklenburghers needed no myth to signalize it. In 1838 a document was discovered by Mr. Peter Force, Congressional Librarian, signed by Eph. Brevard, and dated, not May 20, 1775, but May 31 of that year, declaring all the laws of Great Britain "suspended," and making provisions for the vacancy created by such suspension. The "resolves" say: "That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown to be exercised in these colonies are null and void, and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended. . . . As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress has not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress. . . . Whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country."—Pp. 269, 271. This bold act was truly performed at Charlotte.

SUBSEQUENT LOYALTY OF SAID MECKLENBURGHERS.

The royal Governor of North Carolina, Josiah Martin, denounced the above resolutions of May 31, signed by Mr. Brevard, in the following words—words which, before the discovery by Mr. Force, were applied by historians to the mythical "Declaration:"

I have seen a most infamous publication in the "Cape Fear Mercury," importing to be resolves of a set of people styling them-

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selves a Committee of the County of Mecklenburgh, most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws, government, and constitution of this country, setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the laws and subversive of his Majesty's government."—P. 275.

A few months later, August 20, 1775, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, including the four principal leaders in the Mecklenburgh movement, all signed what they called a *Test* of their loyalty to the crown, beginning with: "We, the subscribers, professing our allegiance to the king, and acknowledging the constitutional executive power of government, do solemnly protest, testify," etc.—P. 284.

Upon Governor Martin's manifesto said Congress *unanimously* passed the following resolve: "'Resolved, unanimously, that the said paper is a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, tending to disunite the good people of this province, and to stir up tumults and insurrections dangerous to the peace of his Majesty's government, and highly injurious to the character of several gentlemen of acknowledged virtue and loyalty; and, further, that the said paper be burned by the common hangman.' So sedulous were the members of this Congress, including the delegates from Mecklenburgh, to keep themselves in the odor of loyalty! . . . As if apprehensive that some one or another of the associated Colonies then represented in the Continental Congress might wish to proceed further and faster in the widening revolt than was compatible with their own notions of duty and safety, these delegates, including those from Mecklenburgh, determined to take precautions against being committed to any rash measures in that direction. A plan of confederation among the insurgent Colonies had been broached by Dr. Franklin in the Continental Congress on the 21st of July, 1775, for the purpose of consolidating the desultory opposition they were then waging against British aggression, and this plan was submitted to the North Carolina Congress. But North Carolina was not ripe for such a decisive step, and accordingly the committee appointed to consider this subject reported on the 4th of September, 1775, that they 'had taken into consideration the plan of general confederation between the United Colonies, and are of opinion that the same is not at present eligible. And it is also

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the opinion of the committee that the delegates for this Province ought to be instructed not to consent to any plan of confederation which may be offered in an ensuing Congress, until the same shall be laid before and approved by the Provincial Congress. That the present association ought to be further relied on for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent State, and a further confederacy ought only to be adopted in case of the last necessity.'"—Pp. 285, 286.

MECKLENBURGHERS PRUDENT AS WELL AS BRAVE.

"How entirely they shared the prudential views of their associates in that Congress will sufficiently appear from the fact that, in common with all the other delegates, they united in the *unanimous* adoption of an ultra-loyal address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, containing the most vehement asseverations, not only of their 'loyalty,' but of their 'devotion' to the British crown. A few extracts will suffice to show the temper of this document: 'Traitors, rebels, and every harsh appellation that malice can dictate or the virulence of language express, are the returns which we receive to the most humble petitions and earnest applications. We have been told that independence is our object; that we seek to shake off all connection with the parent State. Cruel suggestion! Do not all our professions, all our actions, uniformly contradict this? We again declare, and we invoke that Almighty Being who searches the recesses of the human heart and knows our most secret intentions, that it is our most earnest wish and prayer to be restored, with the other colonies, to that state in which we and they were placed before the year 1763.' The alleged signers of the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence who were present in that body—Messrs. Polk, Alexander, Pfifer, and Avery—united in this solemn purgation of their consciences from all taint of disloyalty to the British crown. . . . We have seen that Mecklenburgh County, by her resolves of May 31, had departed from the forms of the British colonial government, and had set up a temporary *régime* of her own. Other counties and the entire Colony had, in some respects, imitated her example. But mark in the following passages of the same loyal address how careful the members of this Congress were to guard these acts against misconstruction:

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'Whenever we have departed from the forms of the Constitution our own safety and self-preservation have dictated the expedient; and if, in any instance, we have assumed powers which the laws invest in the sovereign and his representatives, it has been only in defense of our persons, properties, and those rights which God and the Constitution have made inalienably ours. As soon as the cause of our fears and apprehensions is removed, with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels; and such institutions, formed from mere necessity, shall end with that necessity which created them.' . . . This language certainly does not sound much like 'the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence.' And yet Colonel Thomas Polk, the alleged 'herald' of that 'Declaration,' joined in this address to the British people; John M'Knitt Alexander, the certifier of the 'Declaration,' united in these protestations of unswerving loyalty; Waightstill Avery and John Pfifer, alleged signers of the 'Declaration,' shared in these loyal prostrations before the British throne."—Pp. 286–288.

Mecklenburgh was herein more prudent than that incarnation of prudence, Benjamin Franklin.

THESE MECKLENBURGHERS GOOD CALVINISTS.

Our historic delight in the above-mentioned visit at Charlotte was not at all diminished by the recollection that we had read a claim made by Dr. Hodge that these authors of the first Declaration of Independence were true-blue Calvinists, and that their act redounded to the glory of Calvinism. The following foot-note, page 262, by the reviewer, suggests where the claim may have been earlier made:

What gossamer fancies the human mind can weave when it invents both its facts and its explanations of them may be seen in a curious tractate published by Rev. Dr. Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., in the year 1847, under the title of the "True Origin and Source of the Mecklenburgh and the National Declaration of Independence," in which, assuming the genuineness of the former, he argues that the authors of both, in the common use of certain peculiar expressions, may have drawn their inspiration from a common source, to wit, the Confessions, Covenants, and Bands of the Scotch Presbyterians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries! Needless to add that Dr. Smyth made this remarkable discovery with a pair of Presbyterian spectacles.

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And still earlier:

What intractable materials the mythopoiesis can work into its legends we may see in a tradition preserved in the Brevard family, that their ancestor, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, was inspired to write the Mecklenburgh Declaration by the Westminster Confession of Faith!—P. 292.

Yet it is no doubt a true view that religious repugnance was an efficient force, added to the love of freedom, in rendering Calvinists readily hostile to the English crown, as it does the Irish Catholics of the present day. On the other hand, religious affinity was a subtracting force in the minds of Episcopalians and Methodists. George III. sustained Wesley and his preachers so far as he dare, and may, in fact, be said to have been in secret heart, or rather conscience, a Methodist. The following anecdotes of the son of Charles Wesley, who bore the name of his father, Charles, illustrate our meaning:

In his manners Charles had the ease and elegance of a courtier; in music he seemed to be inspired, so that the organ under his touch appeared to be possessed of both intelligence and feeling; but of the affairs of ordinary life he knew nothing.... His extraordinary powers as an organist recommended him to the attention of the monarchs George III. and George IV., with both of whom he was evidently a favorite. Some of the things which he related to me I have inserted in the Life of his father, and perhaps may be forgiven if I also relate them here. He told me that he once offered himself for the vacant office of organist at St. Paul's Cathedral; but when he waited upon the ecclesiastical dignitaries who had the appointment, he was abruptly repelled with the announcement, "We want no Wesley here!" George III. heard of this rude and unseemly rebuff, and sent for the disappointed candidate to Windsor, that he might know from him the particulars of the case. After hearing them he said, "Never mind, sir; the name of Wesley is always welcome to me."

At another time, when he was with the king at Windsor, after his Majesty had lost his sight, he said, "Mr. Wesley, is there any body in the room besides you and me?" "No, your Majesty," was his reply. "Then I will tell you what I think," said the king. "It is my judgment that your father, and your uncle, and George Whitefield, and Lady Huntingdon, have done more to promote true religion in England than all the dignified clergy put together."—*Life of Thomas Jackson*, pp. 227, 228.

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English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1874. (London.)—1. Influence of Wiclif upon Huss and the Bohemian Reformation. 2. The Church and the Synagogue. (No. 1.) 3. History of the Vatican Council. 4. The Sermons of Richard Hooker. 5. Reorganization of the Prussian Evangelical Church. *Reprinted Articles.*—1. The Ruling Elder a Presbyter. 2. Calvin and Calvinism.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1874. (London.)—1. The Odes of Horace and Recent Translators. 2 The Antiquity of Man. 3. Landseer. 4. The Slave-Trade in Africa. 5. Japan. 6. Coal. 7. English Grammars. 8. The French Reformed Church.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1874. (London.)—1. Authors and Publishers. 2. The Antiquity of Man. 3. The Prospects of Persia. 4. Provision for Public Worship in Large Towns. 5. Aspects of the Agricultural Labor Question. 6. The Electric Telegraph. 7. The New Parliament. 8. David Livingstone.

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF ENGLAND.

"A subsidiary but interesting feature of these statistics is the view they give of the relative strength of the leading religious bodies of England and Wales in the towns dealt with, so far as it can be measured by the accommodation they respectively supply. The fourteen principal denominations in the one hundred and twenty-five towns are represented as follows:

	Sittings.		Sittings.
Church of England	1,204,877	Presbyterians	82,641
Wesleyans	376,738	New Connection Methodists	77,558
Congregationalists	349,459	Unitarians	42,549
Baptists	251,691	Society of Friends	32,401
Primitive Methodists	150,015	Calvinistic Methodists	30,810
Roman Catholics	147,145	Plymouth Brethren	22,460
United Methodists	112,444	Bible Christians	10,183

"The relative increase of the twelve principal religious bodies, as compared with 1851, can only be stated in the case of one hundred and twelve towns, the other thirteen being without any returns for that year. We subjoin the result:

	1851.	1872-3.	Increase per cent. in 23 years.
Church of England	828,873	1,122,366	35.3
Wesleyan Methodists	261,428	351,448	34.4
Congregationalists	208,431	330,396	58.5
Baptists	156,355	239,471	53.2
Roman Catholics	78,882	140,491	78.1
Primitive Methodists	68,373	137,986	101.8
United Methodists	51,753	108,382	107.5
New Connection	44,219	59,119	33.7
Presbyterians	33,222	78,261	135.6
Unitarians	30,877	40,765	31.4
Society of Friends	28,531	30,911	8.3
Calvinistic Methodists	11,819	32,062	171.2

"It is hardly necessary to observe that these percentages must be taken *cum grano*. The Wesleyans, though still standing

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second to the Church of England in point of religious accommodation, have not increased in these towns so fast as some other bodies, owing to the secession which took place many years ago, and which resulted in the union of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers, under the name of the United Methodist Free Churches. In any estimate of progress it is therefore only fair that the two bodies should be combined, in which case the increase per cent. rises to 46.7. Taking the whole Methodist family together, they represent 688,997 sittings, being a little more than two fifths of the number supplied by the Church of England, and about 24 per cent. of the entire accommodation. The rapid increase of the Primitive Methodists, who have doubled their means of public worship in twenty-two years, is especially gratifying; this indefatigable body being the poorest of the several denominations, and finding their sphere of labor almost exclusively among the lower strata of society. Relative to the other denominations, the 'Nonconformist' remarks:

Twenty years ago the Presbyterians were comparatively weak in England, and have in the interval trebled their means of public worship. They are here included in one body, though consisting of three, the Church of Scotland, the English Presbyterians, and the United Presbyterians—the latter two verging upon amalgamation. Congregationalists and Baptists stand nearly in the same relative position as in 1851, though the increase of the former has been somewhat more rapid. As to the Roman Catholics, we can only repeat that their considerable increase is mainly owing to continuous Irish immigration, and that the accommodation of their places of worship represents a larger constituency, in proportion to other denominations, in consequence of its being more utilized. It is further to be observed that, while the comparison between two distinct divisions like the Established Church and the Free Churches, as a whole, is perfectly fair for statistical purposes, (and quite natural, so long as the former is placed in a position of supremacy,) the increase per cent. is not an infallible test when applied to the Church of England and the several denominations singly. The larger a religious body the smaller is likely to be the rate of increase per cent. This consideration ought to be borne in mind in examining the above totals.—Art. iv, pp. 415–417.

"The general inference is that a majority of the church-going population of England and Wales is to be found outside the Established Church; and it is shown that the chief safeguard against the sacerdotal reaction is to be found not within the

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Anglican communion, where indeed Sacramentarianism and Ritualism have lately made rapid progress, but in the numerous and extending Protestant denominations outside, the constitution of all of which is adverse to the theory of a priestly caste, and based upon the recognition of Christian freedom and independence. It is, moreover, claimed for the Free Churches that they are not only the champions of a pure Christianity and free religious thought, but the zealous supporters of political progress, and a liberal policy in national affairs. If the large towns are the chief centers of industrial enterprise and intellectual activity, it is reasonably concluded that, as the Nonconformists preponderate in all of them, they will, even more than has been the case heretofore, materially help to mold the national life, and preserve it from that putrefaction which arises from the injurious influence of a numerous sacerdotal class, favored and sustained by the State, coincident with the perils which are entailed by the enormous increase of wealth and prosperity among the population."—Art. iv, pp. 420, 421.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

"Wherever great deeds are the result of moral earnestness, rather than of intellectual force, there the personal character always attracts a special and affectionate interest. George Washington could perhaps, hardly with justice, be called a great soldier. But he was something better: he was a great man. And his character has always had more interest than his actions. The same thing may be said of the only other American President, yet arisen, who is likely to rival Washington in the affections of American patriotism. Abraham Lincoln was not a man of great intellect. But he was a man with a very clear moral insight into the secret of his country's woes, and with a courage that rose precisely in proportion as his convictions of duty were deepened."—Art. viii, p. 490.

EVOLUTIONARY CREATION.

"Mr. St. Clair accepts the evolution hypothesis of Darwin and Spencer, and in fact presents with remarkable clearness and succinctness the evidence on which it rests, and the phenomena which it seeks to explain. He admits the subjective character of species, and the origination of variety under the pressure

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of external conditions, and the tendency of the variety most in harmony with its environment to prevail over that which is less so. He treats the preservation of homologous parts in the great families of animated nature as signs of hereditary relationship rather than as indications of a vast plan. He allows the prodigious influence of sexual selection on the development of special peculiarities in both sexes. He refers rudimentary organs and partially developed peculiarities to the same general theory of general evolution of all things, and resists the criticisms by which many of these positions have been assailed. So far the volume is a valuable text-book to the doctrine of evolution, as every statement is confirmed, or even made in the language of one or other of the distinguished writers who have been chiefly associated with the modern promotion of the idea. Here, however, he parts company with many of them, and proceeds to argue the mental necessity, in which the theory lands the student, of supposing a Creator of boundless wisdom and beneficence. He endeavors to maintain that *evolution is the method of creation*, that the design-argument is unaffected, and even re-constituted, by the hypothesis; and so far from accepting the 'purposelessness' of nature, he handles with great acumen those which have been advanced; and shows that—as, for example, in the fœtal teeth of the whale—if the whole of the long process of modification be regarded as the Divine method in which needful and excellent varieties are obtained, and certain peculiarities dispensed with, the changes which are effected would not have been possible unless the force were present, which would be certain to eventuate in some other correlated peculiarity. Mr. St. Clair lays greatest emphasis on the properties of living substance being *foreseen* in all their infinite complication, and as designed to evolve their innumerable varieties. He shows that the simple, broad facts of evolution, or rather the commonly accepted phenomena of heredity and variation, ought to inspire admiration and wonder. Why not go further, and see in the laws and properties of matter the direct operation of the Creator, alike of things and of their forms and modes of behavior? Whence came the properties of nitrogen, and the undulations of ether, and the protoplasmic energy? Neither the universality nor constancy of a relation like that of heredity throws a ray of light upon its mystery.

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We agree that the *acceptance of Darwinism need not deprive us of our Creator*, nor ought it to blind us to his intelligence or goodness; but we are satisfied that Mr. Darwin has given a most insufficient exposition of the origin of the moral nature of man, and that the attempt to refer Christianity to the same general theory does much to unwind the strands of the whole argument. We will not contest the point here, but simply remind Mr. St. Clair that it is not enough to reply to the objection to evolution based on its abolition of the soul and its immortality that evolution is not answerable for these difficulties, and to say that other hypotheses about the human embryo and the birth of man are beset with like puzzles. We congratulate the author on the ground of his conscientious and scientific treatment of a profound and intricate problem. He suggests, from the correlation of the physical and vital forces, that if the final evolution of energy is consciousness and will, it is reasonable to suppose that the starting-place, the origin of all force, is *infinite* mind and will. This is an ingenious *argumentum ad hominem*, but we are far from accepting any such transmutation of force as is implied. If we should be compelled by Dr. Bastian or others to believe in the purely physical origin of life, and if the correlation of the phenomena of mind with the physical forces be ever established on irrefragable basis, we should hail the suggestion of Mr. St. Clair. At present, we are content to lay it by for possible use."—Pp. 555, 556. *Notice of "Darwinism and Design; by George St. Clair, F.G.S.*

DE WITT TALMAGE.

"Perhaps the besetting sin of preachers is dull propriety, and in our thankfulness for any revolt from it, we are disposed to be very lenient toward sensationalism, especially when it bears marks of genuineness. But Dr. Talmage is almost too much for us. His extravagance is so incessant, and so often verges upon profanity or buffoonery, that even his manifest earnestness does not redeem it. He seems to be always casting about for something that may shock by its violence—the extravagances of men like Latimer are his ordinary mood. He gives his hearers no rest—every sentence is 'above proof.' What can we think, for instance, of a sermon on 'The White Hair of Jesus,' in which his appearance, as described in Rev. i, 14, is made to

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suggest the *sorrow*, the *beauty*, and the *antiquity* of Jesus. It is neither exegesis, nor reverence, nor common sense. Nothing can excuse such travesties of the most sublime and reverent representation of Scripture, nor can any degree of cleverness or earnestness prevent such preaching from turning religion into contempt. If our American brethren like it, all the worse for them. We cannot think it of the fellow-townsmen of Henry Ward Beecher and Richard Storrs. There are, however, in the book better things than this. It is earnest—even passionate—in its appeals against sin and for Christ; but even the utmost earnestness and fidelity need not have recourse to such flagrant violations of both taste and reverent feeling.—*Notice of Talmage's Sermons.*

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The conflict which, in consequence of the Vatican Council and the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility has arisen between the Roman Catholic Church and a number of States in which the Church is constitutionally recognized as an established Church, is more and more assuming dimensions which make it one of the greatest and most momentous controversies of the age. Although the so-called Catholic party, which endeavors to carry out the behests of Rome in the legislative assemblies, and, in general, in the political and social life of the European countries, has now a better organization and exerts a greater influence than at any previous period, the Governments, the Protestants of all shades of opinion, the Liberal Catholics, and, in general, all who do not belong to the Catholic party, are on the other hand unanimously determined not to concede the demands of the hierarchy and the Catholic party. There is as yet but little disposition on the part of the Governments and the Liberal parties to solve the difficulty by adopting the American principle of a complete separation between Church and State. The prevailing opinion is, that as the ministers and institutions of the Catholic Church are supported by State moneys, the further payment of these moneys must be made contingent upon a strict compliance with the laws of the State, and any violation of these laws on the part of the bishops and priests must be punished as any other transgression of State laws. Two countries in particular, Prussia and Switzerland, are at present engaged in carrying through this principle with a consistency which shrinks from no measures, however severe. In Prussia the new Minister of Public Worship, Dr. Falk, in January,

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1873, introduced in the session of the Prussian Diet the draft of the celebrated four new laws which hereafter will regulate the relation of State government of Prussia to the established Churches, and in particular to the Roman Catholic Church. They provide that all clergymen of the State Churches, in order to be qualified for an appointment, must have passed through a regular course of instruction at the German Gymnasia and Universities, and that the so-called *Seminaria Puerorum*, a Roman Catholic institution in which boys from an early age are receiving a kind of monastic education for the priesthood, be abolished. They aim at restricting and confining within certain bounds the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical superiors over their inferiors, and define the functions of the new "Royal Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs," which is in future to act as a court of appeal from all decisions of ecclesiastical superiors. They also abolish many of the provisions by which the State formerly endeavored to render the secession from one of the State Churches as difficult as possible. Although the Evangelical Oberkirchenrath of Berlin (Supreme Ecclesiastical Council) did not approve all of the provisions proposed by the Minister of Public Worship, and also some Protestant members of the high aristocracy denounced them in the Herrenhaus, (House of Lords,) the debate on them in the Diet was almost exclusively a combat between the Catholic party and the Government. The former was supported in their opposition to the laws by the Polish deputies, by a few ultraconservative Protestants, and the Socialists, but when the vote was taken in the Chamber of Deputies they were defeated by a vote of about 245 against 110. The Herrenhaus, which on a similar occasion had been given to understand that the Government would not brook any factious opposition on the part of the high aristocracy, but if necessary would overcome it by the creation of new peers, also adopted the law by a two thirds majority, (93 against 68.) The Catholic bishops, at a general meeting held in Fulda, determined not to submit to the law, which they represented as being at variance, in essential points, with the divinely ordained constitution and the freedom of the Church, and as threatening the Church with a greater danger than any to which it had been exposed since the days of Constantine. At the new election of a Prussian Diet in October, 1873, it was found that the Catholic party which supported the demands of the bishops largely gained in nearly all the Catholic districts, electing their candidates in an overwhelming majority of the districts. As, however, their only trustworthy allies among other political parties of the Diet, the old Conservatives, were almost annihilated in the new election, the Government had for its ecclesiastical polity as large a majority in the new chamber as in the old. The speech from the throne expressed the regret of the king that the new laws which were to regulate the relations of the State Government to the State Churches had encountered the unjustified opposition of the Roman Catholic bishops. It also announced that the Government, unmindful of this resistance, would fully carry through those laws, and would promptly take all the other necessary steps in

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order to prevent the interests confided to its care from suffering any injury. When one of the leaders of the Catholic party, Peter Reichensperger, a member of the Supreme Court of the Kingdom, moved that the House of Deputies declare that the ecclesiastical peace, which had been destroyed since 1871, could not be restored by the passage of measures like the recent Church Laws, but only by a return to the principles which had long been practically tested, his motion was rejected by 288 votes against 95. As the Government of Prussia takes the ground that it is not the office of the State to decide which of the two parties claiming to be the true Catholic Church has the best title to the name, it considers it fair to let the Old Catholics have a fair proportion of the moneys which the State allots for the support of the Catholic Church. The budget of the Minister of Public Worship, which was discussed in January, 1874, proposed to give to the Old Catholic bishop, Dr. Reinkens, an annual salary of 16,000 thalers, and the Chamber approved of this sum, notwithstanding the violent attacks of the Catholic party. On February 3, 1874, the Archbishop of Posen, Count Ledochowski, was arrested for persistent violation of the Prussian laws, and in March his arrest was followed by that of the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Treves. In April, 1874, the Royal Ecclesiastical Court of Berlin declared the imprisoned Archbishop of Posen deposed from his office. The Government, in the meanwhile, had proposed, and the Prussian Diet adopted, laws introducing civil marriage, and providing for the administration of vacant dioceses. The relation of the other German States to the Catholic Church is about the same as that of Prussia, and the Reichstag is guided in questions of a religious character by the same principles as the Prussian Diet.

At the election of a new Reichstag at the beginning of 1874, the Ultramontane party gained as great successes in Bavaria and several other small States as in Prussia. In Bavaria they elected their candidates in all but three or four of the Catholic districts, and only in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where two thirds of the population are Catholic, they were defeated, retaining only two of eighteen districts. In the Reichstag they number one hundred and two of three hundred and ninety-seven members, exclusive of thirteen Poles who, in all religious questions, vote with them. It may be regarded as certain that the laws which will be adopted in Prussia will sooner or later receive the sanction of the German Reichstag. The Grand Duchy of Baden, which, next to Prussia and Bavaria, has the largest Catholic population, has already introduced the same laws as Prussia, and even taken more decisive steps for protecting the Old Catholics in the enjoyment of their rights as members of the established Catholic Church. In Bavaria the Government has, for the present, refused to recognize Dr. Reinkens as Old Catholic bishop. The progress of the Old Catholic Church as a separate organization is making slow but steady progress. A number of new congregations have been organized, and some of the old ones have largely increased in numbers; thus the congregations of Cologne embrace more

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than two thousand five hundred heads. The first Synod of the Church was held in May, 1874.

In Switzerland, the revision of the Federal Constitution, which has been adopted by a majority of the cantons and a majority of the popular vote, indicates the continued ascendency of the principles which all the cantons, with the exception of the seven in which the Ultramontane party is still in the majority, have adopted with regard to the Church of Rome. In the largest canton, Berne, all the Catholic parishes are now administered by Old Catholic priests, and the necessary steps have been taken for the establishment of an Old Catholic theological faculty in connection with the University of Berne. As the Pope, in his Encyclical of November 21, 1873, severely condemned the measures adopted against the Catholic Church, the Federal Council, on the twelfth of December, informed the Papal nuncio, Agnozzi, that in consequence of the conduct of the Pope toward Switzerland the Confederacy would no longer recognize a Papal diplomatic agent.

In Austria, the first general elections according to the new electoral law for a new Reichsrath, which embraces the representatives of the German and most of the Slavic provinces, took place in October, 1873, and resulted in a considerable majority of the Liberal party. In Austria, the Catholic party is as yet far from being so strong as in Prussia. It controls many of the rural districts, but in the vast majority of the towns it is almost powerless. Though the sympathies of the Imperial family are supposed to be strongly with the Catholic party, the Emperor has found it necessary to appoint a ministry which, in most questions, agrees with the Liberal majority of the Reichstag, though in some it keeps back, preferring to advance at a slower rate. As the Concordat of 1855, which gave to the Catholic party very extensive prerogatives, has been abolished, a re-organization of the relations between Church and State had long become necessary. The drafts of four new laws were therefore introduced by the ministry in the session of the Reichsrath which began in January, 1874. They are far from being so sweeping as those adopted by the Prussian Diet, and did by no means fulfill the expectations of the Liberal party. Their aim appeared to be to establish a more extensive superintendence of the State over Church affairs, and especially over the property of the Church, and at the same time to hurt as little as possible the feelings of the hierarchy. The latter, however, looked upon the proposed laws as being no less injurious to the best interests of the Church than the Prussian laws, and determined to make to them a desperate opposition. The Pope himself, in an Encyclical Letter dated March 7, 1874, declared that in reality these laws were of the same spirit and character, and prepared for the Church in Austria the same ruin. Nevertheless, the House of Deputies, on March 9, adopted the law concerning the regulation of the external affairs of the Church by 224 votes against 71. In the Upper House all the Archbishops and Bishops of the Empire took their seats, and the Cardinals Rauscher, Schwarzenberg, and Tarnoczy strongly denounced

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the laws, but could not prevent their adoption. On the seventh of May the Emperor signed the first two of the four laws which had been introduced by the ministry, and they had thus become valid. In the new session of the Reichsrath, which is to be held in the latter part of the year, the third and fourth of these laws are to be discussed, as well as some amendments which have already been introduced by Liberal members who desire more stringent laws against the Catholic Church. One of these amendments, which demands the expulsion of the Jesuits, appears to be favored by a large majority of the Deputies.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE Greek Church has of late not only entered into closer intercourse with other denominations of Christians in Western Europe and America, but it begins to have a theological literature which is based on a thorough acquaintance with the standard works of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. In addition to the works of this kind mentioned in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, a manual of Church History deserves to be mentioned, published last year by Professor Kyriakos, of the University of Athens, for the use of theological students of the University. (*Δοκίμιον Εκκλησιαστικῆς Ιστορίας*, Athens, 1873.) After stating in the introduction the scope of his work, and reviewing the literature on Church history, the author divides the history of the Christian Church into four sections. 1. From the foundation of the Church to Constantine the Great, (A. D. 1–313:) 2. From Constantine the Great to the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches in the ninth century, (A. D. 313–860:) 3. From the separation of the Churches in the ninth century to the Conquest of Constantinople, (A. D. 860–1453:) 4. From the Conquest of Constantinople to the present time, (A. D. 1453–1870.) In the history of each of the first two periods the author treats in five chapters of the external history of the Church, of the Church doctrine, of ecclesiastical literature, of the constitution of the Church, of ecclesiastical life and divine worship. From the beginning of the third period the history of the Oriental Church becomes, of course, more prominent. In the third period five chapters treat: 1. Of the separation of the Churches and the attempts at reunion; 2. Heresies and theological controversies; 3. Theological literature; 4. Ecclesiastical constitution, life and worship; 5. Introduction of Christianity among the Slavi, and in particular among the Russians. A sixth chapter treats of the Eastern sects which seceded from the Greek Church, and a seventh chapter of the history of the Western Church. The fourth period is divided into four chief divisions: I. History of the Oriental Church, in three subdivisions; 1. The Oriental Church in the Turkish Empire; 2. History of the Oriental Church

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in Greece; 3. History of the Oriental Church in Russia. II. History of the other Oriental Churches. III. History of the Protestant Churches. IV. History of the Roman Catholic Church. Books of this kind have an important mission; they acquaint the theological students of the Greek Church with the religious movements in the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches, and thus aid in removing the state of lethargy in which this Church has been so long.

ART. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Holiness the Birthright of All God's Children. By Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D., of the Newark Conference. 16mo., pp. 144. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

Had we been privileged to peruse Dr. Crane's *brochure* before publication we should doubtless have endeavored to convince him that there is no such difference in his views as to require him to place them in so frank an antagonism to Mr. Wesley's. Mr. Wesley holds that regeneration is at first so incomplete that traces of depravity remain in the soul, as is evidenced by the "sins willfully committed" (according to our twelfth Article) "after justification." Dr. Crane admits that "after justification" there are "weak faith," "temptation," and "sin," but denies that their base is a "residue" of our natural pravity within us. This may seem to some a shadowy difference, but it leads him to a brave contest with Mr. Wesley's sermon on "Sin in Believers," which has been accepted as standard by our Methodism the world around. We think it must still remain standard.

We venture the following statement. Mr. Wesley and Dr. C. agree that, at justification, there is conferred a degree of "power" over sin and against temptation. Both would agree that according to the degree of that "power" is the degree of the sanctification. Indeed, we think one of the best definitions of sanctification is: *The power, through divine grace, more or less complete, and more or less permanent, so to resist temptation and avoid sin as to live in the fullness of Divine favor.* Where the correlation between the inner state of the soul is such that there is no power to avoid sinning, "and that continually," the depravity is entire. Where, *secondly*, there is power through grace, by faith, largely but partially and precariously to avoid sin, with usually but a dim sense of Divine approval, then we should by parity infer that the pravity was not entire but partial. If it were the case of

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one who had been previously in the *entirely* depraved state, we should imagine that it was a trace of that previous entire state. And viewing this to be about the condition of the ordinary justified person, we look upon this deficit of his spiritual power as a remains of his previous entire inability. Where, *thirdly*, the power is such as to enable one, with the exertion of unremittent care and energy, to maintain, with a clear and regular continuity, the avoidance of such sin as diminishes the light of God's smile upon us, we might with trembling trust call that entire sanctification. Where, *fourthly*, such is the correlation between the state of the soul and temptation that the avoidance of sin is a matter of perfect normal and natural ease, and may be rationally predicted as forever and absolutely permanent, (even though there is a free power for sin, and though sin be most abnormally the actual result,) there is clearly no depravity. And this is Adamic perfection. But it is quite irrelevant for Dr. Crane to quote Adam and Eve before the fall to illustrate either of the previous cases. Finally, where the soul is entirely removed from the sphere of sin, perfectly filled with God, and framed within a body incapable of sin so that sin becomes impossible, the holiness is finitely absolute. This last stage of complete, indefeasible bliss shall be at the resurrection. It is that period predicted by our Lord as emphatically *the regeneration*. Matt. xix, 28. It is that glorious day to which St. Paul, earnestly looking, beholds the whole creation groaning for the manifestation of *the sons of God*. Regeneration is, indeed, truly a specific term in theology, and yet it comes under the grand genus of the final renovation. Then for the first moment the impairment we, one and all, have derived from Adam and sin, shall be completely repaired. Hence our regeneration here, as individuals, is but initial, as part of the entire regeneration completed at the resurrection. Let not then our beloved brother be impatient because God is so slow as to leave an imperfect "residue" within us. "God is patient because God is eternal."

To perceive the difference between justification and entire sanctification let us take another view. At justification, or pardon, God beholds the soul as being in Christ perfectly innocent, perfectly pure from the guilt of sin. In *that sense* he is, at that moment, *perfectly holy*. Then such measure of the Spirit is given as God pleases; and even the slightest measure of spiritual life thereby bestowed is regeneration. Assuming, then, that the soul is in the above sense *perfectly holy*, is he possessed of such *perfect power over the future commission of sin as to constitute entire*

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sanctification? If such a case should be, it would be a rare exception. Experience shows that such a power is the usual result, both of growth and of fuller measures of the Spirit, and "gift of power." And now, what is the measure of what can be called "*entire* sanctification?" Our answer would be: *Such a measure of power over sin as holds us, with more or less continuity, in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon us when justification first pronounced us, through Christ, perfectly innocent of sin.* Happy, transcendantly happy, is the man with whom such fulness is permanent! With others it may be for a season; with others, a vibrating experience; and rarer than is usually supposed is the case of its permanence.

We think it accords with Wesleyan theology to say, that the amissibility of even the most entire sanctification in our probationary life is based in a "residue" of our hereditary moral debility. Just because it is part of the great racial impairment waiting the great racial repairment. And just because, also, it is such a correlation of the soul with temptation, belonging to our nature, inherited from the fall, as leaves us, as Mr. Wesley repeatedly states, inferior to Adamic perfection. Whatever inferiority we possess below unfallen Adam, must be part of that loss we have suffered from fallen Adam.

Sanctification is, perhaps, less the taking away any thing from our inward nature than the bestowment of a repressive power over our inner sinward tendencies. On the rail-track the sprung iron sometimes turns up a dangerous elastic "snake's head," that, unless fastened down, will smash the train. The natural man's heart contains a circle of elastic "snakes' heads," pointing from circumference to center, that nothing but divine grace can press completely down. The Spirit of God, aiding our firm volition, applies a pressure that shuts them down more or less completely; and according to the completeness of the shut-down is the entireness of the sanctification. That Divine grace ever completely takes away the snakes' heads, or even their elasticity, during probation, is more than we can affirm. Whatever be the conscious feeling of the professedly sanctified man, our impression is, that spectators often perceive the snake's head when he little thinks it. St. Paul found it necessary to *keep his body under*—that is, to keep the snake's head repressed; and it was that repression, not the *removal*, that constituted his sanctification. The unremoved snake's head is evidenced by the energy still required to keep it in repression; and apostasy discloses the

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snake's head present and elastic as ever. It is, perhaps, only in the sense that the complete repression of the snake's head would be its cessation as a snake's head, so that it is a snake's head no longer, that there may be said to be in sanctification a cessation of our hereditary pravity.

What constitutes the difference between the sin of the unregenerate and the sin of the regenerate? We answer: the former is the hostile act of an enemy, the latter the offense of a child. For the former God has justice, for the latter correction. When faith is strong and fertile, that childship is manhood. When faith is "weak" and barren, the soul is dwarfed in moral manhood and becomes a babe. When faith expires, the child of God becomes a child of the devil. In the heart of the regenerate, faith, however weak, is a deep, moral protest underlying the sin he commits; a potential repentance, likely soon to manifest itself in action. The difference, therefore, between the sins of the unregenerate and regenerate is not intrinsic but relative; it arises from the different conditions of enemy and child. The denying the Christian's sins to be sins is a fatal procedure. Dr. Hodge charges an Antinomian tendency upon perfectionism, but carefully adds that it has no such effect among Methodists. Any inclination to deny sin and guilt in the believer would certainly introduce such tendency. We must beware how we sustain our regeneration or our sanctification, not by avoiding sin, but by white-washing the sin we commit.

Dr. Crane's book is written in a pure, fresh, and living style. However he overrates justification, he is about right in his statement of sanctification. His tone and temper are worthy the imitation of his respondents, whose spirit in some instances seems hardly justified, much less sanctified.

The Trinity. By Rev. F. H. BURRIS, A. M., member of the South Kansas Methodist Episcopal Conference. With an Introduction by Professor JOSEPH HAVEN, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Mental Philosophy," etc. 12mo., pp. xxvii, 216. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1874.

If Professor Haven gives us a true view of the historical phases of the Trinitarian doctrine, we think that subject is well worth the critical attention of our professors of Historical Theology. If it be a true exposition of the Athanasian creed that the *three-one* is three as three men are three, yet are one only as the human race is one, then we have the baldest of tritheism.

Professor Haven gives the following as the substance of Mr. Burris's doctrine:

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1. That there is but one God, the Father of all. 2. That Christ is the Son of God, begotten of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost; that in this Son, thus begotten, God dwelt—the *whole Deity*, and not merely the second person of the Trinity, as usually taught. 3. That the Holy Ghost, sustaining thus to Christ the relation of Father, is none other than God the Father; in other words, is the *spirit* of God, and no more a distinct person from him than the spirit of a man is a distinct person from the man himself. 4. That the Divine Trinity—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—are not a trinity of persons, but the three essentials of one God in Christ—the Father being Deity; the Son, the human nature in which Deity becomes incarnate; the Holy Ghost, God working in us through his Son—a trinity first coming into existence when God became incarnate in the person of Jesus.

This appears to be about equivalent to Sabellianism. It teaches not an *essential* and eternal, but a *phenomenal* and temporal, Trinity. There is no eternal trine distinction in the Divine Essence. The Trinity is not only revealed first in the New Testament dispensation, but there it first comes into existence, being simply the one God in a threefold manifestation; each manifestation being a personality because endowed in language and thought with a personal pronoun; each person eternal only in the Divine Essence underlying the impersonation.

We will not now inquire how far this agrees with Scripture. And our readers may be surprised at our query, how far it is heterodox according to our standards? The eternal Sonship of Christ has been a doctrine heretofore strenuously maintained by most Methodist authors. Watson had a controversy with Clarke on the subject, and in the spirit of that controversy gave a large space to that topic in his Institutes. If we rightly remember, Timothy Merritt, of New England, lost a re-election by the General Conference because he wrote an article questioning that doctrine. We once heard Dr. Bangs express his disapproval of the strenuousness of Watson on the dogma. We will now call attention to a fact which we think *has never been noticed* in this connection. Mr. Wesley, in remodeling the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England for the American Methodist Episcopal Church, *expressly struck out the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ.* This will appear by the following comparison between the English article, Latin and English, and our Wesleyan Article.

Filius, qui est Verbum Patris, *ab æterno a Patre genitus*, verus et æternus Deus, etc.	The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlasting of the Father*, the very and eternal God, etc.	The Son, who is the Word of the Father, the very and eternal God, etc.

Dr. Clarke refers to a conversation with Mr. Wesley in which the latter, though inclined to the Churchly view, laid no emphasis upon it. One can hardly doubt that, in striking out the clause in the American articles, he meant to leave a freedom on the ques-

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tion. Perhaps this is in accordance with the fact that Wesley, omitting the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, retained the so-called Apostles' only. We are not clear, therefore, that the doubting the eternal Sonship is with us unorthodox. Moses Stuart, Albert Barnes, and, we believe, New England Calvinists extensively, believe that the term *Son of God* takes its origin from the incarnation, (according to Luke i, 35,) and applies to the divinity of the second person only by extension.

Mr. Burris (pp. 173–5) compliments our Commentary, on Luke i, 35, as alone of the commentaries touching upon the fact that the text seemed to make the Holy Ghost the father of Christ. Our note, in order to avoid that conclusion, interprets the Holy Spirit as the pure Spirit of the Father. On fuller examination we must thank Mr. B., not so much for paying an over-generous compliment, as for calling us to a reconsideration of the subject. We must rather incline to the views of the Conception furnished by Pearson on the Creed. Conception is a feminine act, "and belongeth not so properly to the Holy Ghost, of whom the act, cannot be predicated. For though Christ was *conceived by the Holy Ghost*, yet the Holy Ghost did not conceive him, but said unto the Virgin, 'Thou shalt conceive.'" Luke i, 31. The part of the Holy Spirit was, that he "immediately and miraculously enabled the blessed Virgin to conceive our Saviour." "And if at any time I have said Christ was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and if the Ancients speak as if he generated the Son, it is not to be understood as if the Spirit did perform any proper act of generation, such as is the foundation of paternity." In a learned note, Pearson quotes with apology Tertullian's phrase *semen Dei*. Pearson adds, "I know not whether it be the greatest folly, to *make the Holy Ghost the Father*, as these men have done, in supposing a seminal conjunction; or to make the Holy Spirit mother of Christ, as the Nazarenes did." The true doctrine of the Church, rejecting with disgust all thought of seminal impartation, holds the Holy Spirit to have simply empowered the person of the Virgin to conceive from her own corporeal substance. Inspiration reveals that the agent was the Holy Spirit for the very purpose of rejecting all unholy association of thought.

The Apostles' Creed says, indeed, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost;" but it also says, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ HIS only Son." Very plainly, then, the primitive Church did not hold the Holy Ghost to be the Father of Christ. In accordance with this view we see no reason for inter-

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preting Luke i, 35, as meaning other than the third person of the Trinity. Yet the obvious meaning of the words of the Creed, "Jesus Christ his only Son, who was conceived," etc., "born of the Virgin," etc., would seem to be that the Sonship commenced with the incarnation.

A phenomenal Trinity is undoubtedly far more easy to our rational conception, but that it duly solves the language of Scripture is a matter of profound doubt. That it is consistent, without a new interpretation, with the first or second of our Articles, we suppose Mr. Burris will not claim. Mr. Burris takes stand on his scripture interpretation professedly on the ground that he has tried to believe the Athanasian Creed, but could not. How far the effort to harmonize our theology with our supposed "intuitions" will drift the public mind in the phenomenal direction, the future must decide.

The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version, (A.D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. Vol. IV. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Solomon. 8vo., pp. 702. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

The present volume includes many of the most interesting and important passages of the old canon. The notes by such contributors as Cook, Ellicott, Plumptre, and others, are well worth reference and study. They are modest, moderate, learned, able, and conservative without bigotry. The ample margins, however, might have been less spacial, and more completely filled; while so large and loosely-printed a text is very unnecessary. We do not need the work as a large print of King James's translation, but as a repository of the best modern thought on the ancient record. The work deals often in a very gentle, yet conclusive, way with the rationalistic questionings of the authenticity of the various books and passages.

The pseudo-criticism invalidating the Solomonian authorship of the book of Ecclesiastes is, for instance, shown to be invalid. The text of the book positively asserts that Solomon was its author. And as there is no intimation whatever that the plain statement was figurative, the obvious inference would be that the book was either Solomon's or a forgery. The entire historic tradition of the Jewish Church accepts it as Solomon's according to its own statement, and has elevated it into the sacred canon. Yet out of so plain a statement as "I was king in Jerusalem"

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two arguments have been drawn to show that the work was written, not by Solomon, but by some later writer.

1. The past tense *was* implies that he *is* not king at the time of writing. To this our author gives two replies, which are each ample to refute the objection, and yet are neither, we believe, the best answer. His first reply is, that the Hebrew preterite may really include the present, which is true. His second reply is a quotation from Louis XIV. of his phrase, "When I *was* king," uttered in despondent recollection of his once victorious days. The true reply, we think, is this: Solomon is writing this book of religious ethics, not merely for his contemporaries, but also for the future; and in simple grandeur he says to his successors, "I, who made these various moral experiments, had full chance for a complete trial, conclusive for all time, for 'I was king in' the holy capital." That this would be the true meaning of the words, even if written by a later author, is, we think, certain. Otherwise, that later author is made to assume that Solomon was dethroned near the close of his life. But how absurd to suppose that a book should be inserted in the sacred canon by a writer so perfectly ignorant of Solomon's real history, as recorded in the Bible itself! How absurd to suppose that so gross a contradiction of the canon could have place in the canon!

2. The second argument is drawn from the phrase "in Jerusalem;" which phrase, it is objected, implies that there was another Hebrew capital, namely, Samaria, and, therefore, it indicated a time later than Solomon. The replies of our author seem rather incomplete. Our own replies are: 1) The objection implies a very unsupposable blunder in the supposed later author. He makes Solomon king after his own death; after Rehoboam, his son, was reigning; and after the kingdom was divided into two. That the author of a standard piece of Hebrew literature should write so ignorantly, and then that production should be adopted into the canon, is inadmissible. 2) "King in Jerusalem" may just as well be antithetic to Tyre, or to any other neighboring capital, as to Samaria. Why not Solomon "king in Jerusalem," just as well as "Hiram king of Tyre?" The whole argument is based on the simple and ordinary mentioning of the capital instead of the kingdom. 3) But the real reason is this: The phrase "in Jerusalem" occurs five times, and it is used simply to indicate to future readers the scene where the royal moral experimentations were made. How absurd to suppose that, throughout the first and second chapters, the locative phrase "in Jerusalem" is intended

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to assure the reader that Solomon did not prosecute these trials in Samaria!

Weakest of all is the objection from the phrase, "All that were before me in Jerusalem;" namely, that the words presuppose many *kings* in Jerusalem before Solomon. Our author well replies that it is not previous *kings* that are implied, but previous persons furnished with the means of trying what good there is in the world—whether philosophers, rich men, or grandees of any rank. Solomon "was king," and endowed with completer means than ever any experimentist "in Jerusalem before" him. But the decisive argument, which we have nowhere seen, seems to us to be this: The objector makes a standard Hebrew author put words into Solomon's mouth that imply that many Hebrew "kings" had reigned "in Jerusalem" before him! So that every one of these mighty efforts of *criticism* (?) runs into the same ground of supposing an unsupposable blunder in their imaginary later author.

In regard to style and philosophy, the objectors make a more serious showing. As to style, there is admitted to be a great diversity from the other writings of Solomon. This objection is obviated, with tolerable fairness, by the length of time between it and Solomon's earlier writings, the experiences and revolutions through which his mind had passed, and the peculiarity of the class to which the book belongs. Literature furnishes many instances of equal diversity of style in the same author. As to philosophy, the replies of our author are moderate, fair, and, on the whole, satisfactory. Not all the difficulty disappears; but that no trace of difficulty should remain can hardly be demanded.

The Way, the Truth, and the Life. Lectures to Educated Hindus. Delivered on his late Visit to India, by JULIUS H. SEELYE, Professor in Amherst College. 12mo., pp. 146. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

The production of these Lectures has a very interesting history to it. Being in Bombay, on a late trip round the world, Professor Seelye was invited to pause in his journey, and "give some addresses to the educated natives." Large audiences of that class gave hearing to his utterances, which were extemporaneous; and when he had done, he was requested by "native gentlemen" to write them out, "one of whom, an eminent Brahmin scholar, offered to bear the expense of the publication." Four were by him written out; and a Lecture of his on Miracles, once delivered in Boston, and which had already been circulated

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in India, was added. They were very properly republished here; being nearly as suggestive to us Americans as to the Hindu Brahmins.

First, it is not a little interesting to see the American and the Hindu Aryans meet face to face in high and courteous communion. They were blood brothers. The ancestors of both once fed their cows on the high Asiatic plateau. Their radical language was the same. Through what different histories had they passed since both left their old highland home! This Aryan scholar, traveling from the antipodes round and back to the antipodes again, must pause, and clothe the religion he professed in language worthy a scholar to utter and scholars to hear.

It is interesting, again, to see Christianity face to face with intellectual Brahminism. And it shall not be Christianity robed in pompous rituals and churchery, or stealing in under compromise, claiming to be almost Brahminism under another form. This is Christianity in its naked principle, unshrinkingly affirmed and pressed upon intellect, heart, and conscience. Professor Seelye, though with a graceful English style and a high scholarly bearing, presents the medicine without a sugar-coat. Whatever intuitive reason may say, the lecturer presents the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the expiatory Sacrifice, as the evangelical theology of our day maintains them. Mr. Bushnell thinks that our missionary has a doubtful task before the intellect of Asia, unless he can take Expiation out of Reconciliation. Professor Seelye assumes that upon the Hindu, as upon the American, the Cross, presented in its expiatory character, has its power. The Trinity is presented as a lofty mystery; the Incarnation, as a sublime, yet affecting supernaturalism. The result is said, somewhat indefinitely, to have been a "success." We wish we could know how much the success went beyond a courteous interested hearing, and a generous subsequent politeness. How truly did the cultured Brahmin audience *feel* the true force of these truths?

Finally, how important it is that the best talent in the Church should be placed at the great missionary posts. We wish we were Pope, or something of that sort, to send Professor Seelye peremptorily to India for life, or at least during success. Perhaps, however, the very fact of one's being "a missionary" closes educated ears against him. That we have had, and have, no little ability in that mission we know. And we see a wisdom in impressive episcopal visitations there. It is well, indeed, to develop Churches and Conferences from the humbler and the humblest classes; but

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it is also well to be able at once to attract and to face, with winning and commanding eloquence, scholarship, and evangelical power, the intellectual aristocracy of our brother Aryans.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; or, Philosophy of the Divine Operation in the Redemption of Man. By Rev. JAMES WALKER, D.D., Author of the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," etc.

Dr. Walker's "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation" is his masterpiece. It must stand as a Christian classic. Every theological student should read it; and for the thoughtful doubter it is one of the aids and antidotes. The publisher informs us that over eighty thousand copies have been sold in America, and more than fifty thousand in England; while translations into German, French, Italian, Welsh, and Hindostanee, have circulated it through Europe and extended it into Asia.

His later publications, "God Revealed in Creation and Christ," "The Living Questions of the Age," and the volume under notice, exhibit the same traits, but do not equal it in standard excellence. In discoursing on the Spirit Dr. Walker commences with the Trinity, and seems to us rather Anti-Nicene than Athanasian. He contemplates the connection of the Spirit with Christ as immediate and permanent; with the apostles, as commencing at the Pentecost, (previous to which they were "in the Old Testament state,") and as bestowing upon them the special endowments fitting to their work. The choosing Matthias as an apostle he considers as a precipitate act performed by the apostles in their unendowed state, and forestalling the personal act of Christ, who subsequently chose Paul as the twelfth apostle. It strikes us, then, as strange, that Paul claims to be an apostle, but never to be one of the twelve. Dr. Walker then contemplates the work of the Spirit in believers and with the impenitent. A supplement discusses the nature and power of the prayer of faith. An appendix furnishes excursuses upon a number of interesting points.

Dr. Walker is a decided evangelical, with so far a tinge of rationalism that his mind darts out from the beaten track in a search after truth in new regions. He is catholic and earnest in his sympathies. We miss in his work a discussion of the work of the Spirit in the inspiration of the written word. His views of the Spirit in the soul of the believer are fresh and strong; but we miss a clear and emphatic specification of the Spirit speaking directly to the soul, as from mind to mind, *Thou art a child of God.* His words once or twice might bear this interpretation; but if he had

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the clear, bright, beautiful Wesleyan view, he would have expressed it in no slighting manner. With him the Spirit's witness seems inferential, not direct.

The Secret of Christianity. By S. S. Hebberd. 16mo., pp. 210. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1874.

A contribution to Comparative Theology, exhibiting fine scholarship and original thought clothed in clear and vigorous diction. Mr. Hebberd claims to be the first to designate a specialty by which Christianity is peculiar among all religions. We think there are several. For instance, *Christianity alone claims to be a system based on miracles performed within the historic ages, revealing man's eternal destiny, and showing how that destiny may be a blessed one.* So that Christianity fairly claims to be the only religion. Mr. Hebberd—and who Mr. Hebberd is we do not know—however, shows with no little force that Christianity is a sole and singular power ruling in human moral history. Between the opposite forces of Oriental mysticism and Western humanism Christianity has arbitrated, giving each alternate dominance, yet checking the extremes of both. During the Middle Ages Orientalism reigned in the form of a supernatural absolutism, and the Reformation was the revival of humanism, independent thought, and experiential science. This humanism results in the marvelous career of modern utilitarian "progress." But humanism is rapidly approaching its extreme. A healthful reaction lies in the not very distant future, which will result in an age of faith.

We should be glad, if space permitted, to analyze some of Mr. Hebberd's splendid generalizations. In particular, we would call attention to his thesis that idealism is more truly the parent of valid science than its rival sensuism. Whether Christianity is to be considered as a *result* of the evolution of alternate Orientalism and humanism, or whether it is a primordial controlling power over both and all, he does not, if we rightly recollect, declare. But in either case he evidently believes, indeed maintains with eminent force, that absolute religious truth is embodied in Christianity alone. We heartily recommend the work to thinkers.

A Comparative History of Religions. By James C. Moffatt, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Part II. Later Scriptures. Progress and Revolutions of Faith. 12mo., pp. 316. New York: Dodd & Mead.

We have already called attention to Prof. Moffatt's very interesting survey of the comparative theologies of the world. His plan in the present volume is new and striking. Assuming the unity

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of the human race, and its origin after the flood in Western Asia, he also assumes that there is a oneness centralizing the religions of the world. Taking primitive Monotheism as the historical and spiritual center, mankind may be viewed (in language not his but ours) as a sort of universal Church, and all the divergences from the center are as heresies. The evolutions of these heresies, which are several times repeated in human history, are traced and analyzed. The Monotheism diverges into Polytheism in various well-defined modes. The simplicity of primitive devotion is overlaid with ritual. The family ministry is supplanted by a despotic priesthood. Then comes a break, a reformation, which either evolves in rationalism or returns to a renovated simplicity. By a tracery of the principles that pervade human history the whole becomes more easily comprehensible and is readily laid out in synoptical plan.

The whole view is inspired with a liberalism not usually found hitherto in Calvinistic authors, yet perfectly consonant with a true evangelicism, and entirely in the spirit of our Arminian authorities. The "Theology of the Reformation," so-called, has been stern in its view of the "heathen" world. But the milder view is more Christ-like, and truly more conducive to the missionary spirit and success. The student in comparative theology will do well not to overlook this work.

Forgiveness and Law, Grounded in Principles, Interpreted by Human Analogies. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 256. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

Were we to give what we think a true title to Mr. Bushnell's book we should write it, *An attempt to harmonize Scripture and our Intuitions in a theory of the Suffering Work of Christ.* In our notice of Dr. Hodge on Darwinism, on another page, we referred to the fact of an increasing tendency at the present hour toward bringing religious doctrine to the test of our intuitive judgment. This intuitive nature is our stronghold against Atheism and Materialism, in which, intrenching itself, Christianity must conquer. But after such self-intrenchment what shall be done against those attacks made upon theological doctrines from the intuitional ground? How can theology quote intuition when in her favor, and reject it when against her?

The work of Mr. Burris, on another page, proposes a phenomenal Trinity, because he "has tried to believe Athanasianism and could not." Mr. Bushnell, in the present volume, proposes a theory

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of atonement which shall dispense with a substitutive undergoing of penalty. His grounds are, that this substitution is contradictory to our intuitions of justice and right. Subsidiarily, and for the same reasons obviously, he rejects eternal retributive conscious misery, and substitutes eternal diminution, approximating and perhaps reaching final deconsciousization or complete cessation.

On the strongest substitutional texts Mr. Bushnell adopts a mode of interpretation that would leave our intuitive judgments a very free play. He holds them to be simply Oriental intensives of expression—glowing utterances of the Eastern imagination—which Western rationality, in transforming into our literature, truly transforms into absurdity. A great many thinkers will carefully cogitate where that exegetical method will land them before adopting it. Besides, should similar expressions be found by any modern decipherer in any newly discovered Asiatic writing, would they not be understood to express the substitutive doctrine? See our notice of Seelye's Lectures on another page.

Introduction to the Pauline Epistles. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1874. 8vo., pp. 480. [Special edition imported for use in this country by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. New York. Price, $5 25.]

Dr. Gloag has written treatises on Assurance of Salvation, on Justification by Faith, on Genesis and Geology, and on the Resurrection. To us he is best known by his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, a work of thorough erudition, sound judgment, and solid Calvinistic orthodoxy. His previous studies upon Acts have well prepared him to enter on the present work, which is characterized by the best qualities of the writer. It is an introduction to Paul's Epistles, at once scholarly and clear. Of the thirteen epistles conceded by all antiquity as Paul's, he discusses the authenticity, the qualities, and the main topics, giving an occasional full discussion upon some of the most interesting problems which he encounters in his analyses. Thus we have interesting excurses, among others, upon Paul's Relation to Judaism, the Lord's Supper and the Agapæ, Paul's Thorn in the Flesh, and the Man of Sin. He firmly and ably sustains the authenticity of the so-called pastoral epistles. But the Epistle to the Hebrews, which would be a fourteenth epistle of Paul, presents phenomena that disturb not its place in the Canon, but throw reasonable doubts over the Pauline authorship. Dr. Gloag knows how to be decisive, and he knows how to stand in—to use a favorite term

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of his—"dubiety." The doctrine of Hebrews is Pauline, but the style is not. External evidence is balanced, and so is Dr. Gloag's judgment; and so is ours.

A System of Christian Rhetoric. For the Use of Preachers and other Speakers. By GEORGE WINFRED HERVEY, M.A., author of "Rhetoric of Conversation," etc. 8vo., pp. 628. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

This is one of the very best books of its class, and in its specific field without a peer. Its aim is novel. It reconstructs the whole science of Rhetoric, not simply by discussing the bearing of its rules on the preparation and delivery of sermons, but by recognizing distinctly and fully the need of Divine aid—the influence of the Holy Ghost—in every part of the preacher's work. The first of the four "Books" which constitute the volume is on "Inspiration in Preaching," its effects on the mind and heart of the speaker, and how it affects thought, style, and delivery. This "Partial Inspiration," as he names it, he defines to be "that assistance of the Divine Spirit which our Lord promised to his ministers in the apostolical commission." Claiming the promise as pertaining to the entire work of the preacher, he reasons that this Divine aid is indispensable to true success, and closes this part of the discussion by setting forth the means whereby this Inspiration is to be sought—Trial, Humility, and Self-denial; the Study of Scripture, Prayer, and Praise. This outline of the first book exhibits the spirit and design of the work. The three books which follow discuss Invention, Style, and Elocution. The author evidently prepared himself by extensive research in collecting his materials, and has made good use of them. We commend it as a most elaborate and complete work on the subject of the composition and delivery of sermons. In its outward seeming the volume is a goodly one, save that it contains more typographical errors than the books of the Harpers usually exhibit. C.

The Pastoral Epistles. The Greek Text and Translation. With Introduction, Expository Notes and Dissertations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow, author of "Typology of Scripture," etc. 12mo., pp. 451. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1874. New York: Special Edition imported and sold by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $3 75.

Dr. Fairbairn is very favorably known in this country as well as in Britain, especially by his able work on Typology, in which he shed a large amount of fresh light upon an important and difficult point in exegetical theology, and also by his work on Law in Revelation, a work of less, yet of great, merit. His present volume, the product of his labor as professor of theology, bears marks of

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his penetrative and original intellect. He is fertile of thought, but his developments uniformly tend to illustrate, rather innovate upon, the great doctrines of the Evangelical Church.

After an introduction of thirty-five pages we have the Greek, after Tischendorf, and a new translation by the annotator. The Notes then cover pages 69–404. Then follows an Appendix, pages 405–451, containing suggestive dissertations upon incidental points. The Notes aim to be more practical and doctrinal than those of Alford and Ellicott, but go thoroughly into philological analysis when there is important demand for it. The Introduction defends the Pastoral Epistles from the modern "criticism," and maintains, with most English commentators, a second imprisonment of Paul. The work is valuable alike for the scholar and general reader.

The Superhuman Origin of the Bible Inferred from Itself. By HENRY ROGERS, author of "The Eclipse of Faith." 12mo., pp. 465. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

When the author of "The Eclipse of Faith" puts forth a book, thinkers may generally accept a provocation to thought. The present volume surveys the Bible from various points of view, and finds a variety of aspects that are contrary to all expectation of it as a mere human book, and solvable only on supposition of its divinity. The Bible is thoroughly demonstrated to be a *unique* book. And thus Mr. Rogers shows (in confirmation of our statement, in noticing Mr. Hebberd on another page, that there are many points in which Christianity stands alone) that our sacred volume stands out of comparison with all other religious oracles.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Principles of Mental Physiology. With their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind and the Study of its Morbid Conditions. By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 737. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

Dr. Carpenter is one of the most eminent living physiologists, and seems to be a Unitarian of the Martineau intuitional school. Hence, however intimate he holds to be the connection, or even apparent identity, of mind and body, he holds, by virtue of his faith in consciousness, to the existence of an *ego* superior to matter, destined to immortality, and resting under laws of responsibility. The typical point of the *ego* is the will, to which he attributes with great clearness and explicitness the attribute of free-

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dom; and rising from will, as dominant in man, and source of our knowledge of force, he identifies a Supreme Will over the universe, the controller of all force, the possessor of omnipotence.

Our elder psychologists confined themselves almost exclusively to the study of the interior consciousness and the classification of the various phenomena therein ascertained. As botany is a classification of plants according to their properties, so psychology was a classification of thoughts. This work was quietly, explicitly, and accurately done. When our physiological brethren speak contemptuously of this process of analysis and its results, their speech must be promptly attributed to a very profound and culpable prejudice. None but a very sordid, materialistic bigotry will deny that the operations of the human mind are, purely and of themselves, a most important and worthy object of study. Yet when this work is truly done, none the less may we be thankful for all the aids, and all the additional knowledge that physiology can furnish, to our knowledge of the operations, laws, and nature of mind. For this purpose Dr. Carpenter has furnished us a very valuable work. The relations of the human frame, and especially those parts of our material system that come in nearest contact with mind, are here presented with much clearness and copiousness.

The earlier chapters draw their resources from comparative animal physiology, tracing nerve, brain, and mind, as existing in advancing grades of perfection, from the base to the summit of the animal world. At the base of all stands our venerable infinitesimal friend, still alive and moving, the nerveless, sinewless, boneless, yet not mindless, *amœba*. If antiquity is nobility this minute aristocrat may look upon the human race with archaic contempt. He is, so far as the microscope can reach him to tell us, a pure inorganic "jelly-speck." Yet he possesses an energetic will; and, by pure force of volition acting directly upon his own simple substance, he is able to protrude forth an extemporaneous limb in any direction, either for walking or reaching. When he finds any thing of aliment, he resolves himself into a stomach, and encompasses and assimilates the supply. He seems to exemplify the assumption, that the intelligent will needs neither nerves nor brain to execute an energetic purpose.

Rising through the upward series of living nature, a slender nerve system commences with Mr. Darwin's ancient friend, the *ascidian*, and culminates in the insect world, especially the bee. The brain proper, which had heretofore been represented by a nerve knot, (ganglion,) begins with the earliest vertebrate, gradu-

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ally increasing and overlying the ganglions, until it culminates in man. The brain, in Dr. Carpenter's view, is the organ rather of inner thought, as the nerve is the organ of external. Through the brain and sensory the impressions are "translated" into thought by the *ego*.

Mind, in its complete nature, is not simple and indivisible. As in the ascending grades of animal species, new amounts of brain are laid on, new functions are superimposed, new layers of mind are deposited. Conversely, if the brain of a bird or frog be surgically removed, the large amount of active intelligence is destroyed, but a sensation life is still left. Nay, Dr. Carpenter teaches that after sensation is withdrawn an automatic power of unconscious motion is often left, so that the limb, once accustomed to be moved by mind, moves for a while on its own account after mind has disappeared.

We seem here to have from physiology some confirmation of the trinal (trichotomic) nature of man, which many theologians and metaphysicians have maintained. This trinality imports that intermediate—beneath man's spirit, but above his pure body—is a territory called the *anima*, the animal soul, much or all of which is able to perish, or at least disintegrate into its primitive elements, when the convulsion comes that disparts spirit and body. Those automatic forces by which the heart beats, the blood circulates, the lungs respire, and the stomach digests, are included under the *anima*. Here, too, belong the bodily sensitivities, including the appetites, which man shares with the animal, and which belong to this world's existence. Dr. Carpenter strictly assumes that all impressions become sensation or thought only by being "translated" thereinto by the *ego*. This *ego* we may hold to be the pure spirit whose center is the unity of self-consciousness and will; and of will the attribute is the mastery of force. All the impressions upon the sensitive body become sensations by the interpretation of the spirit, so long as the forces of the spirit are able to hold the corporeity in organic human form, and in subordinate connection to itself. Death is the loosening of the hold of the forces of the spirit upon the body, by which the body and *anima* are mortal, and the *ego* becomes disengaged and enters the sphere of spirit. During man's life, then, he is compositely, organism, anima, and *Ego;* body, soul, and spirit; vegetable, animal, and angel.

Dr. Carpenter holds that the doctrine of a "vital principle" must be abandoned, and be replaced by the doctrine of vital force. All force he views as, in origin, will-force. Universal force is omnipo-

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tent will-force, being the attribute of the supreme *Ego*. Correspondently all our corporeal vitality by which our organic systems are controlled is correlative to general force under control of the *ego*.

Dr. Carpenter significantly compares the nerves to telegraphic wires, which convey the sensation from the sensitive corporeal surface to the *ego*. It is a suggestive illustration for the immaterialist. The telegraphic wire is insensible. The electricity it conveys is not the thought. The thought does not run along the wire. The wire merely conveys from one mind to another the symbols which mind alone at either end interprets and thinks. Thought alone can comprehend thought, and the true thought process is within the pure community of thought. And it will not do to say with the ultra idealists that there is no personal subject of thought, but that the universe is only a succession of pure thoughts. For at each end of the wire is a living organism in which the idea is thought, and in the organism is the *ego* by which the thought is appropriated and claimed as its own. Descartes' "I think" is not rightly interpreted by Huxley as merely equivalent to "there is thought." It imports not only "there is thought" generally, or somewhere or other; but, there is thought located here and not elsewhere; and thought that here is being thought by this one particular self which calls itself I, and by nothing else. The "I" is as positively asserted as the "think," and is individualized more precisely. The *Ego* is, therefore, demonstrated by self-consciousness.

Dr. Carpenter is copious upon "unconscious cerebration." We lately expressed our view on this subject in noticing a lecture of his. A lawyer wakes in the morning and finds to his astonishment that he has, during the night, written out and left upon paper a very able legal argument on a complicated case, applying the principles of law to a great variety of contingent facts. Now if any man believes that the mere physical machinery of the brain performed all this process without a single *thought* in the steps, just as Mr. Babbage's machine turns out an arithmetical result, his faith is certainly miraculous. Dr. Carpenter is copious also, and valuable, upon the subject of spirit-rapping, table-turning, and other forms of manipular supernaturalisms, which are peddled about by traveling showmen in England and America. He gives us a number of well-told stories, which both enliven his pages and illustrate his principles. Still, as we noticed in a former Quarterly, there are large classes of supernaturalistic cases, not manipular, which his principles do not solve, and such stories he quietly and wisely lets alone.

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Dr. Carpenter, without decisively adopting Darwinism, seems powerfully impressed with the phenomena which are easily explained by the theory of development. Even our intuitions, which he reads as the inscriptions of absolute truth, are the product of hereditary experiences derived from the race through past ages. Where the point of immortal existences commences, and what class of beings it includes, he gives no opinion. Mr. Greg, in his Enigmas of Life, suggests the drawing of the inclusive boundary line to embrace the lower animals, like the dog, who exhibit genuine tokens of a moral nature, and aim at good behavior. But Dr. Carpenter draws a sharp line, with powerful scientific clearness, between instinct and reason, and solves those apparent developmental rationalities which brute races contract by intimacy with man, on the principle of association. Indeed, he seems to maintain that only the cultured grade of our own race are elevated to the plane of responsibility. Ignorance and vice, inclosed in their own environments, have no moral freedom, and are below the platform of responsibility. The natural inference, indicated but not expressly stated, would be the Platonic doctrine of a selective immortality. Men developed to the plane of responsibility, and rightly discharging that responsibility, are immortal. The ignorant and the wicked perish, and the good are immortal, by the law of the "survival of the fittest."

Dr. Carpenter, of course, cannot finish without a lecture to the theologians. His preachment is not as rabidly arrogant as we have been accustomed to get from the Spencers and Huxleys, but it is sufficiently self-conceited for practical purposes. He commences, for instance, with the statement, that "there has been for several centuries past a constant endeavor, on the part of the upholders of theological creeds and ecclesiastical systems, either to repress scientific inquiry altogether or to limit its range." This atrocious misreading of history Dr. Carpenter profoundly believes to be fact, just because it is the current assumption in scientific circles. From the time of Egypt to the present day the bases of educational institutions have been laid in religion, and the educators were the priesthood. Of all Europe the universities had a religious foundation, and the clergy formed the faculties. So it has been in America. It is not until lately that infidelity has ever built a college. Under this religious patronage arts and sciences have been munificently endowed, and the scientific departments have often been filled by clergymen.

It is true, that when any new scientific statement is unfolded

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which seems to collide against any particular previous opinion, whether scientific or biblical, it undergoes both a scientific and a biblical severity of scrutiny. Dr. Johnson trenchantly says, that "all new truths ought to be persecuted." Under this exaggeration the Doctor forcibly expresses the truth that every new development ought to be met with a healthful skepticism, and undergo a rigid critical sifting before it is allowed to take its place among established truths. Scientists act upon that view, sometimes with disastrous mistake, sometimes with admirable success. No physician above forty years of age, it is said, accepted Harvey's first announcement of the circulation of the blood. But let a biblical exegete express a doubt, and a vociferous barking is raised that "upholders of creeds" are trying "to repress scientific inquiry!" Perhaps the biblical interpretation is really a gloss borrowed from the former teachings of science, so that there is a real collision between science and science.

The length of our notice indicates our interest in this work. Without indorsing it very unequivocally, we can unequivocally recommend it to the study of the lovers of mental science.

The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Being an Examination of the First Principles of his System. By B. P. Bowne. 12mo., pp. 283. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The earlier chapters of this work were first published, as is mentioned in the Preface, as articles in the New Englander. On the strength of having individualized these articles, and calling public attention to their rare merits, the "Independent" plausibly claims to have "discovered Mr. Bowne." He is a graduate of the New York University who has not attained his A.M.; and a member of our New York Conference. He furnished the ringing article on Strauss in our April Quarterly. He is now in Halle, Germany, prosecuting philosophical studies; and if the present dashing *brochure* is any fair indication, he has a brilliant future before him.

Dr. M'Cosh some time since remarked that there were some immense gaps in Mr. Spencer's philosophy. We believe that most acute readers, not perverted by a proclivity for Atheism, have seen the same fact, and foreseen that there was a work to be done by some "coming man." Into those gaps Mr. Bowne has laid his trenchant battle-ax, and cleft the shaky system with unseemly gashes beyond all hope of surgery. With a merciless hand he exposes the pompous pretensions, the contradictions, and the inconsequent logic, of the boasted "modern Aristotle."

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If to deny an omniscient, holy, personal Ruler of the universe, and maintain that there is no purpose or intellect exemplified in the formation of the cosmos, be Atheism, then Mr. Spencer is an Atheist. If to deny the substantial duality of body and spirit, and to maintain that thought is simply a property of the corporal organism, be Materialism, then Mr. Spencer is a Materialist. By his philosophy man is a solitaire in a cosmos of substance and laws, and all idea of supernaturalism and revelation is on too low a plane to be taken into consideration. It may be, indeed, admitted that Mr. Spencer draws the best possible practical inference from his Atheism. Since we can trust no hereafter, let us, he proposes, make the highest and most noblest use of the present. Hence he devotes his intellect to, what he esteems, philanthropic purposes. He does not ask, How can I worm my body through the world to the largest gratification of my individual self? His assumption is: We, the human race, are a joint stock company in trouble; let us study how we can altogether be best off. We are temporary voyagers on a common shipboard, destined to certain wreck; let us study how the trip, while it lasts, may be pleasant for one and all. He believes that the true way to do this is, a profound study of the situation, and a strict observance of the rules thence deduced. He has an enthusiasm for certain plans and optimistic progresses of his; so optimistic that we might wonder that he does not suspect that both ship and ocean were planned by some great Optimus, and that the very evils are made to be a part of the conducives to good. If there were not permanent laws, how could there be a Spencer to analyze them? If there were not evils and progresses, how could the great heart of a Spencer plan, with humane enthusiasm, to aid the progress? And if it be a sublime thing for a Spencer thus to come into wise sympathy with nature's laws, and evils, and progresses, how much greater, and not less rational, would it be, could he, like a Kepler, hold himself in sympathy also with the limitless Mind over all. Perhaps Keplers and Spencers, ordained or permitted, are a part of the plan.

It is here, as a primordial philosopher, trenchantly laboring to blot the Optimus from the universe, and giving us a mindless, moralless, self-contradictory Dead-head, yclept the Unknown Absolute, instead, that Mr. Spencer loses our sympathy. All the best deductions of our reason, and all the highest intuitions of our nature, scout the whole execrable falsehood and foolery. Mr. Spencer does his work at the expense of a perfect self-envelop

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of self-contradictions and self-stultifications. Hence it is, that Mr. Bowne, after reducing his logic to absurdity, cannot help reducing the absurdity to contempt.

We shall give no analysis of Mr. Bowne's brilliant and unanswerable onslaught. It has the disadvantage of being a correlative book. It presupposes another book to have been read which but the few read. But to those who have read Mr. Spencer's first volume, and too much of the loose Atheism afloat, we present this as a powerful refutation and exposure. We will give but a specimen of its style with a preface of our own.

"Were a reindeer to conceive of God he would conceive him as a big reindeer; just so theologians make God a stupendous man." Such, in various shapes, is a current atheistic argument. Our usual reply has been, that the reindeer being below the plane of at all conceiving God, is out of the question. The very specific difference of man is, that he is on the high plane of a capacity to conceive of God, just because he is in the image of God, and, therefore, rightly conceives God by starting from the conception of himself, while the animal nature is not. In order to conceive a God at all, the reindeer must be raised to the intellectual level of man, and must be able to think the Infinite. The argument is like saying, if a beaver conceived the solar system he would conceive it as a beaver dam. Of course he could never conceive it at all, and be a mere beaver.

Mr. Bowne carries the war into Africa in the following style:

> There is an old satire often used against religion; so old, indeed, that what little point it ever had has been lost for ages. It runs back to the time of Xenophanes, and has been repeated in various ways ever since. Xenophanes used oxen and lions for comparison. Mr. Theodore Parker improved on this, and introduced the novelty of a buffalo. He supposes that a buffalo, arguing as the natural theologians do, would conclude that God has horns and hoofs. I have even known a mole to be used to illustrate this powerful irony. Of course the ingenious and witty conclusion was, that a mole could only argue to a God with fur and paws. Mr. Spencer believes that "volumes might be written on the impiety of the pious," and he accordingly proceeds to lash said impiety by dressing up the old satire in this form:
>
> "The attitude thus assumed can be fitly represented only by developing a simile long current in theological controversies—the simile of the watch. If for a moment we made the grotesque supposition that the tickings and other movements of a watch constituted a kind of consciousness, and that a watch possessed of such consciousness insisted upon regarding the watchmaker's actions as determined, like its own, by springs and escapements, we should only complete a parallel of which religious teachers think much. And were we to suppose that a watch not only formulated the cause of its existence in these mechanical terms, but held that watches were bound out of reverence so to formulate this cause, and even vituperated as atheistic watches any that did not so venture to formulate it, we should merely illustrate the presumption of theologians by carrying their own arguments a step further."—P. 110.
>
> This is extremely severe, no doubt; and if theologians taught that God has legs

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and arms, parts and passions, the satire might have some point; but since they expressly forbid such an assumption, it is difficult to tell where the force of the "grotesque supposition" lies. For if that philosophical buffalo, that ingenious mole, and that "grotesque" watch, should argue, not to horns and hoofs, fur and paws, and "springs and escapements," but to intelligence in their maker, they would not be very far astray. If this thinking, conscious watch should infer that it had a thinking, conscious maker, it would be on the right track. Only remember that religion does not attribute organs and form to God, and the logical value of the "grotesque supposition" is all gone; though, to be sure, the wit remains to please us. And now that Mr. Spencer has kindly developed the simile, I know not that his own attitude can be more fitly represented than by its further development. Suppose that this grotesque watch should turn know-nothing, and insist that a belief in a thinking, conscious watchmaker is fetichism, and should begin to "vituperate" all watches who were stupid and superstitious enough to believe in a watchmaker, instead of adopting the higher and truer view that watches evolve themselves from the unknowable by changing "from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations;" why clearly the watch would make a fool of itself, especially if it "vituperated" at any great length. And all this but illustrates Mr. Spencer's presumption by carrying his own argument a step further. I mean no disrespect to Aristotle, either the ancient or the modern; but I must think that, until this metaphorical watch turned know-nothing, and began to vituperate its simpler neighbors, it ticked off better logic than Mr. Spencer has done.

To all this we may venture to add: In order even to state to himself the problem of a "maker," the watch must possess an intellect which no being below man possesses. He must be intellectually a man. And being such, he must at once know that a maker must possess limbs and organs suitable to his work. He must know, therefore, that mere mechanical "springs and escapements" could not manufacture any thing. He must, therefore, also know that a watch could not manufacture a watch. We may further add, that men make God like themselves only in respect of those Intellectual powers which are the necessary capabilities of a perfect Creator; but in every other respect men hold him to be infinitely unlike themselves. And this Intellect they ascribe to God, not because they possess it themselves—for they possess many things which they do not ascribe to him—but because, by whomsoever possessed, it is the sole possible condition to the production of a cosmos in which the marks of objective intellect are infinitely numerous.

The shower of fluent ironies and involuntary sarcasms which Mr. Bowne pours upon Mr. Spencer's performances affords a subterfuge for a practiced adversary. Prof. Youmans, the able editor of the "Journal of Popular Science," skillfully skims off a few of these phrases, quotes them as the essence of the book, and denounces Mr. Bowne as a "bigot," etc. Prof. Youmans has mistaken his man. Mr. Bowne is no "bigot," but a singularly acute thinker, a brilliant writer, a thorough student, and an opponent whom Spencerism and all its cognates are likely to feel to their

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center. Though Prof. Youmans may have given the best reply the case admits, still Mr. Spencer stands refuted in his main points, and Mr. Bowne stands the unanswered master of the field. And there he will stand for a long æon, whatever the anti-church of skepticism is pleased to say about it.

What is Darwinism? By CHARLES HODGE, Princeton, N. J. Pp. 178. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

The purpose of this trenchant little volume is not to investigate Mr. Darwin's individual opinions, nor to discuss the intrinsic nature of what is called Evolution, but to ascertain what is the character of the evolution taught in Mr. Darwin's books, especially in its relations to Theism as held by the Christian world. The discussion is courteously and fairly, but fearlessly, conducted. Dr. Hodge brings overwhelming proofs from the words of Mr. Darwin, of his friends, of his opponents, and of leading Atheists, that evolution as by him taught negatives teleology and involves Atheism. He does not say that there can be no theistic doctrine of evolution; but he does say, and amply proves, that, as presented by Mr. Darwin, evolution includes Atheism.

Mr. Darwin repeatedly and uniformly places his own evolution in opposition to teleology. He takes the crucial case of the eye, and undertakes elaborately to show that its structure exhibits no trace of design. And, *à fortiori*, no other object in existence can be held as a production of intelligent purpose. He takes, and no doubt permanently occupies, the ground of Herbert Spencer, that to attribute mind or *morale* to God is anthropomorphism. It is presumptuous for us to endow the Absolute with intelligence; it is blasphemy to call him or it just or holy. Thus, of the belief that an intelligent Being designed the eye, he says: "May not this inference be presumptuous? Have we any right to assume that the Creator works by intellectual powers like those of man?" All the God, then, Mr. Darwin admits, is an unintelligent, non-moral something, an infinite King Log.

That such is Mr. Huxley's view is amply shown by extracts from his works adduced in this volume. Dr. Hodge, indeed, finds an intense denial by Mr. Huxley of Atheism, and a repudiation of the impossibility of miracles, and Dr. H. is "unable to see" how the opposite statements are to "be reconciled." We quoted the same words of Mr. Huxley some time ago in our Quarterly, and placed them to his credit as a sincere disclaimer of Atheism. But Dr. Hodge himself notes that even Herbert Spencer professes to

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reject Atheism. If Mr. Huxley holds the same supreme unintelligence, and pleases to style it *Theos*, he can, with easy mental reserve, indignantly repudiate *Atheism*. As to his rejection of "the impossibility of miracles," does not Dr. H. forget what he so very well knows, that Mr. Mansell had shown, even before Mr. Spencer wrote, how reconcilable the unintelligent Absolute is with Theism, miracle, revelation, redemption, Christianity? That reconciliation Mr. Spencer rejects, and, so far as we know, Mr. Darwin does not accept. When, moreover, Mr. Huxley repudiates "the impossibility of miracles," it would be of some importance to obtain his definition of both "the impossibility" and of the "miracles," as by him named, before we apprehend any difficulty in reconciling them with Spencerian Atheism.

Dr. Hodge fails, we think, rightly to apprehend Mr. Huxley's denial also of materialism in his lecture on Protoplasm. He quotes several passages from the lecture, in which Mr. H. asserts the existence of matter alone, exclusive of spirit, in the constitution of man; quotes them as if irreconcilable with his denial of being a materialist. But there are two senses of the word materialist: materialist in opposition to *idealist*, and materialist in opposition to *spiritualist*. It is in the latter sense that Mr. H. is accused, and truly accused, of Materialism; but it was in the former sense that, by an admirable dodge, he denied. In the sense really charged he never really denied. In meeting the charge he pompously assumed to parade out a sovereign method for relieving the world from the slough of Materialism. And how does he furnish the relief? By showing that the idealistic view of substance is quite as tenable as the materialistic one. In short, he gives us the Berkeleyan theory of matter for the said *method*. But that is not denying that he maintains the pure corporeity of man, and rejects the doctrine of soul and immortality.

The fact is, these gentlemen are truly idealistic-materialistic: idealistic as maintaining that all we know of the external world is to be identified with the sensation; materialistic in denying the duality of mind and matter, and affirming the "*unisubstanceism*," as Dr. Buchanan calls it, or "*monism*," as others call it, of Spinosa. So John Stuart Mill calls matter "the permanent possibility of a sensation." Herbert Spencer would probably, with more caution, insert "persistent" in the place of "permanent," in order to avoid affirming that the whole may not any day evanesce into nihil. Thought and substance are hence one; thinking is being; subject and object are the same; the universe is a pure thought-

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system. Then we easily arrive at nihilism, in which being and not being, something and nothing, existence and non-existence, are identical. Matter and spirit differ only in words; being different terms, or views, of the same thing. So Herbert Spencer, at the close of his first volume, discusses the question whether the cosmos is matter or spirit, and decides that it is indifferently either. So Mr. Huxley, in his Protoplasm, maintains that the idealistic view is just as tenable as the materialistic, only the latter alone renders a handy scientific nomenclature possible. His lecture, then, he can facetiously call an essay against Materialism; we only wonder that Dr. Hodge should be mystified by the *equivoque*.

Dr. Hodge repeatedly and justly appeals to our "intuitions" as the conclusive stronghold against his materialistic opponents. And that is, at the present day, the most impregnable post for all spiritual Christianity. But how can Dr. Hodge's own theology stand before the judgment-seat of our own intuitions? Certain it is, that in the contest between Arminianism and Calvinism, one great power of the former has been in an appeal to the intuitive pronunciation against the view presented by the latter of the Divine government. How far can we base our Christianity on intuitive assumptions, and then reject the intuitive negative upon our special theology? We have said more on this point in our book notice of Bushnell, upon another page.

The Doctrine of Evolution: Its Data, its Principles, and its Theistic Bearings. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D., Chancellor of Syracuse University. 12mo., pp. 148. Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The object of Dr. Winchell's tractate is to give a fair statement, *pro* and *con*, of the evolutionary argument. But the net result is to show that the real evolution revealed by science in the progress of the creation is not unintelligent; is not merely a generative process, but the unfolding of an intellective plan revealed in space and time. The various species of animals are not the offspring of a few (or one) primitive germs. Evolution is a series of progressive steps preordained in the Divine Mind and manifested in the external world. Such an evolution, produced in the collective human mind, we may see in the progress of successive inventions framed to accomplish a given work. So we may say it is, for instance, in the art of navigation. The swimming-log upon which a savage floats—the canoe pushed by poles—the skiff propelled by oars—the ship with its sails—the steamer with its boiler, disdaining oar or sail—present in their suc-

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cessive advances a true navigator's evolution. Yet it is not a generative series, but an evolution of successive improving gradations of the same type, correspondent with, and produced by, a process of thought in a collective body of successive human minds. And so there is valid reason to believe that the series of the animal creation represent not a mere genetic process, but a series of independent advancing gradations of forms, created after their proper types in the Divine mind. The whole evolution is a foreknown plan.

Why do we predicate *plan* of the evolutionary cosmos? Because it exhibits in the correspondence of parts to parts, and parts to whole, all the characteristics of PLAN. We judge every thing by its quality; and we judge the creation to be a *plan* because it possesses the qualities of a plan. Why do we attribute this plan to a causal mind? Because it exhibits the qualities of an intellective effect. An intellective effect demands in reason an intellective cause; and such a cause alone does reasonably and fully account for the effect. So that, as Dr. Winchell very cogently says, "The *Cause of causes* is revealed qualitatively to every rational being."

And this plan appears not only in the structure, but in the successions, of creation. In embryology the human infant appears successively as a fish, a quadruped, a monkey, and a man. This may represent the evolutions of the animal world, whether genetic or separately gradational. These typical advancing changes in the structure of the human fœtus suggest that man is indeed a microcosm, a miniature of the creation. But do they any more prove, as Darwinians assume, a genetic series than a created series of gradations? This plan appears *persistent*, for different species are prohibited from propagating an intermediate species; and however culture or accident may force a species to vary, it soon stops at certain limits and hastens back on the withdrawal of the force to its regular type. And this plan appears attested by the history of the ages of creation written by the Divine hand on the geologic strata. On this momentous and decisive point Dr. Winchell is very conclusive.

For its intended "popular" purpose, Chancellor Winchell's book possesses effective qualifications, and will make its due impression. But we regret that its clear thought is enveloped in too scientific a terminology. His sentences are often perfect representations of thought just because he has expressed them in the concise terms that modern science has invented for such purpose. But for the large body of popular readers they are in an esoteric

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dialect. In this respect the style of Dr. Hodge, in his book on a cognate subject, stands in rather advantageous contrast; very inferior, indeed, as a scientific statement, but more adapted for popular effect. Dr. Winchell's studies in the connections between Theism and Science are very valuable contributions to the great discussion of the age.

The New Chemistry. By JOSIAH P. COOKE, Jr., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. 12mo., pp. 326. New York: Appleton & Co. 1874.

"What is this 'Law of Avogadro?'" says a venerable alumnus, who, because he studied Brande or Turner some forty years agone, thinks he knows chemistry; "it must be that the grand old science has gone into dotage or barbarism." But let him read Professor Cooke, and he will find that, instead of retrograding, the genius of modern discovery says, "Behold, I make all things new." Let not our alumnus therefore repine but rejoice, even though he finds himself behind time. To fetch up he may, indeed, be obliged to enter a second time into his (alma) mother's womb and be born; that is, if he has been taking a Rip Van Winkle nap meantime, he must consent to be like unto a green freshman and pass through a fresh graduation.

By clearness of popular style, at the expense of scientific conciseness, Professor Cooke will put alumnus through an easy and rapid regeneration. He will be initiated into the mysteries of the three great Laws that lie at the basis of the renewed old science. He will be reverently taught (for Professor Cooke, though a Harvard man and a new-fashioned chemist, seems like an old-fashioned Theist) that "the laws of nature are the thoughts of God." He will learn the secrets of molecules and atoms, which, wonderful as they are, are provisional indices to still greater wonders looming in the dim future. He will get ominous hints that the chemical mastery of atoms will yet so subject organic forms to the compounding power of science as to render the production of even vital forms a possibility. And so we may yet live, at least in our posterity, to see the sign nailed up, "Horses and men made here to order." All this will happen the next day after the philosopher's stone, freshly discovered, has transmuted *papier maché*, and even greenbacks, to pure gold! We give a couple of extracts:

THE ATOMIC THEORY.—No one who has followed modern physical discussions can doubt that the tendency of physical thought is to refer the differences of substances to a dynamical cause. Nevertheless, as I said before, the atomic theory is the only one which, as yet, has given an intelligible explanation of the facts of

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modern chemistry, and I shall next proceed to develop its fundamental principles. I wish, however, before I begin, to declare my belief that the atomic theory, beautiful and consistent as it appears, is only a temporary expedient for representing the facts of chemistry to the mind. Although in the present state of the science it gives absolutely essential aid both to investigation and study, I have the conviction that it is a temporary scaffolding around the imperfect building, which will be removed as soon as its usefulness is past.—P. 103.

VITAL PRINCIPLE.—Carbon is peculiarly the element of the organic world, for, leaving out of view the great mass of water which living beings always contain, organized material consists almost exclusively of carbonaceous compounds. Hence these substances, with the exception of a few of the simplest, were formerly called organic compounds, and in works on chemistry they are usually studied together under the head of organic chemistry. It was formerly supposed that the great complexity of these substances was sustained by what was called the vital principle; but, although the cause which determines the growth of organized beings is still a perfect mystery, we now know that the materials of which they consist are subject to the same laws as mineral matter, and the complexity may be traced to the peculiar qualities of carbon. In like manner the notion that these so-called organic substances owe their origin to some mysterious energy, which overrules the ordinary laws of chemical action, for a long time precluded from the mind of the chemist even the idea that they could be formed in the laboratory by purely chemical processes; so that, although the analysis of these compounds was easily effected, the synthesis was thought impossible. But within a few years we have succeeded in preparing artificially a very large number of what were formerly supposed to be exclusively organic products; and not only this, but the processes we have discovered are of such general application that we now feel we have the same command over the synthesis of organic as of mineral substances. The chemist has never succeeded in forming a single organic cell, and the whole process of its growth and development is entirely beyond the range of his knowledge; but he has every reason to expect that, in the no distant future, he will be able to prepare, in his laboratory, both the material of which that cell is fashioned, and the various products with which it becomes filled during life.—Pp. 292, 293.

Logic: Deductive and Inductive. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. New and Revised Edition. Pp. 731. New York: Appleton & Co. 1874.

As a logician hailing from the school of "modern thought," Professor Bain is the learned and worthy successor of John Stuart Mill. He brings before his readers the best results, critically estimated, of Hamilton, Whately, De Morgan, and, more original than all the others, Professor Boole's Mathematical Analysis of Logic. Professor Bain's Book Fifth is a new and valuable "exhibit" of the application of logic in the sciences; a showing much needed by the student, to mediate in his mind between the abstract principles and the concretes of real life. This "exhibit" will do much to enable the scholar to realize the actual place of logical science and its value in the scheme of studies. We felt the need of such an "exhibit" years ago, and under the title of A Chip of Logic, furnished a few pages exhibiting the actual use of the syllogism in various practical pursuits in life. This work Mr. Bain has performed with fullness and effect.

The work, though in proper form for class instruction, is, we

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suppose, too large for ordinary curriculums. But the advanced student, the amateur, and the teacher, will find it a very valuable treatise. In the "book on fallacies," the professor seems to show a slight disposition to make his treatise an aid to the refutation of what we esteem a better philosophy than his. We should like to see a counter chapter written and placed by its side, so that the student could have before him both the Bain and the antidote.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1873. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 714. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

A scientific annual for popular purposes, designed to give a synoptical view of the progress of discovery and invention, is a *desideratum* for every thoughtful man outside the scientific body. In the present volume we had marked a goodly number of select items to lay before our readers, but space will not permit. We are informed (on p. 82) that "cells" are no longer to be recognized as the components of animal substance, the "wall" being exploded; the nitrogenous protoplasmic albumenoid substance is the main affair, which, however, is not, with Huxley, to be identified with life.

Touching the geologic man, the most eminent French *savans*, Quatrefages and Haney, give an interesting account of the Canstadt race, which includes some of the oldest geological crania, and is marked by peculiar cranial traits. Traces of this race appear in modern history, owing probably to an ancestral mixture of blood. Some eminent men have inherited these peculiarities, showing that it was no inferior race.

Religion and Science. A Series of Sunday Lectures on the Relations of Natural and Revealed Religion, or the Truths Revealed in Nature and in Scripture. By JOSEPH LE CONTE, Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of California. 16mo., pp. 324. New York: Appleton & Co. 1874.

Professor Le Conte was formerly of the University of South Carolina, and his present lectures grew out of Bible lessons at that University, from his classes growing so large as to require him to do all the talking. His book is a decidedly valuable outgrowth. He is a contributor to Prof. Youmans' Monthly Journal of Popular Science. He is a decidedly evangelical believer; in fact, a firm, good Calvinist. With him the mysteries of science have been a preparatory for humility in investigating the mysteries of God. Theologians will find many a new illustration shed upon theology by the professor from his scientific position.

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History, Biography, and Topography.

The Life of Rudolf Stier. (From German Sources.) By JOHN P. LACROIX. 12mo., pp. 332. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Stier's great work, the Words of the Lord Jesus, the first volume of which was issued more than thirty years ago, has made him so well known in England and America, that it is certainly high time for the production in English of a biography of him that shall bring us into some tolerable acquaintance with the beautiful character and life of the man himself. It is a pleasure to note that the first "Life" of this eminent Christian German theologian is by the hand of an American and a Methodist. It is an unpretentious volume, yet a labor of love, portraying in modest style and simple terms the career of Stier; and, while fairly outliving history and labors, as seen by the world, throwing open before us the inner life of his soul. This free undraping of his life is the prime motive of the book, and, as Professor Lacroix very truly observes, few lives will bear it so well as that of Stier. The author finds ample materials for his work in the voluminous biography by Stier's sons, and other German publications, together with letters from friends and relatives, to which should be added his own familiarity with Stier's labors and published works. He uses them with such discrimination, candor, and ability, that, as his pages exhibit the growing transformation of a gnarly, eminently willful man into a humble Christian, with soul all aglow with divine love, our interest in him and admiration of him continually increase, and we are led more and more to magnify the grace of God, which has this great power. Besides this, the volume has additional interest from Stier's relations to such men as Schleiermacher, De Wette, Gesenius, Nitzsch, Tholuck, and Rothe, some of whom were so diverse in character and thought from himself, while it exhibits the marvelous industry of one who, though an invalid, as teacher, pastor, and author, did full work in each capacity.

The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. By Rev. W. H. WITHROW, M.A. 12mo., pp. 560. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

This volume has been long announced upon the advertisement pages of our Quarterly, as in preparation. Its delay has mostly arisen from the strenuous determination of the author that it should be fully competent to run the gauntlet of the highest crit-

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icism. He has fully availed himself of the rare epigraphical library of Toronto, Canada, and of the generous aid of Dr. M'Caul, "one of the most eminent living epigraphists," so that we feel fully assured that full reliance may be reposed in the accuracy of the work. It stands alone among works of the subject as being brought into a popular manual size, and as being, not a *brochure* upon some special phase of the subject, but a symmetrical summary of the whole matter.

No less than one hundred and thirty-four engravings, furnished by the publishers, enable the reader to walk, pictorially, into that city of the dead, by the side of whose streets, in the perpendicular walls, lie sepulchered the saints and martyrs of the young Christianity. He is solemnly made to feel that he is in holy company. Yet, though it be a solemn it is a delightful place, for the inscriptions recorded upon their tombs breathe a delightful spirit of immortal hope. They all do but sleep. Yet truly, though sleeping here, they are living beyond the stars. Soon, O soon may it be, their dust here reposing will be called to a glorious revival!

This is an age of disentombments, Egyptian, Asiatic, and European. But to the Christian believer no such revelation surpasses these new discoveries of early Christian history and most significant intimations of early Christian doctrine and practice. We believe that Mr. Withrow, well known as he is to our readers as a contributor to our Quarterly, has produced a work to be classed with higher literature, and well worthy to be deeply studied, not only by Christian scholars, but by the more thoughtful part of our entire Christian people. More we should say, but we expect an article on the work from a hand amply competent to deal with both the book and the subject.

Educational.

Thirty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of New York for the Official Year ending Dec. 31, 1873. 8vo., pp. 431. New York: Cushing & Bardua. 1874.

We have in this volume a proof that our State and city realize in some degree the duty of the State to care for the education of its citizens. Other States, as New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Michigan, have passed laws to secure universal education before New York.

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It is a just and true assumption that it is the duty of a Republican Government, with an eye to its own self-preservation, to see that every person entitled to be a citizen has the proper educational qualifications duly to exercise the duties of a citizen. On this fundamental assumption our common-school system has been founded, and should be perfected, maintained, and extended to every part of our Republic. The claims of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that the Church must not surrender to the State the work of education, is but qualifiedly true. It is quite as true that the State has no right to surrender to the Church the performance of the duty of seeing that every voter has intelligence enough to give a responsible vote. It is not the direct duty of the Church to impart secular education, as in mechanics, penmanship, and reading. The moral and spiritual is her sphere. She provides for secular education in colleges and universities only as subsidiary to the moral and spiritual. But in our common schools, where the large mass of the scholars are still under home and Sunday-school tuition, the Church must do her duty through such agencies as she possesses, and concede to the State the secular right of securing secular education for the largest possible number that circumstances allow.

It is a great verbal error to call this right of the State to require every citizen to possess some educational qualifications for citizenship "compulsory education." A large amount of demagogue declamation and thoughtless prejudice have been aroused by this phrase. It should be phrased, *The rights of all to education.* We read not long since in a leading "Republican" paper an editorial ranking such a tyranny as "compulsory education" with the despotisms of Popery. But how far more despotic it is to prohibit public indecency by requiring *compulsory clothing*, or to forbid slander by *compulsory speech.* For purposes of common good the State does absolutely interfere with the clothing upon our persons and the tongue in our mouths. And what more benign rightful exercise of State authority can there be than to require in behalf of the child, in behalf of the parent, in behalf of society and State themselves, that the soul of the child be not darkened with ignorance, and its prospects of honorable life be prematurely blasted. A parent has no more right, under pretense of freedom, to impose upon society an ignorant child, than he has, under the same pretense, to walk the streets naked. A parent has no more right to turn upon the country an ignorant man, than a showman has a right to turn loose a beast of prey in our

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city streets. That child is to vote upon the destinies of my country, my children, and myself, and what right has he to be a base and willful idiot? It is my right that he should be educated, and if he will not become so freely, he should be made to do so forcibly.

It might at first sight seem best that the uneducated should be disfranchised; in other words, that there should be an educational test of citizenship. But, first, this is more easily said than done. Universal male suffrage is established, and to retrace that step is harder than to return from Avernus. And, second, universal suffrage is right, and an educational basis, absolutely required and secured, is the right and just condition. *Educate all and enfranchise all* is the true motto. And no man who insists on universal franchise can decently deny the obligation to universal education. The obligation is reciprocal on the part of the individual to be educated, and on the part of the State to see that the education be obtained.

The true view is, in behalf of the child, that he is vitally injured, oppressed, and ruined by being unfurnished with the means, and, in default of his own self-respect, with the coercion, to be educated. This is the *right*, and this the *claim*, conscious or not, of every child, that the community into which he is born should see that he be equipped for a proper membership of that community. This is the ground that public sentiment, instructed by press and pulpit, should overwhelmingly maintain. We have gone strong for the rights of men, and for the rights of women. It is time now, boldly, energetically, and unanimously, to go for the RIGHTS OF CHILDREN. We assert the RIGHT of every child, and we claim *the securement of that* RIGHT from the State, and, if need be, from the National Government, to the possession of that necessary qualification for manhood, a competent education. If that be despotism, gentlemen demagogues, make the most of it.

Literature and Fiction.

Twelve Miles from a Lemon. By GAIL HAMILTON, Author of "Woman's Worth and Worthlessness," etc. 12mo., pp. 320. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

If Gail Hamilton's tongue rattles like her pen, blessed be deafness. We dip into page after page of these mortal three hundred and twenty, and find it all the same, rittlety, rittlety, rattle. After finishing the brief but tedious job, we are powerfully inclined to

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ask: "Well, dear Gail, what do you imagine all this proves?" But such a question would, of course, only pull out the stopple; and out would spirt a new stream, fresh, flippant, saucy, and endless as ever. "Our soul loatheth this light food." We hunger for some solid metaphysic; give us Edwards On the Will, or St. Thomas Aquinas in vellum.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Praxis der Sonntagsschule, etc. (The Sunday-School System: a Guide for Superintendents and Teachers.) Von L. TIESMEYER, Pastor an St. Stephani in Bremen. Barmen. 1874.

This book should not be overlooked by the Quarterly. It is very significant as a championing of the Anglo-American Sabbath-school by a Prussian State-Church pastor. The Anglo-American influence has led to two things—the establishing of Sunday-schools proper, and the reviving and reanimating of the Sabbath catechetical services. The former are rapidly on the increase, especially in societies where the children are too numerous to be conveniently taught as a single class by the pastor. Mr. Tiesmeyer refutes the objections to the subdivided schools, and urges upon the German Church to give increased attention to this cause, as the best practical method of awakening the general Church to a new life. It approaches the children with the magic of personal influence, it counteracts caste, it utilizes the vital forces of the membership, and it happily reacts through the children upon the family. The book cites valuable facts: Since 1864 over twelve hundred Sunday-schools have been established in Germany. They are taught by forty-seven hundred teachers, and attended by some eighty-two thousand children. The highest Church Board in the Prussian Government has pronounced in their favor. Other ecclesiastical bodies have done likewise. The Brandenberg Consistory stands almost alone in forbidding its pastors to favor the cause. In Berlin there are thirty-one Sunday-schools, attended by eight thousand children. These and other kindred data are certainly encouraging signs. And is it not eminently fit that, while Germany enriches other lands with so much precious erudition, she should receive in return a healthful impulse in practical life?

Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes. (Hermeneutics of the New Testament.) Von Dr. A. IMMER, Professor an der Universität Zu Bern. Wittenberg. 1873.

The science of Scripture interpretation is as yet in a very imperfect state. What principle should predominantly guide the exe-

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gete? the speculative? the historico-traditional? the subjectively-intuitional? If all of them in unison, then what is the higher term in which they are synthesized into unity? The book of Dr. Immer lays greatest stress on the historico-traditional principle. It consists of three parts—the first laying the general foundation, the second discussing the particular processes, the third relating to the religious comprehension of the Word. Pastors and Bible students, whether agreeing with the author or not, will find welcome help in his book.

Darwin: ein Komisch-tragischer Roman. (Darwin: a Tragi-comic Romance. Jena. 1873.

When the seductive graces of light literature are so abundantly desecrated to the service of doubt and sensualism, why may they not also be turned in the better direction? So thought Alex. Jung, and in the book before us has made the attempt. Darwinism, pessimism, and the whole scope of the ape-philosophy, are particularly vulnerable, and offer a fine field for ridicule and irony. Mr. Jung's narrative will perhaps furnish a healthy antidote to many pessimistically inclined young minds, upon whom a scientific argument would fall powerless.

Von Magdeburg bis Königsberg. (From Magdeburg to Königsberg.) Berlin: Heimann. 1873.

Under the above title—in allusion to the place of his birth and to that of his chief life-work—Dr. Karl Rosenkranz, an able and very prolific writer, of the central school of Hegelianism, gives us a quite pleasant and gossippy history of his earlier manhood. The excessive egotism of the work only renders it the more piquant. Dr. Rosenkranz was early estranged from the Church by daring speculations, and has never fully returned to it. But he has been an earnest man and a hard worker, and his intimate relations with eminent men and with momentous thought-movements render his life a subject of general interest.

Pamphlets.

Priestly Pretensions Disproved; or, Methodism and the Church of England. By Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart. 16mo., pp. 48. Toronto: "Guardian" Office. 1873.

The able editor of the Christian Guardian has added one more to the refutations of the "Churchmen" in regard to Methodism.

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It is amusing, as well as pitiful, to see with what stolidity the gentlemen of the Episcopalian sect stick to exploded fictions. Once in a year or two they take some letter or paragraph from Wesley, and trumpet it forth as an annihilating blast upon all Methodism. In their sweet simplicity they fancy they have discovered something hidden, revealed a fresh-found mare's nest, not knowing apparently that all these recondite novelties are on sale at our Book Rooms, and retailed by our publishers as energetically as they are able, cheap for cash, and have been, perhaps, so for half a century.

Mr. Dewart amply shows that, in the Anglican sense of the word separation, Wesley separated from the English Church years before his death. He furnishes abundant and irrefutable proof that, were Wesley living at the present day, he would sanction the independence of the Wesleyan Church in England and Canada as positively as he did, while alive, the independence of an American Episcopal Church.

There is, perhaps, even more proof than Mr. Dewart himself chose to cite. There is clear proof that Wesley anticipated that Methodism in England would become entirely independent, and made provision for it by ordaining bishops both for England and Scotland. (Tyerman, vol. iii, p. 443.) He did this because he disliked the Presbyterian form of government and preferred the Episcopal. He meant that the future English Methodist Church should not be, as it now is, presbyterial; but that it should be the English Methodist Episcopal Church. In this respect English Methodism positively rejected Wesley. So that the English and Canadian Wesleyans are herein not only un-Wesleyan but anti-Wesleyan. We say nothing as to the importance of this fact. We do not therefor question the validity of their Churchdom. But we do say that it is an historical fact, that the only Methodist Churches which are organically Wesleyan, as having retained the Episcopacy Wesley preferred and bestowed, are the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of these United States.

Minutes of the New York East Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Twenty-sixth Session. Held at Simpson M. E. Church, Brooklyn, April 8–15, 1874. Published by Order of the Conference. GEO. A. HUBBELL, Editor. New York: For Sale by N. Tibbals & Co., 37 Park Row. 1874.

Our dear old mother, the New York East Conference, did at her last session, while we were courting a gentle climate in Florida, bestow upon her distant, but dutiful son, the editor of the Quar-

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terly, a kiss and a smite, both equally parental. These two souvenirs are contained in the following adopted report of the Committee on Periodicals:

> The Quarterly Review, in the Book Notices, Synopsis, and Editorial Contributions, fully maintains its unsurpassed character and reputation, but your Committee are of the opinion that a higher order of ability and scholarship might be obtained than has always been displayed in the contributed articles.

Two objects we have ever assumed to be desirable in the maintenance of our Quarterly: 1. To furnish a body of current high theological literature. 2. To develop, as far as possible, the best writing talent of our own Church. This last can be done only by maintaining that standard which shall not discourage by unattainability, while it shall task the power of attainment. With money at command, (which the Church is able, if she preferred, to supply,) we could very easily buy the best talent of Europe and America, and furnish a Quarterly equal in its articles to any thing in Europe or America. But then we should in this case be simply publishers of a World's Quarterly, and the second of the above two objects would be essentially lost. On the other hand, it is possible we have had too indulgent a standard. Rejection is not a pleasant work. Yet not one third, probably, of the articles we have in our editorial life received has been published, and probably not one in five of the book manuscripts. The editor, therefore, in the course of years, is liable to raise up on all sides a circle of individuals, and even sections, offended by real or supposed exclusion, until he finally stands like the man in the almanac, with all the signs of the Zodiac aiming at him. We thank our mother Conference for her admonitory support in performing the unpleasant part of our duty more firmly.

The American Episcopal Church; or, the Claims and Mission of Methodism considered. By O. H. WARREN. 12mo., flexible cover, pp. 80. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

The "American Episcopal Church" is our own Methodist Episcopal Church. It is so styled by Mr. Warren in commemoration of the fundamental fact that it was constituted specially for America, and was the first Episcopal organization ever here established. The Protestant Episcopal Church was later organized by Episcopal ordination, first refused in England, and then wrung out from Scotland. We may further note that Wesley, who established our American Episcopal Church, and Cranmer, who founded the Anglican, did so upon the same fundamental prin-

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ciple, namely, that germinally both the episcopal and presbyterial orders are one. But it by no means follows that we are presbyterian. Wesley disliked presbyterianism, and held that the three orders are truly found developed in the New Testament, not as obligatory, but as sanctioned. Hence Mr. Warren truly and successfully shows that Wesley truly ordained Coke to the office of Bishop.

Mr. Warren lays down four characteristics of a true Church. These characteristics are tests which exclude contentions and ambitious secessions, or willful violations of peace and order in organizations already existing. The views of the entire pamphlet are sound, expressed in good diction, and animated with a candid spirit.

Miscellaneous.

Holiness to the Lord. By Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN, Author of "The Mission of the Spirit." 16mo., pp. 219. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

Mr. Dunn's book does not much stir up the metaphysics that underlie practical theology. Moving in the plane of popular thought, he seeks to elucidate his subject to the ordinary inquirer, and to inspire the soul with the power of his theme. It is clear in style and suing in spirit.

The Heart of Africa. Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871. By Dr. GEORGE SCHWEINFURTH. Translated by ELLEN E. FREWER. With an Introduction by WINWOOD READE. In Two Volumes. With Maps and Wood-Cut Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 559 and 521. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Two magnificent octavos, furnishing a narrative replete with interest and rich contributions to African geography.

The Alhambra and the Kremlin. The South and the North of Europe. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME, Author of "Travels in Europe and the East." 12mo., pp. 482. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

A richly illustrated volume by a practical traveler, with an eye that knew what to see, and a pen that knew how to describe.

Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands. By CHARLES NORDHOFF, Author of "California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence," etc. 8vo., pp. 256. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Five-Minute Chats with Young Women and Certain Other Parties. By Dr. DIO LEWIS, Author of "Our Girls," etc. 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

A Life that Speaketh. A Biography of Rev. George P. Wilson. By DANIEL CLARK KNOWLES. 16mo., pp. 229. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

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The Biblical Museum: A Collection of Notes Explanatory, Homiletic, and Illustrative, on the Holy Scriptures. Especially Designed for the Use of Ministers, Bible Students, and Sunday-School Teachers. By JAMES COMPER GRAY, Author of "Topics for Teachers." Vol. III, containing the Acts of the Apostles and Romans. Vol. IV, containing the Epistles, 1 Corinthians to Philemon. 12mo., pp. 384 and 384. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

The Relations of the Kingdom to the World. By J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D. 2mo., pp. 210. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Memorial Volume. Sermons by the late ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D., Minister of Free St. George's, and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. With a Biographical Preface. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: R. Carter & Bros. 1874.

American Pioneers and Patriots. Christopher Carson, familiarly known as Kit Carson. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Illustrations by Eleanor Greatorex. 12mo., pp. 342. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873.

American Pioneers and Patriots. Peter Stuyvesant, the Last Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873.

Ten-Minute Talks on All Sorts of Topics. By ELIHU BURRITT. With an Autobiography of the Author. 12mo., pp. 360. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1874.

The Period of the Reformation, 1517 *to* 1648. By LUDWIG HAUSSER. Edited by WILHELM ONCKEN, Professor of History at the University of Giessen. Translated by Mrs. G. Sturge. 12mo., pp. 702. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

A Lawyer Abroad. What to See, and How to See. By HENRY DAY, of the Bar of New York. 12mo., pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The Word of Life. Being Selections from the Work of a Ministry. By CHARLES J. BROWN, D.D., Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 330. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The Healing Waters of Israel; or, the Story of Naaman the Syrian. An Old Testament Chapter in Providence and Grace. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D., Author of "Morning and Night Watches." 16mo., pp. 298. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The Bazar Book of Health. 18mo., pp. 280. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The Gift of the Holy Ghost the Believer's Privilege. Also, Select Sermons on Christian Experience. By Rev. E. DAVIES, Author of "Believer's Hand-book," etc. 24mo., pp. 70. For sale by E. Davies, Reading, Mass.

The History of Greece. By Professor Dr. ERNST CURTIUS. Translated by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Vol. IV. 12mo., pp. 530. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

The Office and Duty of a Christian Pastor. By STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D., Rector of St. George's Church, in the City of New York. Published at the Request of the Students and Faculty of the School of Theology in the Boston University. 18mo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Historic Origin of the Bible. A Hand-book of Principal Facts from the Best Recent Authorities, German and English. By EDWIN CONE BESSELL, A.M. With an Introduction, by Professor ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York. 8vo., pp. 432. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. By ALBERT BARNES, author of "Notes on the Psalms." Revised Edition. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

On Holy Ground. By EDWIN HODDER, Author of "Memories of New Zealand Life." 12mo., pp. 326. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

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Glimpses of our Lake Region in 1863, and other Papers. By Mrs. H. C. GARDNER. 16mo., pp. 420. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

An Introductory Hebrew Grammar. With Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh. 8vo., pp. 166. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Co. 1874. Price, $3 00.

The Land of the White Elephant: Sights and Scenes in South-eastern Asia. A Personal Narrative of Travel and Adventure in Farther India, Embracing the Countries of Burmah, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, (1871-2.) By FRANK VINCENT, Jun. With Maps, Plans, and Numerous Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 316. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. From Verbatim Reports by T. J. ELLINWOOD. "Plymouth Pulpit." Tenth Series. March, 1873, to September, 1873. 8vo., pp. 503. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1874.

Hollywood Stories. Nat and his Chum; or, The Friendly Rivals. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., Author of "The Glen Morris Stories." 12mo., pp. 276. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1873.

Hollywood Stories. Elbert's Return; or, Foxy at Home Again. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., Author of "The Glen Morris Stories." 12mo., pp. 280. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1874.

The Little Camp on Eagle Hill. By the Author of "The Wide, Wide World." 12mo., pp. 429. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Miss Moore. A Tale for Girls. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK, Author of "The Cousin from India," etc. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 235. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The Young Crusaders. A Volume devoted to Exercises, Recitations, Colloquies, Declamations, Reviews, Songs, and other Services. For Use on Special Sunday-School Occasions. 12mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Pet; or, Pastimes and Penalties. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A., author of "Music and Morals." With Fifty Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 314. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The Reef, and other Parables. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, Author of "Yesterday, To-day, and Forever." 12mo., pp. 322. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The Cumberstone Contest. By the Author of "The Best Cheer." 18mo., pp. 359. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Elizabeth Tudor: The Queen and the Woman. Three Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 325. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Little Peachblossom; or, Rambles in Central Park. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq. Nine Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 230. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Gold and Dross. By EDWARD GARRETT, Author of "Crooked Places," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 305. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1874.

The Christ of God. By HORATIUS BONAR, D.D. 18mo., pp. 216. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Willow Brook. By the Author of "The Wide, Wide World." 12mo., pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Discontent, and Other Stories. By Mrs. H. C. GARDNER. 16mo., pp. 339. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

From the Plow to the Pulpit. 12mo., pp. 120. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

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Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., and Memoir. By his sons, Rev. DAVID K. GUTHRIE and CHARLES J. GUTHRIE, M.A. In two volumes. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 424. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Crossing the River. By the Author of "The Memoir of the Rev. William Marsh, D.D.," and of "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars." 18mo., pp. 118. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

True Stories of the American Fathers. For the Girls and Boys all over the Land. By Miss REBECCA M'CONKEY. Ten Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 329. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Gospel and its Fruits. A Book for the Young. By J. H. WILSON, M.A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 312. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

A Golden Sunset. Being an Account of the Last Days of Hannah Broomfield. By Rev. J. R. MACDUFF, D.D., Author of "Morning and Night Watches." 12mo., pp. 99. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Harper & Brothers' Descriptive List of their Publications. With Trade-list Prices. 8vo., pp. 283. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Under the Trees. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. 8vo., pp. 313. Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Blending Lights; or, The Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History to the Bible. By the Rev. WILLIAM FRASER, LL.D., Paisley, Scotland. 12mo., pp. 376. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Miss Beecher's Housekeeper and Healthkeeper. Containing Five Hundred Recipes for Economical and Healthful Cooking; also Many Directions for Securing Health and Happiness. Approved by Physicians of all Classes. 12mo., pp. 482. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The Women of the Arabs. With a Chapter for Children. By Rev. HENRY HARRIS JESSUP, D.D., Seventeen Years American Missionary in Syria. Edited by Rev. C. S. ROBINSON, D.D., and Rev. ISAAC RILEY. 12mo., pp. 372. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Great Conversers, and Other Essays. By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Chicago. 12mo., pp. 310. Chicago: S. G. Griggs & Co. 1874.

The World on Wheels, and Other Sketches. By BENJAMIN H. TAYLOR. 12mo., pp. 258. Chicago: S. G. Griggs & Co. 1874.

Our list of publications this quarter is eminently rich in quantity and quality, and our Book-Table is unprecedentedly extensive. We regret that notices of the following works have to be postponed to our next Quarterly:

Maudsley on Mental Disease. Appletons.

Dr. Krauth on Infant Salvation. Lutheran Publishing House.

Evangelical Alliance. Harpers.

Beardsley's President Samuel Johnson, D.D. Hurd & Houghton

Dr. Schneck's Mercersburg Theology. Lippincott & Co.

Dr. Krauth's Berkeley. Lippincott & Co.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1874.

ART. I.—THE APPROACHING CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

THE Wesleyan Methodists of Great Britain were originators of modern Ecclesiastical Centennial Celebrations. This is but one instance of a characteristic originality, which sprung from a fullness of life and a looking forward rather than backward, and which led to the system of itinerancy in the ministry, class-meetings, and other Church machinery, new in form but old in spirit. The principle which led to it was not that condemned by Christ, which "builds the tombs of the prophets, and garnishes the sepulchers of the righteous," and by the very act, shows a likeness to them that killed the prophets. That spirit may not, perhaps, be wholly absent from the design of raising a monument to Wesley in Westminster Abbey; but this first Methodist Centennial sprung from a predominant desire to bless the present and future generations while paying filial homage to the memory of the fathers.

In the "Recollections of my own Life and Times," by Thomas Jackson, may be found the best succinct description of the preparation for this Centenary, its observance, and its effects. The committee, over which Dr. Jackson presided, being at that time President of the Conference, consisted of about two hundred and sixty chosen ministers and laymen, from all parts of Great Britain. They consumed three days in their deliberations, were unanimous in their conclusions,

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and such a gracious influence attended this assembly that "it was at once a meeting for business and a religious meeting, beautifully combining secular transactions with a love-feast." We have no space for a description of this wonderful Centennial, so successful as to have awakened the attention of all the Churches, and to have inaugurated a practice in Protestantism that will probably never cease. Dr. Jackson gives us a brief summary of its results:—

> It was attended by an extraordinary amount of spiritual good, calling attention to first principles, and to the original design of Methodist preaching, of class-meetings, and of all the other appliances of the system. It was also a means of permanent relief to the various institutions of the Connection. The sum of more than two hundred and sixteen thousand pounds [about a million of dollars] was actually raised and applied to the benefit of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Trusts of Wesleyan Chapels in England and Ireland, the Support of Aged Ministers and Ministers' Widows, Wesleyan Education, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. One of the permanent benefits arising from the Centenary movement has been an improved liberality in the Connection at large; greater sums being now given for the creation of chapels, the extension of foreign missions, and the advancement of religion generally, than were previously contributed.

This Centenary celebration consolidated, in fact, the Wesleyan Societies into a Church, and gave an impulse to evangelical religion which was felt throughout the world.

The Centennial of American Methodism, though not original in conception, was equally creditable and useful. It has left no one great monument, but all the institutions of the Church were greatly strengthened by it. The committee reported that the "liberal thank-offerings of the people, according to the best information we have upon the subject, amounts to $8,709,498 39." The most of this immense sum was expended for institutions similar to those mentioned by Dr. Jackson as receiving the contributions made in the Centennial of Wesleyan Methodism in Great Britain. No mind can calculate the advantages of the impulse and strength thus given to the Church in her great work.

In the Address of the Bishops to the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the initiative was made toward an appropriate ecclesiastical celebration of the

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Centennial of American Independence by the great body of Christians over which these bishops have supervision. We quote a paragraph from their address:—

The fourth day of July, 1876, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, from which event dates our national existence. The dictates of both patriotism and piety render it proper for Christians to celebrate such an occasion in some way that will appropriately express their gratitude to Almighty God for the mercy and truth which he has shown to our nation, for surely he hath not dealt so with any people. If we, as a Church, are to celebrate the Centennial birthday of our beloved country, it will require some action by the present General Conference, because the next General Conference, which will probably close in June, 1876, comes too late to afford sufficient time to make such arrangements as will be appropriate and necessary to a becoming celebration of so grand an event. We take the liberty, therefore, of inviting your attention to the subject.

The address from which the above extract is made was read to the General Conference, May 8, 1872, and, by motion, so much of the Bishops' address as relates to our National Anniversary was referred to a Special Committee. This committee consisted of the following ministers—Messrs. J. M. Walden, of the Cincinnati Conference; Wm. M'K. Hester, of Indiana Conference; L. C. Queal, of Central New York Conference; L. R. Thayer, of New England Conference; M. D'C. Crawford, of New York Conference; M. J. Talbot, of Providence Conference; W. I. Maclay, of California Conference; and of the following laymen—Hon. C. D. Hubbard, of West Virginia Conference; Horace Benton, Esq., of North Ohio Conference; and Judge T. H. Caldwell, of Tennessee Conference.

This committee was evidently chosen to represent all parts of the country, and after full and careful deliberation they unanimously agreed upon a report as follows:—

Whereas, The fourth of July, 1876, will be the Centennial of the Declaration of American Independence; and

Whereas, A loyal and patriotic sentiment must prompt every citizen to join in some appropriate commemoration of the event; and

Whereas, The Methodist Church was the first, through a deputation of her chief ministers, to give a pledge of support to the Government in the days of Washington; and, ever maintaining an unswerving loyalty, was second to none in the struggle for the perpetuation of that Government in the days of Lincoln;

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Therefore, It is meet that we, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, formally express our gratification that Congress has directed timely arrangements to be made for the celebration of this first National Centenary.

Furthermore, while all loyal people will be prompted by their patriotism to participate in the commemorative ceremonies thus appointed, it will be an occasion on which our Church and people will seek, by appropriate religious services, to declare their faith in, and cognizance of, the overruling providence of Almighty God, and especially that, under his guidance, our fathers, by their heroism and sacrifices, maintained the Declaration of Independence, and by their wisdom and devotion established our Republican institutions; that under his favor our country has enjoyed during the century long intervals of peace, and an unprecedented prosperity; that under his blessings those arts and sciences and forms of industry which develop the resources of a land and elevate the character of a people have been fostered; that under his providence the means of intelligence have been multiplied, the course of education promoted, and our free-school system, the fruit of American Protestantism and the bulwark of American freedom, firmly established; that under his control the nation has been led to abolish slavery, and reinvest the emancipated with every civil and political right; that under his restraints, during the prosperous periods of peace and the terrible seasons of war, our people, by respect to authority and obedience to law, have proven to the world that governments may be permanent where man is free; and that, under his special care, our Church has been protected in her religious liberty, and our people have shared in the common happiness and prosperity; therefore, be it, by this General Conference,

Resolved, 1. That the Centenary of American Independence shall be appropriately celebrated by all our Churches and people, with devout thanksgiving to Almighty God, by special religious services and liberal thank-offerings.

Resolved, 2. That the thanksgiving services shall begin with the first Sabbath of June in 1876, and close on the fourth day of July, to be celebrated at such times and places as may best suit the convenience of the Societies.

Resolved, 3. That the primary object shall be the spiritual improvement of our people, especially by reviewing what God hath wrought for our nation, and by cultivating feelings of gratitude to him for the benefits of civil and religious liberty.

Resolved, 4. That this gratitude shall have an appropriate expression of pecuniary contributions from our people, according to the measures of their ability, so to be appropriated as to increase the efficiency of our denomination in promoting the welfare of our country.

Resolved, 5. That as the Church and State, by their respective agencies, are brought into a more direct and vital co-operation in the education of the people than at any other point of their distinct movements, and as our Church does directly promote the

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welfare of the country by her educational institutions, therefore a most fitting commemoration of the National Centenary will be liberal offerings from our people to strengthen those educational institutions.

Resolved, 6. That the gifts of our people shall be devoted to the cause of education, and shall be applied either to a *local* or a *general* object. The *local object* shall be the endowment of educational institutions under the patronage of the Annual Conferences, and the increase of existing educational funds. The *general object* shall be the aid of needy young men called to the ministry, or needy young women called to the missionary work in our Church, in preparing for their respective spheres of duty; and the contributions for this object, together with all contributions not designated for other objects, shall constitute a fund, to be known as the *National Centenary Fund*, to be held in trust and administered by the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the principal forever to remain intact, the interest alone to be used for the above-named purposes, under such regulations as the General Conference shall from time to time prescribe.

Resolved, 7. That each Annual Conference shall, in 1874, provide for a memorial discourse, to be delivered before its own body during its session first preceding the fourth of July, 1876; and shall, during its session in 1875, give the necessary directions to secure in all our churches the observance of the commemoration services in 1876, recommended by the Board of Bishops.

Resolved, 8. That the Board of Bishops shall devise a programme of religious services for the fitting commemoration of the event, and each bishop shall present it to the Annual Conferences over which he may preside during 1875, and bring this action of the General Conference to the timely notice of the Annual Conferences.

Resolved, 9. That the Board of Bishops shall prepare a commemorative address, and present it to the next General Conference on the first day of the session, to be immediately published to the Church, with such recommendations from the General Conference as will enlist all our people in the cheerful and devout observance of those special thanksgiving services which shall be the most appropriate and fervent expression of gratitude to Almighty God, of faith in Jesus Christ the Saviour and Ruler of the world, of love to our country, and of loyalty to the free institutions which are based upon the immortal Declaration of Independence.

This report was adopted, and thus the recommendation of the Bishops was approved. The Methodist ministers and people have determined to celebrate the Centennial of American Independence, and make an appropriate expression of gratitude to Almighty God. In addition to participation in all proper, popular, and general celebrations of the event, the Bishops and the General Conference have expressed their conviction that it is our duty, as a Church, to recognize the indis-

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soluble moral connection between Church and State. Happily there is no political connection, and therefore the moral connection is closer. The Church can exert its force without jealousy or conflict. The Church exists to purify, not to corrupt. A true republic and the true Church of Christ rise or fall together. Our nation stands alone in history, original, observed of all, embodying in its constitution and institutions the ripened fruit of the study and the experiment of all the best civilization that has preceded it. Never until Christianity had prepared the way by precept and practice could such an embodiment of its spirit exist. It recognizes, like Christianity, as a fundamental truth, the equal merit and equal claims of all men as a gift of God; it considers the whole community as the fountain of power, and it depends for its strength and success upon the integrity and virtue of the people.

Like Christianity, too, it demonstrates the genuineness of its origin and fidelity to right by constantly eliminating from its institutions whatever abuses or practices inconsistent with its central idea may arise, and by absorbing and assimilating whatever agencies may contribute to the accomplishment of its main idea.

It is the positive duty of Christians to recognize and assert before God and the people the dependence of a free State upon true religion, and the obligations of true religion to a free State. Our Republic had a Christian origin, and no other power could have produced it, no other power could have maintained it. True democracy and Christianity fail or flourish together.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has, also, peculiar reasons for entering into this Centennial celebration with extraordinary spirit. Providentially, Christianity, free to modify and adopt the forms of its workings, assumed in this branch of the general Church certain methods of working precisely adapted to the new demands, and without which, or something like them, infidelity and barbarism could not have been successfully resisted during the first century—the formative and experimental century of our Republic.

One hundred years ago, when our fathers were passing through their terrible struggle, with a combined effort to retain the liberties which their fathers had secured by migrating to a wilderness in a new world; to maintain justice, also, with the

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mother country, the Government of which had annulled the contracts previously existing with the colonies, and therefore justified the severance of the union without being a rebellion on our part; and also to embody in their new federation of States what had never been seen before—a plural unit, a combined sovereignty of sovereign States into one larger and yet limited sovereignty, strong as the strongest for defense and protection, and yet not to encroach upon the rights of the States; while attempting this seeming impossibility, without precedent to guide them, and without the sympathy of other Governments to cheer them, and without entire unity at home —for tories were many—and not able to secure the co-operation of all the colonies in America, and compelled, while fighting for existence, to meet their expenses mostly with promises to pay, they would certainly have been overcome and ruined had it not been for a profound trust in Almighty God, which gave them the heroism of martyrs, and also, had it not been for the evident favor of God, who intended that a free Church should have a fair field in a free State, lest that after all its struggles the religion of Christ should be driven from the world.

But at this time, even after the struggle was over and victory proclaimed, as is now the case after the suppression of the Rebellion, great and unexpected difficulties arose—far greater, in some respects, than any which appeared in the struggle. They were but about five millions of people, and the larger part of their territory was a wilderness. Their territory, large as it was, was surrounded by powers in opposition to them, and for commercial purposes and safety it was necessary to obtain an enlargement of their domain. They were burdened with debt. War had lowered the morals of the people. An exotic infidelity, imported from Europe, maintaining that liberty implied opposition to religion, had its sympathizers here. Floods of immigrants began to pour in, the most of whom came, not as the first colonists did, in organizations, with their Churches and their ministry, but disconnected, and in a larger proportion of instances prompted by hopes of pecuniary gain or political liberty, or merely by love of adventure. New territory was taken up and redeemed from the wilderness by settlers. The American people began to lose their homogeneity of character. What is called a pioneer population sprung up.

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Lynch law usurped the place of precedent and statute. Large tracts of sparsely-settled country were utterly destitute of both Churches and schools. They no longer could depend on the Churches and schools of the older nations for educated leaders, and their own Churches and schools were young and comparatively feeble. There were no missionary societies then, home nor foreign; no Bible society; no Church extension societies; no education societies. The Church organizations then existing were simply home institutions, and none, or almost none, of the machinery now employed for expansion was yet dreamed of.

Now it pleased God to organize the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH—an institution providentially raised up precisely at the right time, and of the right character, to save this country from relapsing toward barbarism—to spread a simple and genuine Christianity throughout the whole mass, so that, however poor and however feeble, no little cluster of settlers should be found, in the forest or on the prairie, on the mountain or in the valley, that should not hear the Bible read, and the praises of God sung, and the genuine doctrines of salvation through Christ proclaimed. We need not pause here long to show that we are not speaking in a spirit of boasting, nor claiming that there were absolutely no defects in the early Methodist Church, or that many things might not have been done better, and more might have been done; nor to utter any of those criticisms that even a friend might point out, and that enemies have repeated so often in ephemeral publications that find so few readers; nor need we pause long to declare that what other branches of the Church of Christ did in the older parts of the country, and with their solid machinery, and even by their own peculiar modes of evangelization, is all fully appreciated by us. But after all due qualifications are made, it simply indicates an absence of good sense or of a fair spirit not to see that what the new nation needed was a new Church —both old as man in principle and doctrine, but both new in form, in aim, in development, in elasticity, in success. The new nation was not compelled to wait for the new Church—for the Constitution of the nation was not adopted till 1789, but the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784. They were fitted to each other. Each was the combined product of human wisdom and Divine Providence. Both the nation and

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the Church existed before the Revolution; both reluctantly severed their connection with the mother country; both organized constitutions about the same time; both were federal, and yet composed of smaller units; independent, and yet united; and both had a similar mission, one in politics and the other in religion, and that mission was to show to the world some of the latest results of thought and experience, and to stimulate other organizations of their respective classes into a higher life. It was fortunate, too, that the Church did not copy from the State; but, following out its own ideas under the guidance of Divine Providence, it did develop into a grand federal Church—compact as one, and yet made up of smaller units, independent and uniform.

All the Churches in this country, so far as they have presented a pure Christianity, have contributed to save the nation. The work of some has been to explore and encourage the strangers to come together and organize Christian societies; others have given more attention to schools; but all have been quick to avail themselves of new methods, and to seize upon new agencies, to spread intelligence, to reach the conscience, and lead men to a righteous life. The mottoes of the Methodists are: "No Church without a minister, no minister without a Church." "All employed, and always employed." No time is lost by the minister in seeking a settlement, and no time is lost by the Church in seeking some one to settle. As in a monarchy "the king never dies," and in a republic "the president never dies," so every Methodist Society may say, Our minister never dies—for when one leaves another comes, and when the itinerant steps out of one home he steps into another. Now, we do not deny that this system has its inconveniences, and trials, and expenses, for every human contrivance, and divine too, has its limitations; but we aver that the inconveniences of the itinerancy are more than balanced by its advantages; and even the most skeptical on the subject cannot deny that for a country situated as the United States of America has been for the past century, and is likely to be for a century to come, no other system could possibly have met, or could now meet, the demand.

We have peculiar reason, then, on this National Centenary, to thank God. Let us draw correct pictures of the past, that our children with us may recognize the goodness and wisdom

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of God. Let us call attention to the missionary work still going on in the sparsely-settled portions of our country, and in the newer barbarism of our large cities, and in distant parts of the world. Let us show our children how, from time to time, our polity has been modified during the past century, ever maintaining a fidelity to the right spirit of the Church, which is to evangelize men—to "spread scriptural holiness through these lands." In accordance with this spirit a delegated General Conference has been organized, and finally, lay delegates have been called into it; the powers of the Annual Conferences have been increased, and perhaps soon lay delegates will be admitted to them; District Conferences have been re-established, composed of both ministers and laymen; the rights and privileges of both ministers and members have been defined; large publishing interests have been developed; Sunday-schools have become universal, and a Sunday-School Union has been created with a wonderful machinery; a Missionary Society has been constituted among the leading organizations of the kind in the world; a Board of Church Extension, and a Freedman's Aid Society, and a Board of Education. Call attention, too, to the system of Church periodicals, almost as *sui generis* to American Methodism as the itinerancy, whereby, without personal profits or the temptations to personal ambition, a periodical literature, both loyal and independent, has been secured, which is almost an astonishment to itself. Call attention, also, to the patriotism of the ministers and members of this Church in common with other Christians, when a new flag was set up and slavery attempted to divide the nation. Fail not also to observe that during this century American Christianity has signalized itself by the decision that alcohol is poisonous to the healthy body, and productive of innumerable evils, and pre-eminently dangerous in a republic, where a sound intellectual and moral and religious condition of the people is necessary for safety, and that the Methodists are, and from the beginning always have been, united and in the vanguard in protesting against dram-drinking and dram-selling, and all participation in the production of drunkenness and the inevitable ruin which follows.

Do not fail to notice that all these new forms of activity, when proposed, met with more or less opposition from the timid

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and the unimaginative, who, having little or no power to invent, and little or no courage to enter new fields, must be instructed and led by the more far-seeing and daring till success has put its *imprimatur* on a project, and then the conservatives rapidly wheel into line in its defense.

And should the spirit of prophecy burn within you, fear not to utter the prediction that the next century will witness as great reforms and novelties of thought and action as the past. For God is not partial to generations or centuries. Each has its work to do.

The imaginative and inventive and constructive powers of men will never slumber. Principles abide, phenomena change. "Old paths" take new windings, and require new motive power, and present new scenery, when they lead into new territory. When the world is finished it will probably be burned up, and a stagnant Church that looks only at the past will soon find itself out of time and out of place.

If it should be thought best to fortify these views by a further analogy with the nation, it will be appropriate to call attention to like changes that have occurred in the political field. Even the Constitution of the United States has been changed—strengthening its spirit—and none of the original thirteen States is now living under the same written Constitution it had a hundred years ago. The home spinning-wheel and dye-pot have been made obsolete by the great factories whose machinery represents the best inventive power of the world, and supplies the markets of distant nations; agriculture has assumed a new magnitude, or the multitudes now swarming the land could not be fed; all the banking and commerce of a hundred years ago would hardly equal the business now represented by our "fractional currency;" though mines have been discovered, and America alone has about doubled all the gold and silver that had been accumulated from time immemorial down to one century ago, yet our wise legislators and business men are finding out how to do business almost without any; steam propels our ships and our carriages; artificial iron rivers belt and flow through the country in all directions; printed pages are more numerous than the leaves of the forest; the lightning carries our messages to the ends of the earth.

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Also, besides these and other similar and often-repeated accomplishments, it may be well to note that the horizon still has its threatening clouds as well as its streaks of light, and it is not yet absolutely certain whether the first quarter of the next century will be clear weather or stormy.

Labor is growing restive and clamorous. Debt presses so heavily that shoulders begin to ache, and men of easy conscience inquire whether there cannot be some more agreeable relief than paying it. International leagues are dreamed of that shall render war almost impossible. Evangelical Alliances suggest that the present checker-board map of Protestantism might be made more seemly to the eye, and to represent a more agreeable adjustment of forces; even the old feud between Protestantism and Catholicism seems at times to be fading toward obsolescence; but atheism has more, and more open, advocates than ever before—and thus, as in all past time, light and darkness mingle, the tares and the wheat grow together, and there is the same stimulant to work, and the same need of fear and faith, for the future.

But the General Conference has directed that the people be requested to express their gratitude to Almighty God by making contributions of money for education. All see the appropriateness of this direction. Christianity and education are inseparably connected. Divorce them and each degenerates into an instrument of evil, and will perish. In this country there is no formal union of Church and State, and on this account several great difficulties have arisen peculiar to our nation, and known to other nations only as they approximate our condition of a free State and a free Church. Though the State cannot support the ministers of religion and the institutions of Christianity, it demands the right to support teachers of secular science, and art, and literature, and the institutions of education. It would betray ignorance to deny that some practical difficulties arise which have not yet reached their final solution or produced their full effects.

Shall our public schools become more and more secular, until finally they either ignore God and Revelation altogether, or admit the views of all sects of Christians—Catholics and Protestants—heathen, and infidels of every kind, on the same platform, and without discrimination? Or shall the difficulty

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be solved by confining public education to what can be learned without exciting or suggesting any religious thought whatever, such as the simply mechanical part of education, reading and writing, and perhaps also mathematics, pure and applied, and certain parts of other methods of thought? Logically, one or the other of these solutions must be reached. It must be the toleration of all dogmas, or it must be confinement to undisputed territory. The only third course possible is to allow the public schools (illogically) to teach positively those views of religion which are accordant with what a decided majority of the people believe.

Now this third course, illogical though it may be, is what will usually prevail, for neither men's convictions nor actions practically are determined by logic—whether they ought to be or not.

How evident is it, therefore, that the Church in this country has peculiar demands for educational work! She ought to have schools in which her own tenets, the positive truths of Christianity, shall be recognized and explained, and in which the mutual relations of all sciences and Christianity shall be fully and fearlessly investigated. Especially does she need institutions of higher education of this kind. Academies, colleges, theological schools, universities, she has and must have. It is waste of mental power and time to theorize on abstract questions connected with such a subject as this. We must meet the demands of the hour, and thus best provide for the future. Our fathers were pre-eminently practical. John Wesley did not pause to inquire how the Episcopacy which he sanctioned would compare with the old, or whether class-meetings and band-meetings were not like auricular confession, but he saw a demand and met it. So have his followers usually attempted to do. Our itinerancy, conferences, book concerns, various boards and societies, our institutions of learning, are all founded to meet a demand.

When the demand for any one ceases it should cease, when the demand changes it should change. Never before was there so great an educational demand in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States as to-day, and therefore it should be met. We need the accession of a thousand well-educated ministers every year, and shall soon need two thou-

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sand, to fill vacancies and enter upon the open fields. We have the men, and we have nearly all the schools needed; but the schools need strengthening, and a majority of men need help while studying. Here, then, is the demand.

The committee of the General Conference seem to have given this subject thorough attention, and the conclusion which they reached should be carried out. The gratitude of the people shall be expressed in pecuniary contributions devoted to the cause of education, in part to the local institutions, and in part to a general fund under the charge of the Board of Education, the income of which shall be used to aid in the education of needy young men called to the ministry, and of needy young women called to the missionary work in our Church.

The only objection made to any part of this plan has been that the people are called upon too often and too urgently to contribute money. This is the old cry of avarice and indifference. Money is the representative of labor—that and nothing more. The man who contributes a dollar gives to the cause as much labor as the dollar will command. "Go work in my vineyard," is binding upon every man. All Christians desire to fulfill the command. By the division of labor incident to a high civilization many are deprived of the privilege of reaching the maximum of their ability to do good by actual personal Christian service. They must work by money. A farmer does not personally do all his sowing, and planting, and harvesting; he hires laborers and cultivates the soil by money. We support missionaries by money. We print books and circulate them by money. We double, nay, we indefinitely multiply, our personal influence by money. Destroy the banks, the currency, the money of the nation, and we relapse into barbarism, and the greater part of the people are paralyzed and must die.

Occasionally a timid Christian, having a weak faith in the vitality of Christianity, and in its power to bear large responsibility, has expressed a fear that the Church will become corrupted by obtaining possession of funds or permanent property. This is the old sophism that Christianity can thrive only in an atmosphere of ignorance and poverty. If this be so, our religion is unworthy of its Founder. If this be so, Christianity is doomed to defeat, for the world will constantly grow in wealth

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and knowledge in proportion to its reception of Christianity. Thus in the end Christianity will destroy itself. These both advance in a ratio more rapid than the increase of population. Machinery of every kind lessens the necessity for physical toil, and various methods are continually discovered to preserve and perpetuate a large part of the fruit of labor, physical, mental, and spiritual, and thus to give each generation a better starting-place than its predecessor. The civilized surpass the savage chiefly in the accumulation of capital. Capital properly employed is strength and safety. It is not dross and corruption.

The erection of a house of worship is the funding of so much capital, the income of which is to be devoted to religious purposes. The building costs, it may be, $20,000, and is paid for when dedicated by the Church and congregation who happen then to occupy it; but it may stand a century, or several centuries, and accommodate many generations of worshipers, who are simply required to keep it in repair. Now has the first generation committed an injustice, or even an impolicy, by thus creating a fund for their successors? May not those who enter upon the labors of their fathers be reasonably expected to be more liberal in the support of the general interests of the Church? It has been found that preaching, without building churches, is generally useless. The effect is for the most part transitory, and the labor is wasted, for the want of an accumulation of material wealth.

The business of the world, it is found, needs the accumulation of capital. But especially is this true of the great work of education.

To give all the reasons for this proposition fairly would require much more space than is allotted to this article, and we therefore ask the reader closely to examine for himself the few following statements:—

The work of obtaining an education, if entered upon voluntarily, requires more faith, and perseverance, and self-denial, than any other common enterprise. The reward is not immediate. The harvest is not to be gathered in three months, nor till "after many years." The temptations to superficiality, to a short cut to success, arising from the seeming prosperity of many who have made the briefest preparation possible, seduce

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many from the task. But a thorough education of our leaders in thought is a common benefit to the entire people. The advantage is as great, perhaps greater, to others than to those who devote themselves to this task. They raise the standard of society, even if their own personal profits are sometimes small. The best schools themselves are endowments. They always have been; we suppose they always must be. A student pays for his education in our best schools only a small fraction of what it actually costs. But a sweeping and undiscriminating endowment does not accomplish all the good purposes which we seek. There are many, especially those who are studying for the ministry, and design solely to consecrate their educated ability to Christ's work, who need assistance during those long years of toil and faith when they are laying the foundation for the highest usefulness to mankind. They are not adopting public opinion, but their own judgment and conscience as a guide.

Now to fear any palsying or corrupting effects of a money endowment to aid such men, to be consistent, should fear the building of a church or a parsonage, and betrays a lack of confidence in human nature, and especially in Christianized human nature, that is altogether unbecoming to a Christian of the nineteenth century. We want positive, not negative men; heroic, not timid men. We want faith, and enterprise, and work, not fear. We want wise plans and prompt execution and a prophetic instinct. Events develop too fast for suspicious and faint-hearted men. Facts outstrip our hopes—but the facts fall far short of the possibilities. We spend too much time in boasting of what happens, and too little in lamenting that greater results were not secured—but both boasting and lamenting are useless unless they lead us to do our duty better now.

We are not called upon to have much patience with prophets of evil. They have always abounded, but what good purpose they can serve, if any, remains to be discovered.

> "Imperial Cesar dead, and turned to clay,
> May stop a hole to keep the wind away."

And so these opposers of enterprise may possibly be of use after death, but they are impediments while they appear to live. Nor should Church leaders be always looking back-

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ward. The triumphant follies of the past will never conquer again. They are mortally wounded, and there is nothing less capable of resurrection than an expired or dying folly. The Church will never re-enact the absurdities of the dark ages. The State is now able to take care of itself. The civilized world is fast becoming republican and democratic. In republics, as in the United States, Christ's Church will be divided into sects or branches, as undoubtedly it ought to be. Some of them are parasites—false branches. Some of them abandon the tree, and, tending downward, strike root for themselves—if they continue to live—and are no longer a part of the Church of Christ. But the main body of branches, various as they may be in form, and foliage, and fruit, if they "abide in Christ," are alive. Now under such a state of things, the Churches are called upon to exert themselves to the utmost, to avail themselves of all the privileges safely tendered to them in a free State.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has now funded in houses of worship about $70,000,000; in parsonages, about $9,000,000; and in schools, about $16,000,000. To what extent are these funds abused? Would to God they could be doubled by the spontaneous offerings of the people within the next ten years! It could be done and not a Methodist thereby suffer hunger for a day, or be deprived of comfortable clothing, or of the means of taking care of his children. We live in a land of wealth, and to most of us the problem is unsolved: How much good could be done with our talents—material, intellectual, and moral? When the Church begins seriously to ask this question, and prays for wisdom to see the truth, and for will to execute it, the mighty possibilities in Christendom will begin to array themselves in fact.

But it is objected by some that these centennial celebrations are coming too frequently! We had the first Centennial of Wesleyan Methodism in 1836, and then the Centennial of American Methodism in 1866, and now, forsooth, comes another appeal for expressions of gratitude and joy in 1876; how many more may we expect? Let a few facts aid us to a right conclusion on this subject.

Of the 7,576 preachers connected with the Conferences in 1866, about 5,803 are reported as still connected with the Conferences in 1873. In other words, 1,773 ministers died or left

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the Conferences in seven years. Allowing the same rate to continue, 759 more of the old number will die or retire before 1876, leaving 5,044 members of the Conferences who were members in 1866. This 5,000 will include nearly all the superannuated and supernumerary preachers. But the whole number of ministers in the Conferences in 1873 was 10,571, or an average annual increase since 1866 of 428. Allowing the same rate of increase for the next three years, the whole number in 1876 will be 11,855. Out of the 12,000 ministers that will be connected with the Conferences in 1876, only 5,044, or considerably less than one half, were connected with the Conferences in 1866.

Now it is well-known that changes among the laity are far more rapid than among the ministers. Seldom does a minister leave a Conference except by death. The membership, embracing people of all ages, in this migratory country, change rapidly. We may safely say, and be within the truth, that of the 1,750,000 persons who may be enrolled as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876, not more than half a million were members in 1866. There will be 7,000 ministers and more than a million of members who will not have had opportunity to give a dollar at any Centennial celebration of Methodism! Why deprive them of this glorious privilege, simply because their fathers and mothers had a Centennial in 1866, and their grandparents in 1836? They desire the privilege in their day and generation; and they hope their posterity will have a rousing celebration in 1884, the Centenary of the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

There is an eminent appropriateness in this proposed expression of patriotic Christian exultation. The Baptists of the United States have already entered upon a preparation for such a celebration with their accustomed zeal, and with great promise of success. No very careful observer of men and institutions can have failed to notice that communities are often strongest where theoretically they are weakest. Danger begets providence, while presumption insures defeat.

The Baptists claim to be made up of independent congregations, and therefore, when they do work organically, it is with a united and heavy tread. Their success in educational enterprises is remarkable, and instructive to the

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whole Church. And the "American Baptist Educational Commission" are planning for a universal Centennial celebration. They propose to act through "Advisory Committees" "in Boston, Chicago, Richmond, and Nashville;" the Central Commission having its office in New York. "The members of the Advisory Committees are from many States, and it will be the duty of these committees, through those members, to promote local organizations in all the States of their respective sections. State Conventions can take measures to promote associational organizations, and these last will have completed the task of organization only when every Church and congregation shall be the theater of the operations of a Centennial society or Church. This is the ideal of organization —to the extent to which it is made real, other things being equal, the celebration will be universal and universally successful." Already they are publishing a periodical called "The Centennial," from which the above is quoted; and we earnestly pray that they may, and entertain no doubt that they will, have abundant success. We expect to see them raise several million dollars for their educational institutions in 1876.

So far as we are informed, the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in their address to the General Conference of 1872, were the first to recommend a celebration of this kind. The initiatory steps are thus taken, but it is pre-eminently an enterprise that requires systematic labor. The object of this article is to call attention to this great work. More than any similar preceding enterprise it is intrusted to the spontaneous interest of the people. It confides less in machinery, more in heart. Never was a nation from whom gratitude was more becoming than the United States of America; never a body of Christians more earnestly and reasonably called upon to express their gratitude than the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The Bishops have made the motion, the General Conference has seconded it; what will be the decision of the ministers and people?

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Art. II.—DR. BENDER ON THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF MIRACLES.

PREPARED FROM THE GERMAN BY PROF. J. P. LACROIX.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

3. *Miracles in the realm of nature and in the person of Christ.*

It is remarkable that the occurrences to be considered under this head—occurrences which present the miracle at the acme of its supernatural greatness, and which by their results seem, as it were, to transcend the miracle-conception entertained by the sacred writers—do not in reality change this conception in the least. Only this much is striking in their narratives—that their personal judgment seems to be struck dumb in the presence of the inexplicable divine reality of which they feel the workings. The rise in their descriptions does not keep pace with the rise in the wonderfulness of the occurrences described. On the contrary, their explanatory hints and observations fall tamer into the background, precisely at the points where we would have expected that they should portray them in the highest and most magic colors of the miraculous.

Their fancy, very evidently, did not add anything to the pictures. In the presence of the earnest, incomprehensible, transcendent majesty of these most miraculous of miracles, their mere human judgment bowed itself in adoring silence, so as to let the miracles themselves speak all the more eloquently. No exclamation of astonishment, no intentional displaying of the wonderful, no curious intrusion into its secret, no pleasure-taking in miracle-portraiture, disturbs or renders suspicious the plain realistic narrative. The miracles themselves are made to proclaim the glory of God, who works such wonders in the interest of man.

1. We consider here, first, the miraculous *feeding* of multitudes. The disciples are just returned from their first mission, and have related to their Master the great things which they had wrought. Jesus, needing repose himself, and wishing the same to them, desires to retire with them into the quiet region beyond the Sea of Galilee. But the people, stirred up by "the

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former signs which he had done," anticipate his purpose. As he disembarks from the lake he finds a multitude before him, as a herd without a shepherd, and is moved to deep compassion. He forgets his weariness, and turns about and teaches the people until toward night. And the people, absorbed in his words of life, forget that their food is consumed, that their homes are afar, and that little or nothing is to be had on the spot, until, at last, the disciples interrupt the interesting scene, and remind the Lord that man needs not only heavenly but also earthly bread. He at once perceives the helpless condition of the people, the approaching night, and the barrenness of the neighborhood. Why should not God, who had given him power to heal the sick and raise the dead, also give him the power to make *much* out of *little*, in order to quiet the hunger of the thousands who had been brought into this condition by their intent listening to his words of life?

Such was the significant occasion of the miracle. The miracle itself is familiar to all. Jesus gives thanks, and distributes to his disciples the few loaves and fishes, that they may therewith feed the multitude. The writers do not explain *how* this was done. That, however, their idea is that of a miraculous increase of the scant store, and not that of a miraculous satiation of so many thousands with so little, is very clear from the fact that all of them eat, and that Jesus enjoins upon them the gathering up of what remained—not to show how great a miracle had been wrought, but "that nothing be lost" of that which God had graciously granted.

The incident related by John, of the turning of water into wine by Jesus at Cana, is dignified above all comparison with a mere external, intended miracle of display, by the fact that it is called forth by the embarrassment of the marriage family, and is wrought only at the moment when this embarrassment threatened sadly to interrupt the flow of the joyous occasion. The miracle is, therefore, morally conditioned. Jesus meets the moral exigency by an extraordinary call upon nature. Here, also, the sacred writer is sparing of his words; there is no display; there is not the least attempt at describing the process of the wonderful change. The request of his mother, which betrayed a total misconception of the moral conditionment of his miracle-working power, he rejects with emphasis. Instead

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of the miracle of display which she desired, he bides his time, and then works only a miracle of modest, helpful love, and known as such only to the disciples. (John ii.)

2. In close connection with the above-mentioned miraculous feeding of the multitude stands the account of Jesus's miraculous walking upon the waters of the Lake of Gennesaret. The miracle of feeding had brought the popular conviction of his Messianic character to very emphatic expression. To avoid being tumultuously proclaimed king of Israel he had to flee. When, at a later hour, he looked about for his disciples, they were already far out upon the lake. Hence the occasion for him to overtake them over the billowy pathway. The body of Jesus seems either to have stood here above the laws of ordinary gravitation, or the spiritual will inhabiting it offered to them a neutralizing counterpoise. Christ's answer to sinking Peter implies, at least, that the miracle was not simply the magical expression of a superhuman power, but rather the expression of a faith-inspired personal capability of spiritually influencing his material body. (Mark vi, 45, and parallels.)

The idea of the spiritual quality of the body of Jesus, not to say of its immateriality—as implied in his transfiguration, in his post-resurrection appearings, and in the sentiment of Peter (Acts ii, 24) that death could not hold him fast—is implied also in the account of Luke (iv, 30) as to his rescuing himself from a murderous-minded mob in Nazareth. This assumption, however, of his bodily nature into his spiritual essence (if we may use this enigmatical expression for a very enigmatical thing) appears only on the rarest and most critical moments of his life to have, as it were, overcome or metamorphosed the materiality of his corporeity.

3. This wonderful spiritual power of Jesus seems to find its highest expression when he directly utters a command to physical nature, and is obeyed. The miracle of the stilling of the sea lies not in the stilling itself, but in its being *suddenly* stilled *at the word* of the Master.

The seemingly most capricious use of his power is where Jesus's will acts like a magnet in drawing hundreds of fishes into the nets of the disciples—as typical of the success of their future fishing for men. But the narrative bears all the marks of authenticity. The incident that Peter, in astonishment,

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falls at his Master's feet and begs forgiveness for his unbelief, (Luke v, 8,) could hardly have been invented. So deep was the impression made upon the disciples by this, that the Lord, when risen, repeats the same miracle (John xxi) in order to impress upon the doubting apostles that it is now the very same Lord who would renew his impressive charge to them of "feeding his lambs."

4. A very different kind of miracle in the person of Jesus was a certain kind of *knowledge*—a knowledge of a clear and intuitive character, which needed not the help of the usual mediate links of sensuous and spiritual experience. We do not so much refer to his predictions of his own death and of the downfall of Jerusalem, (which he might logically have inferred as moral and historical necessities;) nor to his knowledge of divine things, for which he possessed, in his Divine nature and in his substantial union with God, supernatural sources; nor to his prediction of his resurrection, which might have been assured to him by his own consciousness of the immortality of his spiritual character; but we refer especially to a large number of incidental remarks of Jesus, which seem to imply a knowledge as contrary to all usual experience as do his miracles on the field of nature; such, for example, as his detailed direction as to where a certain colt should be found, (Mark xi, 2,) as to where a man bearing a pitcher should be met, (Luke xxii, 10,) also John xi, 11, and other similar cases.

5. We come, lastly, to the crowning miracle in the person of Jesus—his *resurrection.* It is very natural that, in the details as to this stupendous occurrence, there should be slight discrepancies. A certain series of facts, however, is well vouched for. It is certain that Jesus died on the cross in great anguish of soul. This is attested, not only by the Gospels, but by the collective body of the Epistles. In fact, the whole New Testament bases the certainty of the forgiving grace of the Father upon the death and resurrection of the Son. Death came upon Christ sooner than usual in such cases; for before Pilate gives the body to Joseph he feels the need of ascertaining that Jesus was already really dead.

On the second morning after his decease certain female disciples find his grave empty. An angel explains this, and bids them to look for the Risen One in Galilee. Other disciples

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also see his empty grave. The miracle itself, which the Apocryphal Gospels depict so gaudily, is not described in the New Testament at all. Jesus died; the grave is empty; Jesus appears alive. That is all that the evangelists know. The stupendous miracle itself *they* can no more explain than *we*. But that hinders neither them nor us from admitting this fundamental fact of Christianity. What the cause of this miracle was, they only say by implication; it could, to their minds, have been nothing other than simply the power of God.

We have now passed the chief classes of miracles in review. They rise from the grade of simple cures of diseases to an absolute domination over nature and over the realm of death. What the sacred writers saw and knew of these miracles they have stated in the simplest language possible. As to the real cause of the miracles, we have seen that their narrators refer them either directly or impliedly to the hand of God.

It now remains for us to examine this point in a more summary manner. We, therefore, ask:—

How do the New Testament writers conceive of the miracles as being wrought?

The New Testament shares in this peculiarity of the Old, that it does not stop at second causes—at nature and at creatures—but uniformly refers to the ultimate cause of all things, namely, God. The collective universe exists only in and through God; and the infinite, ever-near spiritual God is the ultimate and living power which produces all things through the might of his volition.

The answer, therefore, which the New Testament writers give to our inquiry as to the ultimate cause of miracles, is concisely comprehended in the expression δύναμις Θεοῦ, "power of God." Now, that by applying this merely general conception to miracles they do not intend to tone down their miraculous character, but, on the contrary, to emphasize it, appears evident from the following considerations: 1. Because in recording miracles they frequently attribute them to the "power of God" in an especially direct manner; 2. Because by this expression they do not put miracles in the same rank with other ordinary occurrences, but in fact simply emphasize their inexplicability. Of course, it is not merely the "power of God" which characterizes miracles; for this power is the ground of all natural

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occurrences; but it is the special circumstances under which the power of God is called into action.

The *δύναμις Θεοῦ* is, then, the real cause of all miracles. In this sense Luke affirms quite summarily in regard to Jesus's healing work: *καὶ δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς*, "and the power of the Lord was active to their healing." (v, 17.) Thus also Peter explains the miraculous working of Jesus: *ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ*, "because God was with him." (Acts x, 38.) It is the uniform view of the apostles that God raised Jesus from the dead. Even the ability of the risen Lord to become visible is attributed to God. (Acts x, 40.) As God had raised the Lord, so the apostle hopes that he will also raise the disciples: *διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*, "by his own power." (1 Cor. vi, 14.) With manifest allusion to the raising of Jesus, Peter calls God the raiser of the dead. (2 Cor. i, 9.) And the same thought appears frequently elsewhere; for example, Eph. i, 19. So also rest upon the power of God all the spiritual effects which Jesus brought into play as second causes, such as speaking with tongues, the gift of prophecy, etc. (See Col. i, 11; 2 Tim. i, 7.)

Jesus himself expresses earnestly and emphatically the same view. The Gospel of John is especially replete with declarations of Jesus as to his personal inability, and as to his being thoroughly determined by the power of God; even though this power of God was in fact an integral part of his own nature, nevertheless he had to retain it in his control, and set it into activity, by the whole energy of his personal faith and will. John makes Jesus say directly that he does his works (which are yet not his) in the name of his Father. (x, 25.) Jesus shows to the people many works *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός*, "from the Father." He does the works *τοῦ Πατρός*, "of the Father." They are the proofs of his communion with God. (x, 37.)

And the Jesus of the synoptics expresses himself in the same manner. He sees in his own acts the finger of God; nay, he does them, *ἐν δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ*, "with the finger of God," (Luke xi, 20,) that is, by virtue of the divine *δύναμις*, "power." He casts out devils, *ἐν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ*, "with the Spirit of God." He exhorts those whom he healed to thank God for their cure. He prays before working miracles; for example, Mark vi, 10. The people recognize in the acts of Jesus a visitation of God,

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and are astonished at the μεγαλειότης Θεοῦ, "mighty power of God," (Luke ix, 43,) manifested in his miracles.

This δύναμις Θεοῦ is, of course, not outside of Jesus. He does not sustain to it a merely mechanical or moral relation, as it were, borrowing it simply for the moment of the act, and then being again entirely divested of it; but it is substantially present in him as his personal possession. In the presence of this spiritual power of God as immanent in Jesus the demons quake and tremble. The question, however, as to *how* the divine power can be given to him from above, and yet be also his own free possession, the sacred writers leave unsettled.

This much, however, is clearly implied: that the power of God that dwells in him, and that constitutes his divine nature, is by no means a mere mechanical or physical possession; on the contrary, he must, as real man, lay hold upon his divine nature by moral effort, and call it into action only by moral volitions. He does this chiefly by prayer. His superhuman miraculous power is based upon his life-communion with God as kept up by personal faith. Jesus is the mediate cause, God is the primary cause, of miracles. But this mediate cause is a free human person; it works *dynamically*, but it is capable of so working only by the fact that it bears the "power of God" *realiter* in itself. This possession would be of purely metaphysical character were its preservation and employment not conditional upon the faith and prayers of Jesus.

In the very same manner does the New Testament present the miracles of the apostles. The miracle of pentecost is expressly explained by Peter as the fulfillment of the promise that God would pour out his Spirit upon all flesh. The miracles of the apostles spring of divine impulsion. In this spirit they utter the prayer (Acts iv, 29) that God would stretch forth his hand: εἰς ἴασιν καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι, for healing and for the working of miracles. In general God lives in his saints as spirit and power, πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις, (1 Cor. ii, 4.) In Acts xv, 12, stands the broad and direct declaration that the miracles of the disciples were wrought by God through them. We thus find here, also, the view that the primary cause of miracles is the living God, and that their instrumental causes are God's power or his Spirit, which have poured themselves out in the life of the apostles.

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But we find also that the apostles healed in the name of Jesus. In fact, Jesus seems, in their consciousness, to have assumed the place of God. (See Acts ix, 1–20, and many similar texts.) Do these ideas—that God is the cause of miracles, and that Jesus is the cause of miracles—exclude each other? Not according to the spirit of the New Testament. Both ideas are sometimes united in the same text, for example, Acts iii, 12–16; iv, 30. The solution is not very difficult. The divine miracle-working power appeared to the apostles first in Jesus, and, indeed, as his personal possession; whereas they themselves rise to a share in this virtue of the kingdom of God only, as it were, by a paroxysm of spiritual aspiration. Miracles were Christ's daily work; but he wrought them by faith in God. The apostles hold fast to Christ as the sole manifestation of the miracle-power of God; but they do not thereby forget that the ultimate source of *his* power was God himself. As Jesus was to them the incarnated God, it was quite natural that, in their popular speech, they should stop at him rather than uniformly penetrate on to his ideal transcendant essence.

Having now reached the close of our inquiry as to the New Testament conception of miracles, we are prepared to summarize the result. This result may be stated under the following heads:—

1. Miracles, like the whole system of historical Christianity, rest upon a relatively new and real outpouring of the same Divine Spirit which pervades the collective universe, but finds in miracles simply the intensest manifestation of its all-vivifying power.

2. Miracles are, accordingly, only the acme-points at which, either in the sphere of nature or of human life, this Spirit actively virtualizes the fullness and power of its entrance into human history.

3. These specific manifestations are, as in contrast to the organic and regular workings in which this Spirit assumes a so-called *natural* existence, strictly conditioned upon an inviting and receptive spiritual effort on the part of their personal instruments.

4. The various forms of miracles—the cures, the visions, the appearances, and the physical miracles—rest upon the same

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Spirit-power and the same moral and natural conditions; their diffference lies not in their essence, nor in their *mode*, (and hence not in the miracle at all,) but in the circumstances of the manifestation of the power.

5. As contrasted with the Spirit-power and the moral conditions, the so-called curative means, (spittle, etc.,) as incidental *media* of the miracle-working power, fall entirely into insignificance. While the specific miracle-power cannot be found in the predisposition of the persons or of the circumstances, yet every miracle, even in its origin, is conditioned by the spiritual and natural order of things into which it enters, and in its form it is an organic link in the general order of nature. Neither the sensuous nor the abstractly absolute miracle is the miracle of the New Testament.

6. While at bottom it is the volitionally-dominated might of the all-pervading life-force of God that works the miracles, yet have Jesus, and also the other recipients of the new Spirit, a share in this work—in so far as they perform miracles, either by the measure of the divine Spirit already given them, or, by the prayers of their own spirit, set into miraculous action the life-spirit of God.

7. As the miracle is in form a strictly natural occurrence, it needs for its explanation no other cause than the cause of all occurrences in general—the life-spirit of God. That this Spirit attained to the greatest intensity of its power in the process of founding the kingdom of God—an intensity resulting in an unheard-of quickness of operation, and rendering almost superfluous the ordinary organs and means of its action —such is properly the New Testament conception of miracles.

II. Having ascertained what conception the authors of the New Testament entertained as to the nature of miracles, we next inquire, What worth did they place upon them?

To answer this is a much easier task. Nevertheless we find also here very variant and contradictory views. There are some who base their faith in Jesus chiefly upon his miracles, regarding them as the principal proof of his divinity; others hold these mere "external" miracles, in comparison with the "spiritual" miracle of Jesus' life, as both unessential and superfluous. Both parties assume to derive their judgment as to miracles from the New Testament itself. The task we have

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undertaken is, disregarding these two extremes, to let the sacred records speak for themselves.

In general terms these records place the worth of miracles in this, that they brought to the people among whom they were wrought σωτήρια—rescue, healing, help. This σωτήρια is for the most part of a physical character, as the majority of the miracles were cures. And its value *per se* lay in its direct helping effect. But, as we shall see, the sacred writers never pause at this phase of the matter, but uniformly pass from the merely physical to the spiritual σωτήρια. The πίστις, "faith," exercised by the healed in the miraculously healing Physician becomes the occasion of that higher faith in the Messiah which heals the soul from the disease of sin. It is superfluous to urge against this that in the New Testament view faith is presupposed as a condition to miracles. This is partially true. The life and works of Jesus had awakened a general faith in him in the general public. This faith now came to the Physician and sought cures; and these cures awakened in turn a higher faith in the higher character of the Physician. But the general faith in Jesus's miracle-working power, as a fact, cannot be derived from the miracle-anticipations of pre-Messianic times. Faith did not make the miracles, but miracles made the faith. As manifestations of a supernatural power miracles are proofs of the advent of the kingdom of God, and they are helps, first, to a faith in this advent, and then to the higher faith which morally appropriates the benefits of this kingdom. The sacred writers in general base the greater or less worth of a miracle upon the greater or less faith which it generates in the Messiahship of Jesus. But in some cases this judgment is rather implied than expressly developed.

So much in general. But now in particular. And

1. *Miracles as a means of awakening faith in the Messiah, and of establishing the kingdom of God.*

It is very remarkable that while the New Testament is very brief in *describing* the miracles, and makes no attempt at all to explain how they are wrought, it yet is very emphatic and particularizing as to their *purpose*. Their purpose is placed not at all in the miraculous character of the miracle as such, but entirely in its tendency, and in the spiritual *effect* of which it is only the occasion. A miracle, therefore, is of worth not be-

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cause it is a miracle, as is the case with the pretended miracles of Romanism, but because it is a sign of the advent of the kingdom of God, and accordingly tends to faith and conversion. The gospel-miracle is never an *end in itself*, but always a means to an end. This feature lifts it far above all kinship with works of magic and witchcraft. The great miracles of the resurrection and of the apparitions of Christ, as also of the pentecostal effusion, are the great fulcrums for the establishment of the kingdom of God; but the sacred writers linger not at the miracles themselves, but hasten on the spiritual edifice which they help to build. The important point is not that Jesus and the apostles *wrought* miracles, but that they preached a system of truths verified *by* miracles. The miracles, however, are not recorded from a dogmatic motive, but simply as historical facts.

As to how, and how soon, Jesus became conscious of his miracle-working power, we have no definite information. Whether or not he formed to himself the ideal of the Messiah by the help of Old Testament prophecies and of the expectations of Israel—whether or not he gradually discovered that this ideal was realized in his own person, and then, strengthened in this consciousness by the divine impulse given at his baptism, based his Messianic claims on this inward and outward preparation—whether or not, therefore, he did not enter upon his public career already armed with full faith in his own ability to work miracles, and then this faith, having been called into exercise by persons and circumstances, was strengthened into an absolute consciousness of his participation in divine power—we cannot determine, though it seems quite probable. As to the significance of miracles for Jesus's Messianic development, the sacred historians give no intimations. Nevertheless, the fact that Jesus frequently withdrew into the wilderness to pray, after having wrought great cures, seems to imply that his miracles reacted also upon himself, by strengthening in him the consciousness of his mission.

These features are not so prominent in the Christ of the Gospel of St. John. This Gospel presents Christ at the acme of his deeds and in the majesty of his person. Hence in it the miracles have a worth much less for Jesus himself than as means of revealing to others his divine glory. But yet the

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synoptics have this in common with St. John, that while the former represent the faith of Jesus in his high calling as growing in strength from his miraculous success, the latter represents Christ as receiving and retaining his miraculous power by means of prayer. On the whole, therefore, the New Testament represents the miracles as significant chiefly for the disciples and for the public.

Their worth for the people lay in the fact that they produced in them a deep amazement, and thus attracted their attention to Jesus, the miracle-worker. Despite his prudent injunction of reticence, the report of his works overpasses his own neighborhood and even the Jewish frontiers. The people who behold them are filled with fear and joy. The belief in Jesus's miraculous power becomes at once almost universal; from all quarters the sick are brought to him to be healed. At once the person of Jesus becomes the object of wondering questionings. The very same interest is awakened on the pentecostal effusion of the Holy Ghost in the midst of the first Christian society.

It stands above all question that these miracles contributed, much more than his religious utterances, to fix attention upon him in the first place, and then to foster the belief that he was the Messiah, however unintelligent this belief may have been. The sacred narratives abound in queries from the people, born of this belief. Especially the demoniacs—whose heightened spiritual anarchy seems to have sprung of an instinctive knowledge of the extraordinary nature of Jesus—greet him as the Messiah, in anticipation of his healing power. The belief that he was the Messianic Son of David is early awakened, largely by his numerous healings early in his career.

While the great multitude break out in praises to God, and many believe on him, "beholding his miracles," the hatred of his opponents is only intensified at these increasing evidences of his Messiahship, it becoming more and more apparent that the old religious forms must soon break down under the spiritual contents of his new teachings.

Jesus himself answered the question of the Baptist, as to whether he was the Messiah, by solemnly referring him to his miracles. He affirmed that if Sidon and Tyre had seen the miracles which he wrought in Chorazin and Bethsaida they

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would have repented in sackcloth and ashes! He declares that the miracles are wrought in order to convince the people that God had sent him. It was out of the belief of his Messiahship, as awakened by his miracles, that there sprang up about him a circle of devoted disciples; and it is quite certain that his miracles propagated this belief very widely throughout the nation. Also toward the close of his ministry, when, on account of the narrow view that was taken of his Messiahship, he was more sparing of his miracles, this belief occasionally broke out with renewed intensity at the sight of some fresh miracle. Neither the deadly enmity of Christ's foes, nor the enthusiastic devotedness of his friends, could well be explained merely from the dignity of his person and the purity of his doctrine without also having recourse to the divine imperiousness of miracles.

The belief in Jesus's Messiahship rose from rank to rank in society, until finally the Pharisees themselves began to ask whether he were not really so in fact. But they sought their answer to this, not by examining his doctrine, or by proving his character, but by demanding a yet more astonishing "sign from heaven."

In view of the miracles that they had seen, Jesus stigmatized his disciples as ὀλιγόπιστοι, "of little faith." Even his smallest healings were enough to awaken a faith in his ability to do much greater things. Also Mark can regard it only in the light of astonishing dullness of understanding that the disciples, on seeing Christ come to them upon the waters, shudder as before a specter, not yet comprehending what a wonderful guest they had among them.

However high the evangelists esteem the person and doctrine of Jesus, it is yet quite certain that in both these respects he remained to them, and to all the disciples, a comparative mystery until near the end of his earthly existence; and that it was first and chiefly the miraculous deeds of Jesus that obtained for him repute and adherents among men. So that, though in modern times the isolated miracles are eclipsed in importance by the wonderful life and the life-giving word of Jesus, yet the very reverse was the case in New Testament times. Especially is this manifest in the opening period of the Lord's ministry.

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But there was a danger involved in the miracles—a danger lest they should divert attention from the spiritual significance expressed by them, to their mere sensuous form. That this danger became actual is admitted by the evangelists, though they also show that the fault was not in the miracle as such. It needed that the Holy Ghost, by which the miracles were wrought, and of which they are the outbeaming, should deeply impress itself upon the people's consciousness, and raise them from an unintelligent gazing upon miracles as a spectacle, to the true knowledge of the ethical nature and tendency of all miracles. And, in fact, the knowledge of Jesus as miracle-worker did actually lead on to a recognition of him as spiritual regenerator—to an admission of his authority as Messiah. This is well illustrated in the case of the one healed at the pool of Bethesda. (John v, 11.) In virtue of the miraculous cure Jesus became to the healed man an authority which emboldened him to break with the authority of the Pharisees. This holy nature of the miracle made a deep impression upon the people, and enabled many humble persons to assert, in the face of the Pharisees, that a sinner could not do such deeds as Jesus did. The faith that was produced by the miracles was, therefore, more than a mere faith in the miracle-worker; it was a faith that inferred a sinless character and a mysterious God-imbued life as the ground of his miraculous power. It is also from the same consideration that Jesus refuted the imputation that he wrought his miracles by the help of the Evil One. These spiritual miracles are proofs of the advent of the kingdom of God, and call the people to repentance; and Jesus imputes it to them as a sin that they resist the evidence of such "signs." The miracles are good deeds which do not secularize the Sabbath, but only help to break through the ceremonial form to reach the spiritual significance beneath. Only the spiritual helpfulness of the miracle justifies Jesus's repeated censure of the Jews for clinging to the sensuous form thereof without rising also to their spiritual value. It is true, that in order to reap the full benefit of the miracles, there was need of something higher than a mere thirst for spectacles; there was need of a humble receptive spirit. And the fact of the actual spiritualizing influence of the miracles upon those who were receptive, is proof of their real helpful tendency. But

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the great majority rose not above the mere visible sign. Thus the Messianic idea was perverted and secularized: a fact that shows how greatly the recognition of Jesus depended on his miracles, however superficially they were understood.

Hence the explanation of St. John's statement, (xii, 37,) that in spite of so many miracles the Jews still believed not in Jesus: for their mere outward belief was not real belief at all. So is explained why Jesus had, from the very first, to warn against this dangerous tendency of his miracles, and why, at last, he was much more sparing in working them. So is apparent also the determining position of miracles toward the close of Jesus' life. The populace crave more miracles than Jesus works; the Pharisees do not find those he does work miraculous enough. The final co-operation of these two discontents seals the doom of Jesus: neither his unparalleled teachings nor the spiritual dignity of his person can save him from dying the death of a criminal.

In view, therefore, of the above observations, we may summarize a twofold significance of miracles in the history of Jesus:—

(1.) The general *historical* significance, namely, in that miracles play a very large part in determining the life-course of Jesus: on the one hand, acquiring for him at once, in the very start of his ministry, the prestige of supernatural authority, and, on the other, toward the close of that ministry, hastening his tragic overthrow.

(2.) The *ethical* and *religious* significance—that whereby miracles become a mighty influence toward faith and repentance, and, along-side of the doctrine of Jesus, contribute largely toward engrafting the kingdom of God into human history.

2. *Miracles as revelations of the glory of Jesus, as ratifications of his Messiahship by God, as evidences of the advent of the kingdom of God, and as fulfillments of prophecy.*

These are but different points of view from which the worth of miracles (which has been above considered in general) may here be noticed in some aspects in particular.

It only needs that we think back to the inevitable effect of witnessing the power of God as manifested in the miracles of Jesus, to perceive how naturally they must have awakened

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faith in his divine mission. It is only the disciples—and in fact only a select few of them—who enjoy the benefit of this evidence in its brightest glory. This is especially the case with the vision of the transfiguration. St. John often speaks of the ἔργα (works) of God as manifest in the acts of Jesus, in the same sense as the δόξα (glory) of God. This δόξα of God, as active in Christ, and as transfiguring his life, was also manifest in his resurrection. The second Epistle of Peter recognizes in the miracles the μεγαλειότης Χριστοῦ—the majestic power of the Messiah. As far as the whole life and activity of Jesus was a manifestation of divine virtue and of the Divine Spirit, this life itself, and the whole scope of its earlier and later influence, are called the kingdom of God.

According to the prevailing spirit of the New Testament, the miracles and the glory manifest in them are given to the Messiah by God. Hence the worth of miracles lies also in the fact that they are ratifications of Christ's Messiahship by God. This is especially the case with all the greater miracles—the baptismal vision and the transfiguration—which take place rather on the person of Christ than through him. In the book of Acts all miracles are regarded from this stand-point. They ratify Jesus as of God. The resurrection is set forth as an act of God. The chief conflicts of Jesus with the Pharisees turned on the question whether his miracles were to be regarded as, in fact, ratifications of his Messiahship by God. Jesus denies their receptivity for the divine when they deny the divinity of his miracles.

In the life of Jesus there appeared a life that was to become the life of the world. This God-possessed life is, therefore, the beginning and source of the kingdom of God. Hence the miracles are not only signs of Christ's divinity—they are also evidences of the entrance of the kingdom of God into the stream of history. The cures wrought by the disciples are regarded as manifestations of the actual presence of that kingdom.

Both the advent of the kingdom of God and the miracles of Jesus are fulfillments of prophecy. Matthew especially endeavors to make this clear to his Jewish public. In the book of Acts the same view is taken.

3. *The miracles of the disciples.*

The New Testament presents the miracles of the followers

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of Jesus in precisely the same light as those of their Master. They awaken the fear and the astonishment of the masses. The workers of miracles are viewed as more than men. (Acts v, 13.) Heathen persons infer from the miracles wrought by the apostles that they are gods from on high. The first apostolic miracle produces such commotion—partly, doubtless, because wrought in the name of Jesus—that its authors were summoned into judgment. And when the members of the Sanhedrim recognize in these miracles the resurrection of the cause of Jesus they undertake to put down the apostles by force. But in vain. The Founder of the kingdom of God had died, but not the kingdom itself; and its representatives prove by *deeds* that the same divine might is active in them as in Jesus himself; and they expressly affirm that this power is given to them through his Spirit. Thus the Messianic cause, which many had thought dead, is by miracles brought into fresh credit. The report of Jesus's resurrection, at first laughed at, is by the miracles of the apostles victoriously vindicated. The Messiahship of Jesus is now more fully credited than ever. The miracles of Paul open the way for the Gospel among the Gentiles, and thus contribute essentially to the downfall of the Jewish hierarchy, and to the establishment of the Christian Church.

4. *The resurrection of Jesus.*

Upon no incident of the life of Jesus is so much weight laid by the New Testament as upon the fact of his resurrection. The manner in which this incident is recorded is evidence that the record was made, not so much from abstract dogmatic, as from strictly personal and historical, motives. We give special attention to this miracle from the fact that the New Testament makes it the test-fact in the whole supernatural history of Jesus.

It is perfectly clear to every reader that the Acts, and the letters of Paul, make the resurrection of Jesus the turning-point in the origin of the Christian Church. It restored courage and confidence to the despairing disciples. It was the perfect guarantee of the Messiahship of Jesus. It placed the death, as well as the life, of Jesus, in a clear and entirely new light. It was the decisive incident under whose mighty influence the disciples, for the first, became Christians in the true

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sense of the word. It was the first step in the great series of historical incidents which embraced the effusion of the Holy Ghost, the organization of the Church, the conversion of Paul, and the dissemination of the kingdom of God over the civilized world.

Under the deep impression made by this miracle, Peter exhorts his contemporaries, (Acts ii, 36,) to admit ἀσφαλῶς (beyond doubt) that God had thereby made (ἐποίησεν) Jesus Κύριος καὶ Χριστὸς, "Lord and Christ." In his view, therefore, the resurrection did not merely take away the shame of Jesus's death, but it for the first really "made" him into *the Christ.* It was to him in a special sense the glorification of Jesus by God.

But the apostolical judgment as to the resurrection of Jesus stops not with the mere historical aspect of the matter, but also makes it the empirical basis upon which rest all dogmatic judgments as to the eternal significancy of the person and work of Jesus. In the light of this occurrence the death of Jesus obtains a very new import in the economy of salvation. The mere criminal death rises to the dignity of a voluntary self-sacrifice for the sins of Israel and of humanity as a whole.

Paul reckons himself among the wicked ones who had satiated their hatred of Jesus in his cruel death, and he finds this death the means of turning his hatred into love. But high as he regards the worth of this death, he first discovered it in the light of the resurrection; and he places even a still higher worth on the new life of the Risen One. His new ζωὴ "life" is in fact to him the real source of σωτήρια, "salvation." As in it the divinity of Jesus becomes manifest, hence it determines the soteriological worth of the whole life of Jesus. If Christ had not risen, and thereby been ratified as the representative of God for humanity, then there would have been no ground for basing our δικαίωσις "justification" upon his sacrificial death; then we would all be yet in our sins.

In view of the resurrection Christ is called the destroyer of death. It is the ground of our hope of eternal life. Without it both preaching and faith would be κενόν, "empty." But Christ has risen, and his resurrection guarantees the attainableness of the Christian life-ideal. It is the signal for awaking out of sleep; it is the call to a new life.

It is evident, therefore, not only that the judgment of the

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New Testament as to the life of Jesus is essentially determined by the impressions made by his miracles; it is also evident that miracles played a large part in the life of the apostles, and decisively shaped the founding of the Christian Church.

III. *What significance has the New Testament conception of miracles for modern science?*

Schleiermacher expressed the view that should modern times succeed in explaining the miracles of Jesus as strictly natural occurrences, not the least detriment would thereby accrue either to the unique dignity of the person of Christ or to the divinity of his influence on humanity. With this judgment we can, from our stand-point, heartily, though doubtless not in Schleiermacher's sense, coincide. Indeed, we believe that such an explanation—as penetrating deeper into the causes of miracles, and as regarding them as an organic process—would even throw fresh light upon the divinity of Jesus. Such an explanation would be based upon a more accurate knowledge of the relation of the spiritual to the physical than we now possess, and would show the actual superiority of a religious, God-filled character, over a merely physical and rational nature, thus confirming in a scientific manner our construction of the New Testament view, namely, that the cause of miracles lies exclusively in the supernatural and *realiter* God-filled character of Jesus, and in his unique relation to God, who is the ultimate cause both of all natural and of all miraculous occurrences.

But this "explanation of miracles on natural principles" would presuppose the explanation of another miracle, namely, the spiritual miracle of the person of Christ, and of his direct and unique influence upon his disciples.

The condition of this explanation of miracles would therefore be the recognition of the specifically Divine quality of the nature of Jesus and of the Spirit which flowed out from his life into the life of the Church. The limits of this explanation would be: 1) the impossibility of fully understanding the first factive entrance of this divine Spirit into the life of Jesus, and 2) the necessity of assuming that in proportion as this divine Spirit became ethically immanent in the Church, in the same proportion its miraculous outgoings would decrease, and finally altogether cease.

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But just as in all spheres of human investigation the beginnings and causes lie beyond the scope of our perceptive powers, and our explanations must be limited to the mere measuring of movements and the describing of phenomena, so is it also with the miracles of the New Testament: the real cause is itself the miracle, but the phenomenal process of the miracle is strictly natural. Should it be objected that we have never seen occurrences similar to the miracles, and that therefore their cause in its peculiar intensity cannot be regarded as lying within the permanent forces which govern nature in general, then we answer, that it is precisely this specific and unique intensity of the action of this cause (an intensity belonging to it, doubtless, only during the foundation-period of the kingdom of God) which entitles us to designate its effects as miracles in a higher sense than can be said of all natural phenomena in general.

In the general discussion of miracles the New Testament presentation of the matter has too often been under-estimated. And this for two reasons: it has been urged, firstly, that the sacred writers were devoid of historico-critical training, and, secondly, that they knew little of the scientific order of nature. These statements have certainly sufficient bearing upon the scientific and religious phases of our discussion to entitle them to brief notice.

It is true that these writers had not the critical methods of modern science. It is likely they had no other measure for testing the truth of such incidents as they did not directly witness themselves, than their vital faith in the Messianic character of the person and kingdom of Christ, as generated by the words and works of Christ and his apostles.

But it should be noted that the New Testament idea of miracles is not contained merely in the four Gospels. St. Paul's conception was evidently derived not from tradition or from the sacred records, but from his inmost life-experience and from his own practice of miraculous power. But St. Paul's conception of miracles corresponds in every respect with the view implied in the Gospels and in Christian tradition in general.

But even if the Gospels all rested, as does St. Luke, upon verbal and written tradition, still their credibility would, under

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the circumstances, remain unimpaired. The credibility of the written sources of the Gospels did not rest upon the results of a critical sifting of texts, but upon the harmony of said sources with the definite and vital tradition handed down by recent eye-witnesses. The strict harmony which characterizes every utterance of the New Testament as to the nature of miracles is a very strong evidence of how deep, and uniform, and unique was the impression made by the deeds of Jesus and his apostles. It needs but a single glance at the miraculous element of the Apocryphal Gospels to show its world-wide difference from that of the Canonical.

Now the fidelity and exactness of an impression does not depend on the critical ability, but on the lively receptiveness, of those impressed. Nor can any clumsiness of narration serve as evidence of untrustworthiness of a record. It follows that the earliest Christian annalists were well able, even without the help of critical crucibles, to record in true colors what they had seen with clear eyes. It follows that also later writers, like Luke, could have made safe use of earlier annals, even though unschooled in modern criticism. Just as critical acumen in an author is no absolute evidence of the truth of his narrative, so no lack of such acumen is conclusive evidence of untruthfulness of narration.

We do not comprehend how a critical mind is to treat the account of a miracle otherwise than an uncritical one: both would have to examine the age and the worth of the proofs adduced. The lack of this critical examination, so necessary in modern times, we excuse all the more readily in the evangelists, as its very absence is striking proof that they lived quite too near to the miracles themselves for the necessity ever to have occurred to them of raising the question whether, in fact, miracles are at all possible.

And the other objection—that the sacred writers had very little knowledge of the general laws of nature—is of little more or little less weight than the one based on their unskillfulness in criticism. It is urged that they had little conception of how momentous are the implications of an admission of the miraculous, and hence that their records of miracles are to be regarded with skeptical eyes. Now it is true that our science of nature enables us, better than the sacred writers, to formu-

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late the difference of a miraculous from a merely natural event. And in fact, as above observed, these writers do not attempt to do this at all. Their nearest approximation to it is a simple defense of miracles against the charge of magic, and incidental allusions to the cause and purpose of miracles. And this is all that concerns us here. For we are not inquiring as to how Christian antiquity explained miracles, but as to what impression miracles made upon the early Church. We are not asking what hypotheses were then made as to the cause of miracles, but whether this cause was discoverable in the effects of miracles. The more incidentally and artlessly the impression made by miracles is handed down to us, so much the more assurance have we that this impression is the correct reflex of the miracles themselves. And it is utterly inconceivable how an acquaintance with modern science could better enable a writer correctly to reflect such an impression than that writer's simple natural and moral capacity. This science would have been essential for the witnesses and historians of miracles only in case they had been confronted by other such strange but merely extraordinary occurrences, as to have rendered it difficult to distinguish them from the truly miraculous. But we have no evidence that this was the case. We infer, therefore, that the New Testament writers, even when considered apart from divine inspiration, were about as capable of recording the direct impressions made upon them by miracles as if they had possessed the critical acumen of modern scientists. Seeing eyes, and handling hands, and an honest realistic narration, are about as good guarantees of correct depiction as critical eye-glasses and ingenious speculations.

The learned world has come recently to the general conviction that miracles, define them or explain them as we please, constitute in fact an essential part of the history of proto-Christianity. It is now pretty generally confessed that the miraculous element, as presented in the diverse parts of the New Testament, is remarkably unitary and self-consistent. Historical criticism is coming to the sober and reasonable procedure of admitting the fact of the miraculous, and of the important part it played in establishing Christianity. It sees that miracles are so really a part of the Gospels, that if we should expunge them therefrom the whole history would fall,

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like loosened mosaic, into meaningless chaos; and hence it has come to the conviction that its chief business is to seek after the New Testament conception of miracles, and then to use this conception as our best help to any true explanation of the nature of miracles.

On the whole, the judgment of the New Testament as to the miracles of Jesus and his apostles seems to us important in two respects: 1. As an historical witness in regard to the nature and influence of miracles, as determined by the occurrences themselves; 2. As the most ancient and almost contemporary attempt to look after the cause of miracles, and to determine their worth in founding Christianity.

By the first feature we mean to say, that the narration of the miracles is so peculiar that we cannot resist the impression that it was shaped so by the miracles themselves. It is not easy to make this plainly and briefly apparent. To show its full force would require a comparison of the Gospels with the so-called sacred books of other religions. We must be content with alluding to a very few characteristic points.

The most general and significant feature of the miraculous incidents of the New Testament is their utter *uninventableness.* All attempts to account for the miracles as products of the intense Messianic hopes of the Jews in conjunction with the magical credulity of the age, or as products of Christian faith, which gradually clothed its object with ideal attributes, have signally failed. The evangelical miracles are, as we have seen, clearly free from all the traits of magic or legerdemain. And the general setting in which we find them, the local allusions, and the *naïve* realism of the narrative, are such as would never have been intentionally invented. Too much stress has been laid upon the slight divergences of the Gospel accounts of the same miracles. We frankly confess that, in view of the Oriental inspiration of the narrations, we are astonished that even greater discrepances do not occur. It is of little import to stumble at Luke's *naïve* resurrection angels, or at Mark's bald realism. These are simply generic peculiarities of the writers. And of what avail to imagine a merely natural explanation of some of the minor cures wrought by Jesus, and then to insist that the accounts of resurrections must be taken as mere exaggerations? What ground is there for this? What evi-

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dence is there that the heightened account is not simply a true copy of the greater miracle? That all the miracles are found to rest upon the same miracle-idea—that the so-called quantity-miracles (the feeding of multitudes, the increasing or making of wine, etc.) and the smallest cure-miracles are described in the same simple language—that there is in their depiction not the least trace of a profane sensuous fondness of wonders, nor of a stupid, vulgar curiosity—that the miracles are uniformly presented as decisively bearing upon the religious and moral condition of individuals or of masses—these are surely traits sufficient to stamp upon the New Testament miracles the seal of strict historical credibility.

Another important feature of the Gospel miracles is their *historical conditionment*, a feature that secures to them a realistic nature-ground. As it is the character of magic to produce occurrences with absolute arbitrariness, so it is the character of history to present events in their relations of mutual physical and moral dependence. Now, though we do not find in the Gospels the *intentional* presentation of this dependence, yet we do discover it in many unintentional and merely incidental traits, thus affording a strong proof of historicalness of narrative.

But this conditionment lies not merely in the moral form and in the natural relations of the miracles, but it lies also in the effusion and inner working of the spirit-power which is their ultimate cause. A collective glance at the miraculous working of Jesus and his disciples is sufficient to prove that in its beginning, its increasing, and sinking, and finally in its ceasing, it is a strict organic process. The mysterious element is simply the *new* Spirit that lies at the basis of the whole. But, however much this spirit differs in *unique newness* from any and all other spirits which have from time to time stirred to its bottom the stagnant sea of daily life, still it also shows itself uniformly subject to the laws and conditions which pervade all great movements in which humanity comes nearer to God and God nearer to humanity. This new spirit enters into the prepared and awaiting receptivity of a human life; it stimulates it on and up to the height of a character united to God—to the dignity of a self-consciousness which recognizes this Spirit as its own essence, and its own essence as eternal;

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and this divine Spirit becomes, for the spirit for which and out of which it is born, so thoroughly its own most personal nature that, while its spirituality flows over from it into others, it also reaches in its first receiver himself such a perfect fullness and strength that it gradually transfigures his bodily nature, and finally eliminates entirely from it all its perishable elements. As now this beginning and central point in all miracles—the life of Jesus—is presented to us in the Gospels in some degree of intelligible causal relation, much more is this the case with the reflex which the Spirit which dwelt in Jesus to entire fullness cast over into nature and into history. It is a mighty spiritual movement and exertion of energy which brings about, primarily in the life of Jesus, the mastery of this divine Spirit over nature. This movement is indeed fostered by a general Messianic current among the people; but it has in fact itself created this current; and its ultimate and inexhaustible source is simply the Spirit of God, as laid hold upon, and held fast, by the moral energy of ardent and persistent prayer. This Spirit imparts itself in this period, when the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, also to others than Jesus. But also this impartation is not a mechanically or magically conditioned one. Its source is the personal influence of Jesus and the faith enkindled by his deeds. This spirit-stream which attains to its highest and purest outgush in the life of Jesus has also a general, unlimited and ever-active fountain—namely, the fructifying source of the life of the collective universe; it reaches back with its beginnings into the beginning of all things, but such a channel as it now in the fullness of time has, it had never before broken open for itself; and it is not a mere widening of its shores which can here explain its mighty and fresh fullness; on the contrary, this fullness is explainable only as a potent, new, broader and richer flowing of its primal source. But the shores in which it finds freer flow, or is more closely choked up, are the moral character of its personal agents. This Spirit—the source of all miracle-ability—seems to impart itself only to the predisposed. It does not enter directly and uncalled-for into its agents; nor does it move them like machines. Its successful activity depends not merely on the realistic and certain possession of miracle-power on the part of its agents, but fully as much on the spiritual

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effort whereby it is actually laid hold upon and set into operation. This stream does not come to a sudden stand-still, but it ebbs and declines; and the cause of its declining is the declension of the moral exertion wherein, as within its proper shores, it had flowed in vigorous concentration.

It cannot, in fine, be sufficiently emphasized that, according to the view of the New Testament, it is the very same all-pervading life-Spirit of God which works both all natural and all miraculous phenomena. Miraculous occurrences differ from natural ones only in this, that in the former the middle causes are rendered superfluous by the stronger and direct flowing of the universal life-source; and the rapidity of the process arises from the same reason. The ultimate ground of this peculiar and unparalleled Spirit-effusion, which, when at its highest, spiritualizes even the physical life, is simply the will of the Almighty Spiritual God.

Again, the conditionment of the New Testament judgment as to miracles by the objective miraculous phenomenon itself, appears not less evident when the record estimates the significancy thereof, both for the momentary popularity of Jesus and for the inculcation of spiritual religion. The Gospels are here a sort of commentary to the experience of their own authors. When the evangelists explain how that miracles opened the way for Jesus among the people; when they show how that they alone account for the warm enthusiasm for one whose teachings the people could not appreciate, and whose moral earnestness offended them; when they explain how that this positive demonstration of his Messiahship raised the displeasure of his foes to deadly hatred; how that the earlier abundance of miracles awakened general faith in, and their subsequent intentional decrease brought on a general falling-off from, the Messiah; then we at once see the naturalness and plausibleness of this view, because of the impossibility of explaining the success of Jesus on any other ground.

So, also, when Paul bases his commission on a visional appearance of Jesus, and when he bases the recognition of Christ's Messiahship and of his salvatory life on the fact of the resurrection, this judgment seems to be historically validated from our utter inability to understand Paul's radical life-change as the fruit of any mere subjective change in himself.

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Many other cases could be cited to prove that the New Testament record of miracles is evidently a correct reflex of the objective occurrences themselves. But this much must suffice.

(2.) If now the New Testament presentation of miracles appears as a correct reflection of both their form and their purpose, then this presentation is manifestly of fundamental worth in the elucidation of the problem of miracles in general. It is the earliest effort at the riddle. It is the direct judgment of eye and ear-witnesses. *We* have not seen miracles, but the evangelists had. Any miracle discussion which would rise above mere abstractions must take its observation-points in the New Testament.

Of course, the purpose of the sacred record forbids us to expect in it an intentional scientific design. We find in it only incidental implications of the causality of the process. It states no theory. It judges of miracles only as observed means of moral influence. It implies the cause of miracles only where this cause is patent in the phenomena. And it does this, not under form of a logical influence, but as a direct observation. It affords us, therefore, not a theory of miracles, but the material for the construction of one. It also points out to us the true path for this construction. It implies the real cause of miracles—the spiritual power, or the Spirit, of God. The condition which co-ordinates them in the organism of the universe is the operative passage of this Spirit through a series of moral and physical second-causes, which causes the miracle to assume the form of nature. This needs a word of explanation.

We have described three classes of miracles—healings, visions, and nature-miracles—and have found them to imply the same miracle-conception. It is true of all of them that they are wrought by an extraordinary action of the Spirit that dynamically and inherently indwells in the collective universe, which action is sometimes direct, and is merely invited by the moral receptivity of its objects, and sometimes it is initiatively occasioned by the persons in whom the Spirit has become immanent.

This Spirit-outpouring presupposes the relative independence of an infinite but personal God over against the universe. Only such a view explains the fact that here the fullness of the Spirit manifests itself more strongly, and hence works greater

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wonders than in nature or in the miracles of the Old Testament. But this stronger and unique outgoing of the divine Spirit is not an absolute and qualitatively new something; on the contrary, it is simply the climax-point of the divine influence in the organism, not only of the Israelitic people, but also of humanity as a whole. By implicitly attributing the causality of nature and of all miracles to the nature-pervading Spirit and will of God, the New Testament has made a noteworthy attempt at toning down the *absolutely* unique character of these phenomena, namely, by chaining them into the general order of the universe.

We have before observed that the great turning-points in nations are characterized by an unusual degree of inspiration and enthusiasm. Now, this inspiration becomes the congenial medium for extraordinary out-goings of the world-pervading Spirit; but, on the other hand, this Spirit may be regarded as itself the primal source of this inspired enthusiasm. One may therefore regard the miracles, when taken merely singly, as new creations; but when taken in connection with each other, and with the history of the collective universe, they can be regarded only as an intensified potentiation of the world-pervading Spirit of God. Both methods of explanation, however, are relatively correct.

In relation to the nature of the miraculous process itself, we meet with a twofold conception. Either the divine Spirit is conceived of as immanent in a human person, and uses it, so to speak, as a conductor of the miracle-power, or the Spirit comes into immediate contact with natural causes, and, by imparting to them increased potency, enables them to accomplish tasks otherwise impossible. But this Spirit imparts itself to its organs only by entering into their ethical receptivity, and is then put into activity only through their moral energy. And here we may readily see how, according to the New Testament, the spiritual miracle of the life of Jesus, and of the Christian life in general, falls into the same category with the miraculous effects which flow out from this central point into the realm of nature. For as the person of Jesus is not explainable from any merely human moral energy, but only from a substantial impartation of the God-nature to him, so also no merely intensified human faith, *per se*, suffices to explain the

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slightest miracle. The slightest miracle implies a direct and intensified streaming of the universal life-fountain—such as to render almost superfluous the usual second causes, and as to occasion the unheard-of rapidity of the process. The explanation of any such miracle requires, instead of the mechanical world-conception, the dynamic one of a real contact of Spirit and nature.

This dynamic conception is plainly forced upon us by a candid study of the miraculous works and character of Jesus. For while the miracle-working Spirit of God stands, as it were, merely *over* the apostles, and they never appear as more than conducting organs of the power, yet in Jesus the miracle-power is conceived of as strictly *immanent*, and his person itself assumes, as miracle-cause, the very place of God. The same divine energy, which streams out from Jesus, and imparts fresh forces to nature, clarifies his earthly life in such a manner that his earthly parts are, as it were, consumed thereby, or raised into a more spirit-like state of existence. But in some cases, for example, the raising of Lazarus, his person suffices not as miracle-cause; but it becomes, then, the ethical motive which calls into play the ultimate miracle-cause—God, who inheres, as it were, only partially in Jesus' person, and it thus occasions extraordinary displays of miracle-power. That in such a miracle, as well as in all others, the entire miracle lies in the causal process, and not in the external phenomenon, is uniformly implied in the New Testament view. Precisely the New Testament manner of regarding all miracles as *spiritual* miracles precludes both the absolute and also the merely sensuous miracle.

But how and why is it that the influence of the divine Spirit, which must, in its bearings upon nature and human history in general, be regarded as active, continuous, and uniform, can and does raise itself to such exceptional intensity, as it did in working the salvatory miracles of redemption? The reason of this must be sought either in the will of God, who trains and accredits his Messiah, or in the Spirit-fullness which dwells in and streams out from Jesus, or in the moral energy wherewith he lets the Spirit operate through him, or—which is doubtless the most correct—in all these features at once.

The darkest point to understand is the influence of this

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Spirit upon nature. Nevertheless, we find in the cures of diseases, but especially in the gradual transfiguration of the bodily life of Jesus, (which stood as it were its fiery test in his resurrection,) valuable hints toward a solution. Of course, the essence of spirit and of matter, apart from the inter-action which we observe between them, will always remain to us mere hypotheses; and so is it also with their manner of mutual contact.

However, it must be firmly maintained that it is not the Spirit in its mere formal functions, but as a real quality, which virtualizes itself in miracles; and further, that this unique virtualization of its superiority to matter presupposes its relative independence, as also that its moral mediation through free living persons does not preclude a personal will in the great Spirit mediated. This much certainly we cannot deny, that any miracle-theory which takes its inspiration from the New Testament must conceive both the relation of God to the world and of the Spirit to nature in a more dynamic manner, and also the divine life itself more from the idea of the absolute, than has hitherto been the case. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that precisely this miracle-theory furnishes in the notion of the absolute superiority of the spiritual to the physical no little anchorage to the idea of the independence and absolute personality of God.

As this miracle-theory has the advantage of being the most ancient, and of best harmonizing with the New Testament, so has it also a definite worth for Christian faith and life. Of course, miracles cannot in our day be a criterion of the Messiahship of Jesus in the degree and sense in which they were so to his contemporaries. We shall never make a belief in miracles the test of Christian character. This question is for us chiefly a scientific one. But that its solution is of very high religious interest, and that to assent to the miracle narrations of the Gospels is very helpful to Christian faith, seems to us beyond question.

If Christianity in general emphasizes the freedom and superiority of a spiritual God over against nature, still this is nowhere so strikingly evident as in the proto-history of the foundation of the Church. Though it is a primary doctrine of the most elementary Christian life that in communion with God through Christ real and eternal life-forces flow into the

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soul, enabling it to reach its ideal, and guaranteeing to it its immortality, still this finds nowhere a better support than in the miraculous life of Jesus, whose body the Spirit progressively transfigured, and who remained a personal existence notwithstanding the fall of his outward flesh. If, according to the New Testament, the miracles are to be understood simply as outflowings of that fullness of divine Spirit which entered with Christ into the general current of history—if they are, in fact, not merely outward signs, but also necessary results and actual evidences of his unique personal relation to God—then it is perfectly clear how that they, so understood, can only emphasize more fully and ground more firmly the religious worth of the person and life of Jesus, in whom Christian faith consciously finds its life and strength.

We think ourselves justified, therefore, in claiming for the New Testament conception of miracles a very essential and permanent significance for our modern scientific and religious relation to the general question. And though many points will still remain in the dark, yet we believe that our discussion authorizes us at least to the following inferences:

1. Miracles, under the forms of curative, visional, apparitional and natural miracles, are an integral part of primitive Christian tradition and history.

2. Miracles, as phenomena, fall entirely into line with the general order of nature; and even in their cause proper—a real and heightened impartation of Divine Spirit to nature and humanity—they do not stand in absolute isolation.

3. Miracles are not merely fresh and decisive impulses given to the course of history; they were also for the contemporaries of Jesus a principal criterion of his Messiahship.

4. The New Testament, both in its judgment as to the common cause of miracles, and in its presentation of the moral and physical conditionment of all miracles, authorizes us to establish, as against magic and mere natural occurrences, a definition of miracles, the stress of which lies neither in the sensuous phenomenon nor in the abstract absoluteness of the cause of the miracle.

5. In the fact that all miracles are but out-goings of a spiritual process, consisting in an impartation and heightened activity of the same divine Spirit that carries forward the col-

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lective development of the universe, there lies a criterion for the determination of the nature and of the religious worth of miracles for all time.

6. Bringing our results into their narrowest expression, we resume again, thus: Miracles are not outside but inside of the order of nature, and have the same cause as all other events —the vital Spirit of God. In both respects they are organic links in universal history. That which distinguishes miracles from natural events, and hence constitutes them miracles, is the astonishing rapidity of the process, the almost entire absence of known second causes, and an unheard-of domination of the material by the spiritual. These circumstances result not from a *generically different* activity of God, but from a direct and more vigorous flowing of the same divine stream that fructifies all existence. That this stream, by its fuller effusion, attained just then, in certain persons and at certain points, extraordinary results, arose in the final instance from the salvatory will of the all-mighty God.

7. Accordingly, miracles have for science the worth of helps for determining the nature and activity of God, and the relation of Jesus to God. They also furnish for Christian faith a basis of experience which can never be superseded by mere abstract reasonings.

ART. III.—CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.

[Mr. Windom's Congressional Report.]

THE great social changes which have taken place in our country during the last half century have, doubtless, been produced by a variety of causes; but prominent among them is the rapid development of the railroad, which has so quickened our activities and changed our methods as to cause it to be regarded as the chief revolutionary power of the age, and the realization of what the prophet foresaw in the far future, "when many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

From the first it was understood to be a powerful agent in development, and hence drew toward it the enterprise and wealth of the country. As it was the sure harbinger of better

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facilities, better prices, and better neighborhood, it was everywhere joyously welcomed, and the people hastened to take its bonds, subscribe for its stock, and plan for its coming. The great *desideratum* was to be in the near vicinity of the iron rail, which, as the signal of a better civilization, was welcomed with a feeling akin to exultation.

But it was found by the people, after a time, that this powerful agent was not an unmixed good. On the other hand, it brought with it a host of corresponding evils; and, among other things, it came as the Saxons came to Britain—it protected and conquered, but it remained to be master. They discovered that it was a monopoly; that it was selfish and grasping; that it made unfair discriminations, and used its power to oppress as well as to relieve; that it held courts and legislatures in its grasp, and scattered largesses with one hand, while it tyrannized with the other.

At first it was supposed that competition would, as in other cases, force a reduction of rates; and, with this object, rival roads were encouraged. But a little experience showed, what had been long before announced by George Stephenson, the father of the system, that "where combination was possible competition was impossible;" and that the increase of competing lines rather served to increase the oppressions complained of, as the rival roads were sure to come to an agreement about rates or to be merged under one direction.

Then, suddenly, another development loomed up to puzzle the public with its unknown results. Different railroad interests began to consolidate. Long lines, composed of various companies, were purchased or leased by one controlling corporation, and their wealth and power concentrated under one management. Smaller combinations were united in larger ones, and the larger ones were again combined with still larger ones, till their magnitude and power were of startling proportions.

The overshadowing greatness of some of these corporations has, as yet, hardly come to a knowledge of those masses who are moving against railroad oppressions and clamoring for a reduction of fares. In New York, what is known as the Vanderbilt combination commenced entirely with New York roads. New Yorkers of middle age remember when there were five different roads between Albany and Buffalo. In

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1853 these, with several other short roads, were merged in the New York Central. In 1869 the New York Central was united to the Hudson River Road, when the united company had control of about one thousand miles of road, and had a capital of *one hundred millions of dollars.*

Beyond the limits of the State it found means to gain control of a number of roads by becoming possessed, directly or through friends, of a majority of their stock, and so brought under one management, without leasing or purchasing, the Lake Shore Road from Buffalo to Toledo, the Michigan Southern from Toledo to Chicago, and the Rock Island and other roads from Chicago onward to Omaha, the eastern terminus of the Great Pacific. By this combination Mr. Vanderbilt and his friends find themselves in control of about four thousand five hundred miles of road, representing a capital of two hundred and fifty or three hundred millions of dollars.

It may be observed that this combination, beyond New York, is somewhat loose, and that its continuance depends on a variety of contingences, though it has now existed for a number of years. But a more solid arrangement, and one which better represents the possibilities of these great corporations, is that of the Pennsylvania Central. This road was organized in 1831, and a dozen years later it had only completed its line from Harrisburgh to Pittsburgh, two hundred and ten miles. It then found itself in possession of annual earnings to the amount of three and a half millions on a capital of some twenty millions, and, down to 1869, its growth was confined to the State of Pennsylvania.

But sharp competition compelled a change of policy, and in that year it broke over State lines and took possession of a large number of roads, north and south, connecting it, on different lines, with the Mississippi River. Its control over these roads is mostly by lease, and is therefore complete, so that it embraces the real ownership of about four thousand miles of track, yielding a gross income of over forty millions of dollars per annum, and representing a capital of two hundred millions of dollars, all under the absolute direction of one corporation.

This brief statement will be sufficient to suggest much that we cannot say in the compass of this article. What is the demeanor of such a corporation, when it has interests in court or

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in the State Legislature, may be learned by the war between Vanderbilt and Drew two or three years since. But without an example so forcible, it is easy for those who are familiar with public affairs to know exactly what would take place when such a power, with any dear interest at stake, knocked at the door of the State Legislature, or was a suitor in the halls of Congress.

But there is another aspect of railroad development which is not less worthy of our consideration, because, as it tends to increase charges, it touches the question of cheap transportation. We refer to the corruptions which have grown up with the railroad system, and clustered around it, though not wholly owing to it. The great temptations of our age are in the direction of making money; and all readers of the Bible know what must happen to those that "*will* be rich." "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" and where the railroad is, there will be found the sharp, adroit, unscrupulous seekers after wealth.

Every body has heard of "bulls" and "bears," of stock-gambling, watering stock, etc.; but these are only some of the outer indications of the stupendous swindling which is constantly going on within, and which is so uniform a feature of these great corporations as to carry the idea that they are not merely the center, but the cause, of that nightmare of corruption which seems, just now, to be threatening the permanency of the republic.

Charles Francis Adams, Jun., an experienced railroad commissioner, tells us that the New York Erie, in its war of injunctions and legislative bills to keep Vanderbilt out of its management, sunk out of sight more than nine millions of the earnings of the road belonging to the bereaved but helpless stockholders. It may be said that no successful road ever gets into operation, and that no two or more roads are ever united in one combination, without the deceptive process of stock watering; and the crime of over-issuing stock, which, twenty years ago, sent Robert Schuyler out of the country in the night to die in disgrace among strangers, would not balk a successful railroad manager of the present day for five minutes. The Erie has done it repeatedly, and the Legislature at Albany has legalized it with as little hesitation.

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Perhaps the operations of the Union Pacific present as instructive an example of the capabilities of these corporations to minister to the greed of hungry cormorants as any single case which can be cited. This road, one of the most notable works of the age, and the pride and glory of the country, spans, with its companion, the width of the continent, and was achieved only through the munificent bounty of the nation. But the liberal grants made by Congress were expended, under the law, by a corporate body created for the purpose, in which were two Government directors, appointed specially to see that the interests of the nation were duly protected.

The men composing the corporation were selected from the body of our citizens for their supposed qualifications, and embraced such names as those of Governor Dix, John J. Cisco, Cornelius S. Bushnell, John B. Alley, Oakes Ames, Dr. Durant, and other wealthy and well-known business men of like reputation and standing. Thus guarded, the interests of the Government would seem to have been reasonably sure of proper protection and fair treatment; but they were the prey of cormorants and vultures from the first.

The company, on finding that the road could be built with less money than the Government had in various ways provided, set themselves at work deliberately to fob the surplus. To this end they organized a constructive company, composed mostly of their own members, to whom the contracts were to be let at exorbitant prices, and who would, of course, divide the profits to the parties in interest. This was the famous Credit Mobilier, about which the country has heard so much. The advantage of it was, that it disposed of all troublesome questions. The bonds, according to law, could not be sold below par. This company took them at par. Then, it was not a United States corporation, and not amenable to Congress; and when Ames, Bushnell, etc., agreed with Ames, Bushnell, etc., to do so much work for so much money, while they only took the money out of one pocket and put it into the other, it had the appearance of being a fair business transaction.

Peter A. Dey, a man of experience and reputation in his profession, was the engineer of the road, and when the first one hundred miles were to be put under contract he estimated the cost at $30,000 per mile. He was a little old-fashioned in

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his ideas about public trusts, and when he was instructed to make some imaginary obstacles, so as to justify a contract at $50,000 per mile, he became indignant, and resigned his position. In his letter to General Dix, who was then president, he said, "My views of the Pacific Railroad are, perhaps, peculiar. I look upon its managers as trustees of the public bounty." They were, in fact, trustees for converting the public bounty to individual use.

This was only the beginning. The famous Oakes Ames contract, said to have been the largest and most profitable single contract in the world, covered the construction of six hundred and sixty-seven miles of road at various prices, averaging about $72,000 per mile. But the great financial achievement of this famous contract consisted in extending it over one hundred and thirty-eight miles, that had already been built and paid for, at a cost of about five and a half millions of dollars, which amount was thus given to the Credit Mobilier Company without its rendering any consideration whatever, and was the beginning of those extraordinary dividends, some of which were expected to be so potent in "doing the most good." This stroke of genius was repeated on several other occasions, making the whole cost of the road, embracing about half the distance from Omaha to the Pacific, over ninety-four millions of dollars, while the cost to the company was scarcely more than half that sum. According to a carefully prepared article in "Scribner" for March, the cost to the nation and to the company were as follows:

	Actual Cost.	Cost to the Nation.
Hoxie contracts.....	$7,806,183	$12,974,416
Boomer "	.....	1,104,000
Ames "	27,285,141	57,140,102
Davis "	15,629,633	23,331,768
Total.....	$50,720,957	$94,550,286

Thus it appears that, on this end of the great Pacific road, its contracts and business were so arranged by the corporation that the parties in interest were enabled to pocket the enormous sum of forty-four millions of dollars; and that one of the directors, appointed and paid by the Government for the very purpose of guarding its interests, participated in the spoils.

It is unnecessary to multiply cases; and unnecessary to say

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that such strokes of financial genius largely increase the cost of railroads, and consequently the rates of transportation. But as the roads find it to their interest to keep down rates, more or less, on the through lines, they make up the deficiency by an advance on the feeding lines; and the oppressions to which they have resorted have given rise to those wide-spread complaints which have resulted in the Grange organizations, and a shower of memorials which has been pouring down on Congress from all quarters of the Union, in increasing volume, for several years.

These memorials have been the subject of much earnest discussion in both Houses; and in the Senate, a special Committee on Transportation was appointed by the last Congress, with power to travel and take testimony between the sessions. It consisted of some of our ablest statesmen, among whom were Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, and Mr. Conkling, of New York, with Mr. Windom, of Minnesota, as its chairman. Its report was made at the last session, and is a document of rare interest and value, as it discusses with great ability and intelligence the power of Congress, and all the various means of alleviation; while at the same time it accumulates a vast amount of facts bearing on the question under discussion in all its various aspects.

Our Government has been very careful to treasure up all the facts which relate to its foreign commerce; and the amplest statistics are kept in its bureaus and furnished in its annual reports. But it has almost wholly neglected the vast sweep of its internal trade, which has been growing with a rapidity more than commensurate with the population, and made for itself great thoroughfares without apparent notice; and in order to get any idea of what is going on in the currents of trade that are sweeping from the West toward the sea, we must grope through the individual reports of steamboat and railroad lines and numerous Boards of Trade. It is the more important, therefore, that much of this information is collected to our hand in this report.

Some idea of our internal trade may be inferred from the fact, that in 1872 the value of commodities moved by rail was estimated at $10,000,000,000. The commerce of the cities on the Ohio River alone is believed to amount to more than

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$1,600,000,000; and on the lakes, during the season of navigation, the vessels passing the Fort Gratiot Light-house, near Lake Huron, were found to average, in 1872, one every nine minutes, night and day.

The report lays it down as a principle, that "cheap and ample facilities for the interchange of commodities between the widely-separated sections of our country, and with foreign nations, *constitute the prime conditions of national progress and prosperity.*" It is found that the effect of cheapening the movement of products is not only to benefit the locality most interested, but to quicken foreign commerce and increase national wealth. A difference of ten cents per bushel in the price of wheat will often change the whole current of our foreign trade; and if the existing systems of transportation fail, by reason of heavy charges, to bring forward the products of remote regions, the effect is to hinder agriculture, depress labor, increase taxes, and impede both domestic and foreign commerce. The question of cheap transportation is, therefore, the foremost question of the times.

But with railroad management and railroad combination, as we have described them, there can evidently be no relief through competition, or through any voluntary act of the roads. The tendency is more and more to monopoly; and the power of a monopoly is not in the direction of cheapening freights or fares.

The committee class all the various propositions for cheapening rates which they have investigated under four heads:—

1. Competition, by the promotion of additional lines of railroads without regulation by law.

The inadequacy of any remedy under this head is sufficiently disposed of by the prior statements in this article. If "competition is impossible where combination is possible," the multiplication of competing lines can never reduce rates.

2. The regulation of rates by law, or through a Board of Commissioners.

This is the method proposed in the House bill, introduced by Mr. M'Crary, of Iowa. It contemplates a Board of Railroad Commissioners, with power to establish rates and regulate roads in all parts of the United States. Two of the States (Iowa and Wisconsin) have passed laws on this idea,

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for regulating fares within their several limits, but the effect is not as yet fully developed. There is no doubt that many of the evils complained of might be remedied in this way, and that much good might be effected by some such arrangement.

The committee are, however, firm in the belief that this method of regulating rates, which they say at first seems entirely practicable, is really full of difficulties. They state that the railroads of this country constitute about half the length of the roads on the globe; that they run through all climates; amid populations dense and sparse; on level plains and through rugged mountains; in regions where the transportation does not meet the expenses, and where it is greatly redundant; and they claim that no tariff of prices could be adopted by law, or by any board of managers, which could meet all the contingencies of the case. To give any sort of success to this vast net-work of roads, so variously circumstanced, they must have, it is contended, the best practical wisdom and experience of their several localities, and any arbitrary interference would be very prejudicial to their interests.

3. Indirect regulation by opening lines for freight only, to be owned and managed by the Government.

Under this head the establishment of freight lines is discussed, and the feasibility of a double track road from the Mississippi River to New York city is regarded as entirely practicable, and it is stated that what is called fourth-class freights (heavy freights) could be transported on such a road at seven and one half mills per ton for each mile, making about twenty-five cents a bushel for wheat and corn. The objection to this plan, as a means of relief, is its great cost, and the necessity of making several roads to meet the requirements of widely-sundered producing regions. If it would be an advantage to have one such road, it would be also advantageous to have two others, and their cost would approximate three hundred millions of dollars. The facts and data for such roads are given, but the committee make no recommendations in regard to them.

4. The improvement of natural water communications, and the construction of adequate canals or freight railroads for connecting them together.

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This is the only remaining class of remedies, and is that to which the report directs public attention as the most efficient and practical.

For all heavy or fourth-class freight, such as corn, wheat, iron, coal, lumber, plaster, salt, etc., water transportation is greatly cheaper than transportation by rail, and, where it exists, is very effectual in keeping down prices. The report is very full and conclusive on this point; and hence its method for securing cheap transportation is to construct several water lines from the Mississippi River eastward to the sea, and to improve the navigation of the "Father of Waters."

These water lines, except in the North, would be closed only for a very brief period in the winter, and would, it is believed, not only afford a great reduction of rates, but be very effective in keeping down the rates of competing roads without materially injuring their receipts. Heavy produce is not profitable freight on roads, and would be mostly diverted to the water lines, while lighter and more valuable articles would seek transportation on the roads. But the presence of open lines with cheap rates would tend always to check extortionary charges.

In regard to the cheapness of water communication as compared with land, it is stated that, on the through line from the West to Boston by the Baltimore and Ohio Road and the Boston Steamship Company, the earnings are divided on a basis of four to one in favor of water. The Erie Railway, connecting with a steamship line from New York to Boston, divides on a basis of three to one. On the Ohio River the steamers divide with the railroads by giving 250 miles of water transportation for 125 of road, (two to one.) On a through line from Chicago to Boston, a distance of 1,865 miles by water and 500 miles by land, the freight charges are equally divided. Between Chicago and New Orleans, the distance by rail being 365 miles and by the Mississippi river 1,050 miles, the road takes three fifths and the river two fifths.

With these facts before them the committee recommend that the navigation of the Mississippi be thoroughly improved, and three water lines opened by the most practicable and convenient routes from the Mississippi River eastward to the ocean; and they claim that the effect will be to reduce the

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price of transportation about one-half. These several improvements are set forth in the report as follows:—

1. *The Mississippi Route.*—The improvements necessary on the Mississippi route are:—

(1.) The opening of the mouth of the river, so as to permit the free passage of vessels drawing 28 feet. Estimated cost, $10,000,000.

(2.) The construction of reservoirs at the source of the river—(if upon a careful survey they shall be deemed practicable.) Estimated cost, $114,000.

(3.) Improvements upon a system, to be provided by the War Department at all intermediate points, so as to give from 3 to 5 feet navigation above the Falls of Saint Anthony; from 4½ to 6 feet from that point to Saint Louis; and from 8 to 10 feet from Saint Louis to New Orleans, at the lowest stages of water. Estimated cost, $5,000,000.

The total cost of the Mississippi improvements may, we think, be safely estimated at $16,000,000.

The evidence submitted with this report justifies the conclusion, that upon the completion of the entire improvement of the Mississippi River wheat and corn can be transported from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and other States above Cairo, to New Orleans, for an average of 12 cents per bushel, and that the cost from St. Paul will not exceed 17 cents. The average rate from New Orleans to Liverpool in 1872 was about 27 cents, (currency,) which can be reduced, as hereinbefore shown, to 18 or 20 cents by the improvement at the mouth of the river. Estimating the cost from St. Paul to New Orleans at 17 cents, the two transfers at St. Louis and New Orleans at 1 cent each, and the charge from New Orleans to Liverpool at 20 cents, the total from St. Paul to Liverpool will be 39 cents per bushel. The charge in 1872 from St. Paul to Liverpool, including transfers and terminals at Chicago, Buffalo, and New York, by the cheapest route, averaged 67.5 cents per bushel. The saving to be effected by the improvements of this route may therefore be estimated at 28 cents per bushel from St. Paul to Liverpool, with a proportionate reduction from all other points on the river.

2. *The Northern Route.*—The improvements suggested on this route are:—

(1.) The Fox and Wisconsin Rivers improvement, by which five feet of navigation will be secured, during the entire season, from the Mississippi River to Green Bay, thereby affording the shortest and cheapest connection between the centers of wheat production and the eastern markets, and a continuous water-channel from all points on the Mississippi River and its tributaries to the Atlantic Ocean. Estimated cost, $3,000,000.

(2.) The construction of the Hennepin Canal (65 miles long) from a point on the Mississippi River, near Rock Island, to the Illinois River at Hennepin, thereby affording the shortest and

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cheapest route from the largest areas of greatest corn production to the East, and a connection by water between the river system of the West, the northern lakes, and the Atlantic Ocean. Estimated cost, $4,000,000.

(3.) The enlargement and improvement, with the concurrence of the State of New York, of one or more of the three water-routes from the lakes to New York city, namely: The Erie Canal from Buffalo to Albany; the Oneida Lake Canal from Oswego to Albany; or the Champlain Canal from Lake Champlain to deep water on the Hudson River, including such connection as may be effected between Lake Champlain and the Saint Lawrence river with the co-operation of the British Provinces. Estimated cost, $12,000,000.

Total cost of northern route from the Mississippi River to New York city, $19,000,000.

The enlargement of the Welland Canal, now in progress, with the construction of the Caughnawaga Canal, and the proposed enlargement of the Champlain Canal, will enable vessels of 1,000 tons to pass from western lake ports to ports in Vermont and to New York city. The Erie Canal, enlarged as proposed, will pass vessels of about 700 tons.

The evidence taken by your committee fully justifies the opinion that, by the enlargement of the New York canals, the construction of the Caughnawaga Canal, and the use of the enlarged Canadian canals, the cost of transport from Chicago to Burlington, Vt., and to New York city, will not exceed from 12 to 15 cents per bushel, making the entire cost from the Mississippi River to Burlington, Vt., or to New York, not more than 22 cents per bushel, against the present cost of 43 $\frac{5}{16}$ cents by water, and 50½ cents by rail. We may, therefore, reasonably estimate that, by the proposed improvements upon this route, a saving can be effected of 20 cents per bushel, or $6 70 per ton, on all the East tonnage moved between that river and the East.

3. *The Central Route.*—The plan of improvement for this route contemplates:—

(1.) The radical improvement of the Ohio River from Cairo to Pittsburgh, so as to give six to seven feet of navigation at low water. Estimated cost, $22,000,000.

(2.) The improvement of the Kanawha River from its mouth to Great Falls, so as to give six feet of navigation at all seasons. Estimated cost, including reservoirs, $3,000,000.

(3.) A connection by canal, or by a freight-railway, from the Ohio River or Kanawha River, near Charleston, by the shortest and most practicable route, through West Virginia, to tide-water in Virginia; the question as between the canal and freight-railway to be decided after the completion of careful surveys and estimates. If by canal and slack-water, the estimated cost is $55,000,000; if by a freight-railway, the cost would probably not exceed $25,000,000.

The total expenditure necessary for the improvement of the

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Ohio and Kanawha Rivers is estimated at $25,000,000. The amount necessary to complete the connection with tide-water depends upon the nature of the improvement, as previously stated.

The Central route would be closed by ice only about thirty days each year, and hence it would be an active competitor with all the railways from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic at times when competition is now suspended by reason of frost on the northern water route. The effect of such a regulator of railway charges would be to greatly reduce the present winter rates, and, by the constant competition it would maintain, to compel uniformly low charges on all rail and water lines from the interior to the eastern and southern seaboard. Its advantages would be greatest, however, to the central tier of States. Four of the largest interior cities of the continent—St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and Pittsburgh—are situated directly upon it, and the trade of these cities, together with the other towns and cities on the Ohio River, is now far in excess of our entire foreign commerce.

4. *The Southern Route.*—The plan suggested by the committee for the Southern route contemplates:—

(1.) The improvement of the Tennessee River from its mouth to Knoxville, so as to give three feet of navigation at lowest stages of water. Estimated cost, $5,000,000.

(2.) A communication by canal, or freight-railway, from some convenient point on the Tennessee River in Alabama or Tennessee, by the shortest and most practicable route to the Atlantic Ocean. The railway, if constructed, will be about four hundred and thirty miles long; the question as between the canal and railway to be decided after a careful survey and estimate of both shall have been completed. If by canal, the cost will be about $35,000,000. If by railway, probably about $30,000,000.

Cost.—The cost of the entire improvement will depend upon the decision to be hereafter made between the canals and the freight-railway portages on the central and southern routes. If the canals be constructed, the cost will be about $155,000,000. If the railways be chosen, the cost will be about $120,000,000.

An actual expenditure of $20,000,000 to $25,000,000 per annum will be required for five years, (in addition to the loan of Government credit as above stated,) when the whole work can be completed. The resulting benefits will, for all time, annually repay more than double the entire cost.

This is the briefest possible outline of Mr. Windom's plan for these important improvements, which can all be brought into use in a few years by an annual expenditure of twenty millions of dollars, which is considerably less than the saving made at the late session of Congress in the annual appropriations. No attempt has been made to act on the recommendations

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of the report any further than to make an appropriation, in the last days of the session, for a thorough survey of these several routes and a professional estimate of their cost. This is, however, in all probability, a prophecy of what the action will be, and its importance to the well-being of the country can hardly be over-estimated.

ART. IV.—WITHROW ON THE CATACOMBS.

The Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. By Rev. W. H. WITHROW, M.A. 12mo., pp. 560. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

"How long does it take one to *see* Rome?" inquired an impatient traveler of a veteran archæologist resident in the Eternal City. "To see Rome? A hard question truly; but if you wish to see it satisfactorily, it will take you a week; but if very imperfectly, it will require forty years."

There is a deep philosophy in this reply. The superficial observer, flitting easily from place to place, or from topic to topic, is usually vastly more self-complacent than the profoundest investigator. Certainly it is at Rome that genuine learning feels most humble and modest. Stratum after stratum of civilization succeeds, each one a sufficient life-work for the most enthusiastic and patient.

Modern Rome is built upon the tombs of past generations. Monuments of the present rest upon those of the reformation period, and these in turn touch still deeper foundations. The crumbling ruins, and the stately grandeur of the mediæval ages, keep company with the simpler pile of the primitive Church; while the latter, like a conquering giant, subdues to its uses the proudest structures of the Augustine and pre-Augustine times, or, exorcising their gods, places upon these temples the sacred seal of the cross. Rome, therefore, becomes a grand unfailing mine where, through the centuries, have been brought to light so many rich nuggets of truth to enrich the treasures of human lore.

Monumental Rome is also the grand arsenal whence the Christian champions of rival systems have drawn their choicest, keenest weapons of offense and defense. Advocates of the

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ritualism and of the dogmas of the Romish Church have hitherto boldly asserted that the testimony of these mute witnesses to a past civilization and a past Christianity was fully confirmatory of their claims. The confusion in Protestant minds caused by these confident assertions seems amusing in view of the latest results. Here, too, has truth been shown to be strictly self-consistent. Deeper studies have removed doubt, dissipated prejudice, and confirmed simple faith. A healthy historical criticism has resulted in correcting chronology, in sifting the genuine from the spurious, in correlating facts, and thus, in the spirit of a true inductive philosophy, in preparing the way for correct and happy generalizations.

We ought to be thankful to those patient investigators who have so long and so well delved in the mines of archæology, and the results of whose labors have filled so many huge tomes; without these all would be in vain. These wider, more thorough and laborious investigations must be made; from them must be derived all that we possess. Yet such are useless to all others than scholars. To the mass they cannot appeal. To the mass it is as though the investigations had not been made. To utilize these treasured stores of learning is as necessary as to accumulate them. Hence he does an equally useful work, who shall have the power to extract from these masses of lore such truths as may be of benefit to a wider range of readers. To put the evidences of truth into the hands of thoughtful masses, is a desirable work—a work, alas! too much neglected. To cause the essential defenses of the Christian religion to be in the possession of the greatest possible number, is a grand *desideratum*. Thus is the popular thought clarified; thus can the truth have a fairer field of conflict; thus can men have at hand a better means for the formation of intelligent opinion. This is the superior benefit of nearly all mere handbooks of science, history, art, and archæology. To the specialist they are of little avail; to the mass of readers they are invaluable, as preparing the public mind to appreciate discussions that may be conducted by the specialist, and the bearing of whose arguments they may thus come to correctly estimate.

It is, therefore, with much satisfaction that we welcome to the class of valuable summary in Christian archæology

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Withrow's Catacombs of Rome. The subject treated is one of intensest interest in itself, and from its relations and bearings has a double significance. These catacombs have occupied the thought of the few Christian archæologists for two hundred and fifty years, and the subject would seem at first sight to have been worn threadbare. But more and more, as the years glide on, does interest in these remains deepen, and increasingly valuable additions are made every year to the resources of the Christian student. Specially to the American people, the great mass of whom have little or no conception of the character, extent, and value of these remains, is this work of interest as being the first American attempt in this field of study. Our author has endeavored to bring this vast subject within the limits of a convenient duodecimo, and to treat it in such popular and rhetorical style (without sacrificing its scientific character) as to bring it within the range and easy comprehension of the many readers.

The author treats his subject in three books, namely: 1. The Structure and History of the Catacombs, in five chapters. 2. The Art and Symbolism of the Catacombs, in four chapters. 3. The Inscriptions of the Catacombs, in four chapters.

I. The structure of these remarkable remains is clearly treated, the number of illustrations enabling the reader to gain a very fair idea of the reality. Few that have not made these special examinations but that are surprised at the extent and character of these subterranean retreats of the early Christians. While it is impossible to speak with strict accuracy, because of their yet incomplete exploration, the number of these retreats at present known is forty-two, and the entire length of all the passages is computed by the most judicious authorities at about six hundred geographic miles. That these were prepared and used by the early Christians as places of burial, and for the celebration of religious rites in times of persecution, admits of no shadow of doubt. We regard this as having been demonstrated by the lastest and most scientific researches of the Messrs. de Rossi and Father Marchi. The earlier opinions as to their origin and use have been entirely exploded by more thorough and methodical examination. The views held by such writers as Gibbon as to the origin and use of these

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excavations, and the inferences he has drawn from these views as to the *status* of the early Christian community, have been proved utterly erroneous. The objections urged by writers to the view of the exclusively Christian origin and character of these retreats have been most successfully answered. Three thoughts alone would lead us to suppose that the early Christians would have special care for their dead, namely, the essential Jewish origin of the Church; the mode of burial of their founder; and the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, so powerfully urged by the apostles, and so mighty in its influence on the primitive Christians. From these considerations, the Roman custom of cremation would be most repulsive to the Christian mind. The Jews, scattered over the entire world, have every-where insisted on consigning their dead to mother earth. All cities and provinces where they have gathered in considerable numbers attest this. Even at Rome itself there are distinctively Jewish Catacombs, having symbols and inscriptions peculiarly Hebrew. The second consideration seems doubly powerful from the prevalent view among the early Christians that discipleship implied, as far as possible, community of experience with the Master. To this prevailing opinion may be attributed some impressive but very mistaken conduct of the disciples of Christ in the immediately post-apostolic period, such as a community of poverty, causing them to have all things in common; a community of suffering, leading many to seek joyfully the martyr's fate; and a community of repose, impressing them with the necessity of a community in the method of burial. The distinctive doctrine of the resurrection clothed the human body with a sanctity that would not allow of willful profanation. The effect of these combined considerations must have been powerful in the extreme. But added to these was the peculiar reverence felt, even by heathen antiquity, for the sepulchers of the dead. Both the Greek and Roman attached peculiar sanctity to the place of sepulture, and at Rome most stringent laws were enacted against sacrilege. Not only were these places of interment carefully guarded, but for the most part they could not be alienated from the families to whom they originally belonged. So great was the care of the Roman law for the dead, that even they who died at the hand of the

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public executioner must be surrendered to those who demanded them for sepulture. So that even the sentence of outlawry against the Christians did not affect the bodies of the dead. It was in the bitterest persecution of the third century that this was unheeded, and the Christians were obliged to hide away from the gaze of the public in those dark retreats where their dead could repose undisturbed by the bitter hatred of the heathen. Doubtless, too, the fact that these areas, set apart for sepulture, were by law under the special guardianship of the Roman *Pontifices*, as well as that other not less important fact that some of the finest of the early tombs, situated in open and public places, are Christian, argues that to live concealed from public view, in order to the protection of their dead from sacrilege at the hands of the authorities, must have been from the sorest persecution, springing from intensest hatred. The existence likewise of burial fraternities among the Christians, corresponding to like associations among the pagan Romans, would likewise argue immunity of disturbance during the first two centuries. That the Christians availed themselves of the privileges of these associations seems almost demonstrated by de Rossi in his examination of the Cemetery of St. Domatilla in 1865. These catacombs would likewise furnish to the Christians a place to celebrate the sacraments of the Church, since the common pagan mind would fail to discriminate between these sacred rites and those commonly practiced at the tombs of others.

The age of the Catacombs is a subject of vital importance. There are very strong arguments for the opinion of de Rossi that one, at least, dates from the very apostolic days. Of course much of the evidence to the antiquity of these crypts is circumstantial. Other things being equal, however, the purer character of the art of any crypt would argue for an earlier date. All know what a fearful decadence art underwent after the second century of the Christian era. But the superior and classic character of the painting, sculpture, and architecture of the cemetery of the Font of Peter points clearly "to a very ancient period before art had degenerated, and before long-continued persecution had banished Christianity into seclusion and poverty." To the first century must probably be referred at least three or four of the Catacombs,

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namely, the Cemetery of Priscilla, the Catacomb of Domatilla, (the grand niece of the Emperor Domitian,) and the crypt of Lucina, forming a part of the more extended Catacomb of St. Callixtus. The age of these retreats is sometimes demonstrated by evidence entirely satisfactory. In fact, the nature of their construction, the openness or the secrecy, the beauty or coarseness of their art, the inscriptions found on the walls and tombs, often furnish an abundant record of their age, and of the tolerance or persecution exercised toward the Church. After the holding of Christian assemblies, even in the Catacombs, was forbidden by the savage Valerian, and these sacred retreats were ruthlessly invaded by the soldiery of the Emperor, an entire change in the construction, of the Catacombs is noticed. From places of worship and burial, where large and often beautifully decorated rooms were found, and where the tombs of their worthies were wrought out with very considerable beauty and completeness, now they become places of safety and concealment. Many of the more beautiful portions were rifled, the stair-cases were closed, the chief avenues were walled up, the graves became more simple, more compact, and more crowded, also new stories were excavated below those already in existence, and every thing argued a storm of persecution, by which the temper and endurance of the Church were most fearfully tested. Convincing evidence is furnished that these excavations were places of retreat for those who were specially obnoxious to the Government on account of their rare piety and ardor of devotion. Indications are not infrequent that supplies of grain were laid up for the maintenance of the hidden fugitives, and "de Rossi describes certain crypts in the Catacomb of Callixtus which were probably employed for storing corn or wine in time of persecution." These places of seclusion, so well understood by the Christians, were generally safe from invasion by their enemies; but sometimes, tracked by the emissaries of the Government, or betrayed by some apostate who had been bribed with gold, these followers of Jesus "were surprised at their devotions, and their refuge became their sepulcher." Cardinal Wiseman, in his charming though partisan romance of "Fabiola; or, the Church of the Catacombs," has introduced characters that find their exact counterpart in history. A revengeful and sordid mind, like Corvinus', would

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ever be ready to use a reprobate like Fulvius to hunt out the retreats of the Christians and report for their destruction. Considerations of hatred, revenge, or avarice may have moved many to act as the Cardinal has pictured these. This same writer has guarded the student of the first three centuries of Christian history against two opposite errors: "We may come to imagine that, during the first three centuries, the Church was suffering unrespited under active persecution; that the faithful worshiped in fear and trembling, and almost lived in the Catacombs; that bare existence, with scarcely an opportunity for outward development or inward organization, none for splendor, was all that religion could enjoy; that, in fine, it was a period of conflict and tribulation, without an interval of peace or consolation. On the other hand, we may suppose that those three centuries were divided into epochs of ten distinct persecutions, some of longer and some of shorter duration, but definitely separated from one another by breathing times of complete rest. Either of these views is erroneous. . . . Rather, when one persecution had broken loose upon the Church, it may be said never to have entirely relaxed its hold till her final pacification under Constantine. An edict of persecution once issued by an emperor was seldom recalled; and though the rigor of its enforcement might relax or cease through the accession of a milder ruler, still it never became completely a dead letter, but was a dangerous weapon in the hands of a cruel or bigoted governor of a city or province. Hence, in the intervals between the greater general persecutions ordered by a new decree, we find many martyrs who owed their crowns either to popular fury or to the hatred of Christianity in local rulers. Hence, also, we read of a bitter persecution being carried on in one part of the empire while other portions enjoyed complete peace." * As has already been said, the attempt to make light of these persecutions of the Church has proved a failure. For while the number of inscriptions in the Catacombs marked "*Martyr*" are comparatively few, the evidence of terrible suffering and death is perfectly irresistible. The religious hatred against the new sect was not stronger than was the political. The concealment of faith, so far as consistent with truthfulness, was but a dictate of com-

* "Fabiola," chap. xi.

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mon prudence. Indeed, silence with reference to their belief was not unfrequently practiced. History is clear on this point, and the evidence is convincing that there were persons of Christian faith high in offices of state who were for a long time entirely unsuspected of sympathy with the new religion. It is but natural to suppose that this must sometimes react upon the Christian communities with terrible power when discovery was made. Heathendom felt that it was interpenetrated with an influence strangely mysterious, the extent of which could not be measured. These new religionists could thus be very easily regarded as anti-social, as having no harmony with the State, as seeking their own preferment, and thus, with a show of justice, be charged with disloyalty to the Cæsars. The disgust felt by sober and philosophic minds, while reading the exaggerated "Acts of the Martyrs," has naturally led such to the opposite extreme of doubt, and has induced many illogically and untruthfully to underrate the severity of the trials of the early Church, and to underrate the number of the Christian martyrs. Yet the testimony of honest historical criticism is to the fact that the first three centuries were the heroic age of Christianity, and that the trials and purifications she then underwent prepared her to resist, to an extent, the blandishments of power under a patronizing emperor, and fitted her to be the only conserving, the only consoling, the only regenerating agency when the wild storms of northern invasion burst upon the doomed empire.

The recognition of Christianity as the State religion summoned its votaries from the darkness and obscurity of their subterranean retreats, to re-open or rebuild their long-closed or ruined churches. It was then that the basilicas arose with a beauty and splendor before entirely unknown. While the further necessity for secret burial ceased, it was but natural that the resting-places of those who had stood firmly for the truth during the times of severest trial should be regarded with peculiar reverence. In order to preserve these sacred burial places, oftentimes magnificent churches were constructed over their entrances, and these shrines came to be held in special esteem. The walls of the Catacombs were adorned with rich magnificence, and painting and sculpture were pressed into this pious service. The abuse of some of the most sacred

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instincts of our nature has often given rise to the grossest superstitions. Here was no exception. While by degrees the Catacombs as places of burial fell into disuse, the supposed sanctity of these spots caused many to desire to be interred near to the resting-places of the martyrs. Hence the sacredness of localities and the origin of relics, afterward so pernicious to the purity of the new religion. In another way this proved a misfortune; since by excavations around these tombs the walls of the support were weakened, and the frequenting of the Catacombs soon became dangerous to pious votaries. "During the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century the management of the Catacombs seems no longer to have been in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, but under the control of the *fossors*, with whom the bargain for interment was made by the friends of the deceased." After the attempt of Pope Damasus to revive the custom of subterranean burial it gradually fell into disuse, and after A. D. 410 scarcely an example can be found.

The mighty social convulsions consequent on the invasion of Rome by Alaric and his savage warriors were exceedingly unfavorable to the preservation of the Catacombs. The thoughts of Christians were occupied with graver questions, and the instinct of preservation was dominant. While during the three invasions of Italy by this rude barbarian it seems highly probable that the basilicas and their furniture were undisturbed, the succeeding conquerors were vastly more rapacious. The churches were plundered, their vessels were removed, and even the Catacombs were invaded, and the costly adornings of the shrines of the saints were ruthlessly pillaged. The efforts of the popes during the intervals of peace proved unavailing to preserve, much more to restore, these to their former magnificence. Their rifling and abandonment were hastened by the removal of the bodies of the martyrs and confessors from these retreats to the churches of Rome. This was widely practiced, and not even the letter of Stephen III. in the eighth century, menacing with eternal damnation any one who should violate these hallowed tombs, was availing to arrest this desecration. Gradually their inner recesses were entirely abandoned, while the outer and more accessible parts

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became the retreats of shepherds with their flocks, or the lurking places of thieves and outlaws.

The mediæval times contain few records of these monuments, only two or three cemeteries being mentioned, and these connected with churches. If any knowledge of these extended excavations existed, it was by those who frequented them for purposes of political plotting, or converted them into dark retreats of crime and cruelty. Almost total silence with regard to their existence and character is maintained until the sixteenth century, when these invaluable records of a former life and civilization were by accident again made known to a class of men better able to interpret and improve them. Their rediscovery happened in an age of intensest intellectual activity, when a new philosophy was urging men to broader and better methods of investigation, and increased facilities for the dissemination of the truth were at the disposal of the thinker.

In 1578 some laborers, while digging *pozzolana* in a vineyard on the Salarian Way, "came suddenly on an ancient cemetery, with its paintings, inscriptions, sarcophagi, and graves. The event produced a profound sensation in Rome;" and some pious men of note seem to have been again possessed with the same veneration and reverence for those spots that had filled the minds of the Christians of the third and fourth centuries. Their systematic exploration, begun by Alfonso Ciaconnio, a Spanish priest, and Philip de Wringhe and Jean l'Heurreaux, two Flemish laymen, was most enthusiastically continued by Antonio Bosio, a native of Malta, who for a period of thirty-six years gave himself up to the most earnest and devoted study of these corridors and their inscriptions. Few men have shown a more genuine enthusiasm for discovery than Bozio. Disraeli has well said of him: "Taking with him a hermit's meal for a week, this new Pliny often descended into the bowels of the earth by lamp-light, clearing away the sand and ruins, till some tomb broke forth or some inscription became legible, tracing the moldering sculptures and catching the fading picture. Thrown back into the primitive ages of Christianity, amid the local impressions, the historian of the Christian Catacombs collected the memorials of an age and of a race which were hidden beneath the earth." Not only was their exploration attempted, but all ancient records were

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searched in order to aid in their interpretation. The result of these years of persevering and enthusiastic toil were many thousands of manuscript pages, which were published after the author's death. Few can appreciate the value of this record. Hundreds of objects, since entirely obliterated, are here minutely described: indeed, most of the studies of the present day must be supplemented and perfected by reference to Bosio's monumental work. Since the seventeenth century an immense literature on the Catacombs has been accumulated, touching nearly every feature of these curious remains, clearly evidencing the interest in their study, and demonstrating their invaluable character. The Christian world is now especially fortunate in having for the custodian of the Catacombs, and for the head of the Roman Archæological Commission, so scientific an explorer as the Cavaliere de Rossi. His rare candor, his profound knowledge of Christian antiquities, his patience and ingenuity in exploration, his accurate observation and careful deductions, eminently fit him for this important station. To him more than to any other one man of modern times are we indebted for the methodical and conscientious arrangement of these materials of archæological study.

II. But these remains, vast and curious as they are, would be insignificant did they not aid in interpreting history. History has for its subject, mankind; that is, a race whose life is made up of a succession of acts of will. It is largely the province of historic criticism to determine what relation these historic materials bear to these acts of will, of which they are the evidence or proof. What would any history be, either of humanity or of the natural universe around us, if stripped of this element of will? The observer of nature that rises no higher than to a recognition of a mere order of sequence, lacks the enthusiasm of study. Only he who sees in this cosmical arrangement, with all its complexity and vastness, an acting will, rises to the real understanding of the universe. Whether in stone or star, whether in mollusk or man, whether in atom or angel, it is only in the recognition of an intelligent will that we find our highest inquiries satisfied. The second book of our author is, on this account, of even more intense interest than the first. We now enter a higher sphere of study. Christian art and symbolism are subjects very captivating, yet they

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involve vast difficulties, and require the profoundest study, in order to their mastery. A disputed realm is now entered upon by our author. It will not be surprising to find here many statements that may challenge investigation, or even provoke debate. So diametrically opposed are schools of art criticism, that difference of view, and even disputation, seem almost inevitable. They range from the extreme classicists, like Raoul-Rochette, who believe that Greek art reached the acme of perfection, and embodied all necessary art principles, and that therefore Christian art can justly lay no claim to originality, either of subject or statement; even to Lübke, generally judicial in statement, who finds in the Christianity of the Catacombs "a mediator between the antique heathen life and the art of modern Christendom." That the new religion should be largely influenced by its surroundings is not to be wondered at; indeed, it might be regarded as antecedently probable. It is not to be supposed that Christianity should be absolutely unique in its doctrine. If all religions seem to root in one original and universal revelation, it may be supposed that there should be doctrines common to all systems. In treating the subject of comparative religion, great care is necessary to distinguish between truths radically different, and truths mixed with errors; between doctrines intrinsically right, and these same doctrines staggering under a load of crushing superstition. In the midst of the æsthetic polytheism of Athens, Paul could speak of a framer of the world, and find patient listeners. It was only when the doctrines of personal responsibility, or the deeper, more mysterious, and distinctively Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body was touched upon, that mockery and scoffing saluted his utterances. A few religious beliefs seem to be the universal heritage of the race. Call them intuitions, or the scattered fragments of an originally revealed body of truth—it matters little which—they are nevertheless indicative of an essential unity, and constitute the points of contact between races of men and systems of religion widely different in the purity and completeness of their teaching. Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity were equally heirs to certain truth. Christianity, like her less favored sister, Judaism, saw that the heathen world had darkened its heart by substituting the creature for the Creator; that through wicked practices the

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image had taken the place of the divinity; that the original supernaturalism of the Roman and Grecian religions had now become sunken into a mere æsthetic sentiment, as in art, or into systems of philosophical speculation, as seen in the writings of Cicero, Cato, and others. To avoid these two sources of error was but a natural desire of the early Church. That many of the more thoughtful and philosophic of the Christian community clearly distinguished between a principle and its abuse, is evident from their preserved writings; that they saw the dangers that threatened the unthinking mass from an imitation of the heathen art and the practice of the heathen philosophy, is clear from their repeated warnings to the Christian converts. As might be expected, the highest and richest art is found in the most ancient Catacombs. The earlier paintings approximate the excellence of the contemporary heathen art. Often are introduced even some of the accessories of the popular festivals. Every thing argues that the art of the Church of the Catacombs was the result, not of rude and repeated trials, by which taste and skill were developed, but rather that it was chiefly the application of the existing art to new themes, and under the inspiration of a new spirit. In this connection we cannot refrain from quoting from our author a passage full of beauty and truthfulness:—

> It [early Christian art] stripped off, to use the figure of Dr. Lübke, what was unsuitable to the new ideas, and retained the healthy germ from which the tree of Christian art was to unfold in grand magnificence. As Christianity was the very antithesis of paganism in spirit, so its art was singularly free from pagan error. There are no wanton dances of nude figures like those on the walls of Pompeii, but chaste pictures with figures clothed from head to foot; or, where historical accuracy required the representation of the undraped form, as in pictures of our first parents in the garden of Eden, or of the story of Jonah, they are instinct with modesty and innocence. Pagan art, a genius with drooping wing and torch reversed, stood at the door of death, but cast no light upon the world beyond. Christian art, inspired with lofty faith, pierced through the vail of sense, beyond the shadows of time, and beheld the pure spirit soaring above the grave, like essence rising from an alembic in which all the grosser qualities of matter are left behind. Hence only images of hope and tender joy were employed. There is no symptom of the despair of paganism; scarce even of natural sorrow.—Pp. 208, 209.

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But we entirely dissent from both the facts and the philosophy of Mr. Withrow as found in the following:—

> Independent statues were in the first ages rarely if ever used. There seemed to be greater danger of falling into idolatry in the imitation of these, in which form were most of the representations of the heathen deities, than in the employment of painting; and it was against the making of graven images that the prohibition of Scripture was especially directed. Their fabrication, therefore, was especially avoided. Indeed, sculpture never became truly Christian, and even in the hands of an Angelo or a Thorwaldsen failed to produce triumphs of skill like those of Phidias or Praxiteles. Christian graphic art, however, in its noblest development far surpassed even the grandest achievements of which we have any account of the schools of Apelles and Zeuxis. Christianity is the embodiment of the gentler graces; paganism, in its purest form, that of the sterner virtues. The former finds its best expression in painting, the latter in sculpture.—Pp. 209, 210.

Doubtless the warnings of the Hebrew Scriptures against idolatry had a powerful influence on the minds of the early Christians. The second commandment was literally construed, and not understood in its spirit; for it is probable that the spirit of this commandment is not adverse even to sculpture. This would appear from the fact that the tabernacle and the first temple contained very elaborate graven figures, as the cherubim that shadowed the mercy-seat in the tabernacle, and the golden oxen that supported the great laver in the first temple, etc., any one of which would have been a mortal offense to the devout Jew had the commandment been literally interpreted. Is not the whole spirit of the commandment, not against graven images, but against bowing down to and worshiping them, as though in them resided, and to them was confined, the essential divinity? Will it be objected that this is a plain case of *petitio?* We doubt it. There is a clear distinction between a warning against sculpture, which might generate a hatred of art *per se*, and a warning that was necessary to the Hebrew in view of the prevalent error of the surrounding nations. Did not Paul, in his address to the Athenians, grasp the kernel of the whole controversy? "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to

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think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." Acts xvii, 28, 29. Nor do we believe that the generalization found in the words, "Sculpture never became truly Christian," etc., is warranted by either a study of the respective domains of sculpture and painting, or by the history of Christian art. True, the domain of sculpture is vastly narrower than that of painting; the picturesque is much more complex than the statuesque; and painting has the accessory advantages of color, perspective, grouping, etc. But that sculpture is not adapted to the expression of the tender and pathetic, or that heathen virtues are simpler or more dignified, and, therefore, that their story is better told in the sharp limitations of time and space implied in statuary, may well be questioned. That heroic endurance, with patience and love, are Christian virtues, must be conceded by all; and these are eminently adapted to the capabilities of sculpture. Nor can the superiority of ancient statuary over painting be confidently asserted, nor the superiority of Christian over ancient graphic art. We have but two general sources of information with regard to the character of ancient classic painting, namely, the preserved literary notices, and the preserved works. The former are certainly as warm in their notices of the painters and their works as of the sculptors—leading us to a high estimate of both. The latter, especially the mosaics,* awaken wonder and admiration scarcely less than we feel in the presence of the most exquisite statues. But the author is certainly correct in asserting that—

> Christian art, though affected by pagan influence, did not servilely follow pagan types. It introduced new forms to express new ideas, or employed existing forms with a new significance; just as Christianity itself introduced new words, or gave new meaning to old ones, not only in the classic tongues, but in every language which it has adopted as the vehicle of its sublime truths. It created a cycle of symbolical types of especial Christian significance; and became more enriched and enlarged in its scope by allegorical representations of religious doctrine, and by illustrations of Old and New Testament history and miracles.—Pp. 218, 219.

The author thus gracefully introduces us to one of the most captivating chapters of his entire work, "The Symbolism of the

* See especially the "Battle of Issus," and the mural decorations of Pompeii.

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Catacombs:" "Primitive Christianity was eminently congenial to religious symbolism. Born in the East, and in the bosom of Judaism, which had long been familiar with this universal Oriental language, it adopted types and figures as its natural mode of expression."—P. 225. The East *was* the home of symbolism, and the Jewish Church was fully acquainted with it, as is clearly seen in its forms of worship. Yet the last paragraph of this quotation is rather the true explanation of Christian symbolism: "It adopted types and figures *as its natural mode of expression;*" and farther on the author repeats this thought: "The primitive Christians, therefore, *naturally* adopted a similar mode of art expression for conveying religious instruction." It is not confined to the East, nor to the Jewish Church, but is as wide as the race; it is not only the "universal *Oriental* language," but emphatically the language of all peoples in all periods of their history. During the childhood period of a nation, or of a religion, this language usually blossoms forth in the wildest luxuriance; then men talk in figures and revel in tropes; then symbols and hieroglyphics are a peculiar and characteristic distinction. If we bear in mind that every system of religion consists essentially of two parts, namely, its doctrines, and its forms of worship, we shall be prepared to estimate the immense influence and use of symbolism. If it is the province of religious doctrines to awaken exalted ideas and conceptions of truth, it is likewise true that doctrines must be formulated in language ere they can become the common property of a religious community. But words are only symbols of something spiritual—of thoughts and conceptions that struggle to communicate themselves. Equally true is it that worship is ever occupied with material things, with external actions. But since it has for its end to discover the relations of the creature to the Creator, and to perfect the religious life, it, too, has a symbolical character. It has justly been remarked that "in so far as the externals of worship are regarded as means of conveying an idea, in so far do they possess the character of a symbol."* This symbolic character of all religions has been made the subject of most learned research. Bähr and Creutzer have explored with a rare profundity of scholarship the Hebrew and the heathen

* *Stiefelhagen*, "Theologie des Heidenthums," p. 101.

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symbolism. The former bears the following testimony on this subject:—

> The latest investigations into the religions of antiquity have satisfactorily proved that they, without exception, have a symbolical character, and, therefore, like Judaism, use sensuous forms. Hence it necessarily follows that the stages of intellectual development, in which such forms are made use of, are not exclusively Mosaic, or Israelitish, but they are common alike to all pre-Christian antiquity, and are, indeed, the common inheritance of our humanity.*

Nor is this to be denied because the explanation to the symbol is not usually found. So generally understood were these symbols to the various communities that no definitions were thought of.† This is seen in the book of statutes of Manu, and in the Zendavesta, etc., that have a symbolical character, but no explanation is found because their entire method of study was to recognize the ideal in the real. Even the idea of God is every-where conveyed in symbolical language. There has ever been a manifest tendency to clothe Deity in sensible form. The very highest symbol which the heathen could use, by which to represent their gods, was the human form. Jupiter is only a man with superhuman power and might. This is not satisfactory to the deeper longings of humanity, but it attests that man will not be denied *some* religion, however inadequate it may be to satisfy the cravings of his heart. These struggles to idealize God have been long continued and painful. In the entire history of humanity there is no other so deeply tragic phenomenon as the ineradicable, ever restless, longing of man after God, and the continuous disappointment and mockery of this desire by the changing phantoms of the heathen deities. This is the profound tragedy of universal history, in which mankind was involved by sin, and which will only end with the final judgment.‡

What is true of God the Father is equally true of the second person of the Trinity. Christ is distinctly declared to be "the express image of the Father." All the symbols that had been

* "Symbolik der Mosaischen Cultus," I, 24.

† See *Dursch:* "Der symbolische Character der Christlichen Religion und Kunst," p. 9.

‡ *Stiefelhagen:* "Theol. d. Heid.," p. 75.

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devised to realize God to man were weak as compared with this one and perfect symbol of the Father. Other symbols tended to degrade God to the level of mankind; Christ, in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, helps us to rise above ourselves to a contemplation of the divine.

> He was human, but his humanity suggested, uttered, imaged more than the human. . . . Jesus spoke as never man spoke, acted as never man acted, lived as never man lived, and died as never man died. A mysterious sovereignty, not human, rested upon him; a purity, a wisdom, a forgiveness, a gentleness, a power of endurance and of self-sacrifice; a patience, a meekness, and a love, which were not only symbols of the Divine, but were themselves verily divine.*

Given, then, these two things, namely:

1. The necessity of religion to mankind; and, 2. The symbolical character of all religions in their doctrine and worship, and we can readily see what immense importance attaches to any—even the least figure, inscription, painting, or custom, that furnishes a suggestion of the religious thought and life of a people.

Mr. Withrow fully appreciates the value of these objects, as is shown by the fact that he devotes about one fourth of his entire work to a description and interpretation of the symbols of the Catacombs, and the Biblical Cycle wherein scriptural objects are chiefly introduced. While sometimes the symbols of the trade or business of the buried one were represented, they are generally of vastly deeper religious significance. It seems very probable that some phonetic or pictorial representations on the tombs were used in order to instruct the unlettered members of the Church. Many indications of poverty and illiteracy are noticed, and that pictorial illustrations were used to teach the truths of their holy religion. Even Luther seized upon this idea in the "Pauperum Biblia" to enlighten the ignorant multitudes through the means of symbolical representation in the law of the Lord; and it is but natural that the eye should be made the medium of instruction where these lessons, conveyed in written language, would be meaningless.

In symbols, as in art, the Christianity of the Catacombs generally used what was at hand—few are original with the early disciples. The anchor, the ship, the dove, the peacock,

* *Young:* "Province of Reason," IV, 3.

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the phœnix, the palm, the crown, the fish, the shepherd, the cross, etc., are all found in the heathen symbolism. What renders, therefore, these objects of special worth, and clothes them with a fresh interest, is the hitherto unknown realm of truth that is here symbolized. From the trivial and the perishing they rise to the serious and abiding. The anchor speaks of no mere craft, but is that that reaches within the vail, holding the storm-tossed voyager over life's sea steadfast in the midst of the winds and waves of adversity; the ship is not emblematic of the close of life, but rather is it the Church freighted with the treasures of souls journeying to a heavenly port; the dove is no longer the servant and attendant of an earthly and impure love, but emblematic of assurance, gentleness, and constancy; the peacock now tells only of immortality; the phœnix now assures the dying martyr of an immortality of life that shall spring from his scattered ashes; the palm now points from an earthly victory, where the few join in the empty applause, to the final triumph, and the great multitude which no man can number; "the crown is not the wreath of ivy or of laurel, of parsley or of bay, the coveted reward of the ancient games, nor the chaplet of earthly revelry, which, placed upon the heated brow, soon fell in withered garlands to the feet; but the crown of life, starry and unwithering, the immortal wreath of glory which the saints shall wear forever at the marriage supper of the Lamb," (p. 236;) the fish is not now the symbol of an avocation, but gathers up under its mysterious name or form the entire character, life, and work of Christ;* the Good Shepherd is no longer Mercury as the Ram-Bearer, or the amorous Pan, or even the Orpheus of the Greeks, taming men and beasts by the power of music, but the loving, tender Christ, to lead or bear on his shoulders from the entanglements and dangers of this world to the heavenly fold poor, lost, wandering souls; the cross is now taken from the abhorred and detested associations with which it was connected in the heathen mind, "to be invested with the most sublime and solemn interest as the emblem of the world's redemption."

We are tempted in this connection to make large quotations from our author, who seems inspired by his theme, and scatters here and there rhetorical gems of the first water.

* Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ—Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

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Let two here suffice. Speaking of the Good Shepherd, he says:—

Suggesting the thought of that sweet Hebrew idyl (Psa. xxiii) of which the world will never grow tired; which, lisped by the pallid lips of the dying throughout the ages, has strengthened their hearts as they entered the dark valley; and to which our Lord lent a deeper pathos by the tender parable of the lost sheep —small wonder that it was a favorite type of that unwearying love that sought the erring and the outcast and brought them to his fold again. With reiterated and manifold treatment the tender story is repeated over and over again, making the gloomy crypts bright with scenes of idyllic beauty, and hallowed with sacred associations.—P. 243.

The other sums up the general character of the early Christian pictorial representations as contrasted with a later age of declining faith and decadent art:—

One of the most striking circumstances which impresses an observer in traversing these silent chambers of the dead is the complete avoidance of all images of suffering and woe, or of tragic awfulness, such as abound in sacred art above ground. There are no representations of the sevenfold sorrows of the *Mater Dolorosa*, nor cadaverous Magdalens accompanied by eyeless skulls as a perpetual *memento mori*. There are no pictures of Christ's agony and bloody sweat, of his cross and passion, his death and burial; nor of flagellations, tortures, and fiery pangs of martyrdom, such as those that harrow the soul in many of the churches and picture galleries of Rome. Only images of joy and peace abound on every side. These gloomy crypts are a school of Christian love and gentle charity, of ennobling thoughts and elevating impulses. The primitive believers, in the midst of their manifold persecutions, rejoiced even in tribulation. . . . There are no symbols of sorrow, no appeals to the morbid sympathies of the soul, nothing that could cause vindictive feelings even toward the persecutors of the Church; only sweet pastoral scenes, fruits, flowers, palm branches and laurel crowns, lambs and doves; nothing but what suggests a feeling of joyous innocence, as of the world's golden age.—Pp. 227, 228.

III. Doubtless the third book, "The Inscriptions of the Catacombs," has cost our author more hard work and vexation than all the other portions combined. Epigraphic studies are beset with very embarrassing difficulties. Their complete mastery implies not only a profound knowledge of the languages in which the inscriptions may be recorded, but perfect familiarity with history, manners, and customs. The importance of epigraphy has been recognized from the earliest age

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of the Church. Paul points one of his most profound and telling discourses at Athens from the inscription found on a heathen altar, "To THE UNKNOWN GOD." With this as his text, he discourses not only of natural religion, but from this passes into a higher and holier domain, to declare the common fatherhood of God, and the common origin and brotherhood of the race. Later the Christian fathers frequently use the epigraphic argument to oppose both the heathen and the heretic, and defend the distinctively orthodox views of the Church. Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and others; and in the fourth and fifth centuries, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Eusebius, Prudentius, etc., are specially fond of drawing some of their sharpest weapons of offense from this armory. Nor have the later writers depreciated this study. Some of the most patient and profound scholars of the Church have made this the special field of their explorations, and they have succeeded in bringing out many results surprising and cheering to the disciples of Christ. Such men as Signorili and Poggio, in the fifteenth; Fleetwood, Spon, Mabillon, Montfauçon, and Muratori, in the seventeenth and eighteenth; and De Caumont, Perret, Le Blant, De Rossi, etc., in the nineteenth, have dignified this department by the devotion of their best powers, and the labors of a life-time, to these records of antiquity.

It is probable that the third book of Mr. Withrow's work will arouse the most stubborn opposition, and provoke the sharpest criticism. Not that his work has not been well studied and his positions taken with care, nor that they will not be approved by the majority of Protestant Christians; but the materials are of such a character as to afford opportunity for wide diversity of view. Here, as elsewhere, it is *interpretation* that varies results. While the materials at hand may be accepted by all parties, these same materials must be passed through minds variously affected by prejudice, and they will be interpreted as evidential of this or that doctrine, exactly in accordance with this prejudice. As before intimated, Mr. Withrow, in common with most Protestant archæologists, finds abundant proof of the simplicity of life, doctrine, and discipline of the Primitive Church, as opposed to the pompous ritualism, the invented dogmas, and the spiritual despotism

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of the Roman hierarchy. Here, as in some of the physical sciences, Christian faith has found unlooked-for auxiliaries. Causes of painful anxiety have been removed, and questions that seemed trembling in the balance of historical criticism have been positively determined in accord with the biblical record. Indeed, it may be asserted with great confidence, that the epigraphy of the Catacombs constitutes one of the most cheerful commentaries that we possess on the daily life and thought of the early Christians. Certainly few things tend more to deepen our thankfulness for the "unspeakable gift" of Christ, and for the light and immortality brought to light in the Gospel, than such sharp contrasts as our author has so skillfully drawn between the heathen and Christian view of death, as read in the inscriptions on their burial monuments found inserted in the walls of the entrance hall to the Vatican Museum at Rome:—

Here the monuments of pagan and of Christian Rome confront each other. The spectator stands between two worlds of widest divergence, and cannot but be struck with the immense contrast between them. On the one side are recorded the pride and pomp of worldly rank, the lofty titles and manifold distinctions of every class, from divinities to slaves. The undying historic names of Rome's mighty conquerors, the leaders of her cohorts and legions, mingle with those of the proud patrician citizens, and a like display on their sepulchral slabs the august array of prænomen, nomen, and cognomen, which attest their lofty social position or civil power. The costly carving and elaborate bas-reliefs of many of these monuments indicate the wealth of him whom they commemorate. The elegantly turned classic epitaph—with its elegiac hexameters breathing the stern and cold philosophy of the Stoa, or an utter blankness of despair concerning the future, or, perchance, a querulous and passionate complaining against the gods—shows how the races without the knowledge of the true God met the awful mystery of death. . . . On the other side of the corridor are the humble epitaphs of the despised and persecuted Christians, many of which, by their rudeness, their brevity, and often their marks of ignorance and haste, confirm the truth of the Scripture, that "not many mighty, not many noble, are called." Yet these "short and simple annals of the poor" speak to the heart with power and pathos, compared with which the loftiest classic eloquence seems cold and empty. It is a fascinating task to spell out the sculptured legends of the Catacombs—the vast graveyard of the primitive Church, which seems to give up its dead at our questioning, to bear witness concerning the faith and hope of the Golden Age of Christianity. As we muse upon these half-effaced inscriptions—

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> Rudely written, but each letter
> Full of hope, and yet of heart-break,
> Full of all the tender pathos
> Of the Here and the Hereafter—

we are brought face to face with the Church of the early centuries, and are enabled to comprehend its spirit better than by means of any other evidence extant. These simple epitaphs speak no conventional language like the edicts of the emperors, the monuments of the mighty, or even the writings of the Fathers; they utter the cry of the human heart in the hours of its deepest emotion; they bridge the gulf of time, and make us feel ourselves akin with the suffering, sorrowing, yet triumphant Christians of the primitive ages.—Pp. 396–398.

As a whole, for the purposes for which it was intended, namely, a popular hand-book, we regard Mr. Withrow's work a decided success. The author has been diligent, and has worked under good guides. He is enthusiastic, and this is a very great excellence. A few expressions have led us to suspect (we know nothing about it) that the author has not been favored with opportunities for continuous study of those monuments on the spot. His style is good, oftentimes elegant and eloquent. A subject usually regarded dry glows with freshness and life under his treatment. As before intimated, he will probably meet with sharp critics and stubborn opponents; but this is not to be deprecated, since he has satisfactory reasons for his opinions and his method of treatment. The mechanical execution of the book is of the first order. The publishers have spared no pains to make all things intelligible by profuse illustration—a feature of the work that speaks well for the good sense and liberality of the House, and that will be most highly valued by those who best understand the difficulties that beset the subject. We believe that the work richly deserves and will find a very wide circle of readers, who will be greatly interested, and strongly fortified in their Christian faith. Certain minor errors of orthography, inadequate quotation and translation, and possibly of arrangement, will find correction in a new edition, which we predict will be early demanded.

We have only space to record two or three impressions which the reading of Mr. Withrow's book has produced or strengthened:—

1. If Christianity is a fact, a doctrine, and a life, then the

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historic argument will never become obsolete; and any thing that assists this historic argument must be welcomed as invaluable.

2. While we accept the Protestant teaching that Christian doctrine is to receive new illustration and development as God's providential scheme shall unfold in history, we are more and more impressed with the necessity of clearly distinguishing between *Christian* doctrine and *what of human devising has been superadded*, between God's truth and man's interpretation of the same. One is absolute, eternal; the other partial, varying.

3. In this time of the discussion of educational methods, when the advocates of the so-called "New Education" are endeavoring to cast ridicule upon the traditional classical course, is it not well to inquire how we can dispense with this means of introduction to the civilization of the past, and by which the student is initiated into the innermost life and thought of the buried centuries? Must not genuine thoroughness and profundity of scholarship ever connect with a study that reveals man in his unfolding and becoming?

ART. V.—JOHN MURRAY, THE FATHER OF AMERICAN UNIVERSALISM.

The Life of Rev. John Murray. Written by Himself. Seventh Edition. Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 1833.

LATE in life Mr. Murray, yielding to the earnest request of his many ardent friends, commenced the history of his life. Death overtook him before he completed this work, and his faithful and accomplished wife finished it. This review is confined principally to the section which he wrote himself. As he kept no journal, and relied entirely upon his memory for the information which he has given to us, his "Life" is valuable to the critical reader as the embodiment of his life-thonghts, more than as the development of his character in its successive stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. "The stream will make mention of its bed, the river will report of the shores which it has washed;" so the doctrines which in his mature years he sincerely believed and faithfully preached,

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color to a considerable extent his autobiography. Mr. Murray was a shrewd reader of the times in which he lived. He knew how sharply the peculiar traits of a parent are often daguerreotyped upon the child, and in his history he wisely introduces the character of his ancestors, that his own character might be the better appreciated. "My parents were the religious children of religious parents and grandparents; they were the more religious on that account." Following this statement, in the next paragraph is the astounding declaration, "My paternal grandfather, however, possessed only negative religion; that is, his affection for my grandmother obliged him to conform to her in every thing." Again Mr. Murray says, "Of the piety of my paternal grandfather or my maternal grandmother I have little to say. I have never heard that they allowed themselves in any improper indulgences, and, as they were the admirers of their devout companions, it is a fair conclusion that they were at least negatively pious." Those, therefore, who love their pious husbands or wives, and avoid "improper indulgences," are "negatively religious!" What it is to possess negation, the reader must judge. The character of these "devout companions" of his paternal grandfather and his maternal grandmother is given to show that "Religion became the legitimate inheritance of my immediate parents." The latter was the daughter of a bigoted French Roman Catholic nobleman, "who thought proper, as was then the custom of people of distinction, to educate his daughter in England." While at school, "attaching herself to a family of Episcopalians, she became a zealous Protestant; which, together with her selecting a husband of the same persuasion, confirmed her an exile forever." She was disinherited, and "the inheritance sacrificed from conscientious principles gave her to consider herself more especially heir to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away." The other "devout companion"—his maternal grandfather—was converted late in life from "dissipation to a life of severe piety. . . . He was in early life a *bon vivant*, and even when he became the head of a family his reprehensive pursuits were nothing diminished" until "the silent sufferings of his wedded companion were strongly expressed in her wan countenance and broken health."

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The father of John Murray was a self-willed, quick-tempered, and austere man. "He was easily provoked," while "every deviation from propriety was marked by tears." Sometimes he would laugh at the mistakes which his eldest son made when commencing to read, and say, "This boy sticks at nothing; he has an astonishing invention! How it is that he utters such sounds, and passes on with such rapidity, I cannot conceive." But my blunders were more frequently marked by a staggering box on the ear. In his family he was tyrannical. Before them he "seldom indulged" in the "*levity*" of a laugh. "In the evening the whole family were collected, the children examined, our faults recorded, and I, as an example to the rest, especially chastised. My father rarely passed by an offense without marking it by such punishment as his sense of duty awarded; and when my tearful mother interceded for me, he would respond, in the language of Solomon, 'If thou beatest him with the rod he shall not die.' This conduct originated more fear than affection for my father. I was studious to avoid his presence, and I richly enjoyed his absence. . . . Much, indeed, was I tortured by the severe discipline of my father."

Unable to endure this torture, at the age of ten John tried to run away from it; and when, while so doing, he was saved from a watery grave and carried back to his father, he says, "no language can describe my dismay as I drew near my father, who was immediately preparing to administer the deserved chastisement." So much did his children fear him that scores of years after his death his son says, "I never appeared before him without apprehension." As a strict Calvinist he taught his children, "that for any individual not the elect of God to say of God, or to God, 'our Father,' was nothing better than blasphemy." He made the Sabbath "a day much to be dreaded in our family. We were all awakened at early morn, private devotions attended, breakfast hastily dismissed, shutters closed, no light but from the back part of the house; no noise could bring any part of the family to the window; not a syllable was uttered upon secular affairs; every one who could read, children and domestics, had their allotted chapters. Family prayers succeeded, after which 'Baxter's Saint's Everlasting Rest' was assigned to me, my mother all the time in terror

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lest the children should be an interruption. At last the bell summoned us to church, whither in solemn order we proceeded, I close to my father, who admonished me to look straight forward, and not let my eyes wander after vanities. At church I was fixed at his elbow, compelled to kneel when he kneeled, to stand when he stood, to find the Psalm, Epistle, Gospel, and Collects for the day, and every instance of inattention was vigilantly marked and unrelentingly punished. When I returned from church I was ordered to my closet, and when I came forth the chapter from which the preacher had taken his text was read, and I was questioned respecting the sermon, a part of which I could generally repeat. Dinner, as breakfast, was taken in silent haste, after which we were not suffered to walk, even in the garden, but every one must either read or hear reading until the bell gave the signal for the afternoon service, from which we returned to private devotion, to reading, to catechising, to examination, and a long family prayer, which closed the most laborious day of the week." Mr. Murray's father died when he was about seventeen years old. His mother was extremely indulgent toward her children, to whom she was ardently attached. "She contributed all in her power for our gratifications." The severity of her husband toward their children filled her with terror or moved her to tears *in their presence.* If during his absence her conduct caused their children to feel keenly the unjust severity of their father, it would not be unnatural. Her son has but little to say about her religious life, except that she was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and, like her husband, a strong Calvinist. She seems to have left all the religious training of her children to their father. Mr. Murray says: "My mother believed, as most good women then believed, that husbands ought to have the direction, especially in concerns of such vast importance as to involve the future well-being of their children." She lived to a green old age.

Such were the immediate ancestors of the "Father of American Universalism." Such were the influences under which he was born and grew up. It seems almost natural, therefore, that to him "religion became an object of terror," from which view he never fully escaped.

John Murray, the preacher, was born in Alton, Hampshire

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County, England, on the 10th day of December, 1741. He was the firstborn of a family of nine children, the object of his father's special care and training. When ten years old his father moved his family to Ireland, and during the following year lost all of his property by fire. Soon after an Episcopalian clergyman, an intimate friend of his father, offered to educate John. "He shall live in my family; he shall be to me as a son; I will instruct him, and when opportunity offers he shall become a member of the University. He has a prodigious memory; his understanding needs only to be opened, when he will make the most rapid progress." But "my father, trembling for my spiritual interest if removed from his guardian care, returned to this liberal proposal the most unqualified negative." It was now "judged necessary that I should engage in some business, by which I might secure the necessaries of life." What that business was we are not told, but "it was," says Mr. Murray, "under the care of my painstaking father. I did not like it, yet I went on well;" so well that he never had more than "a superficial knowledge" of it, "and in a few years was living a life of dependent idleness." When "about sixteen years old" he became intimately acquainted with a young man of his own age by the name of Little, the son of a friend of his father, and "for many happy months" his time was divided between the habitation of his father and that of his friend. Here he met with his first love, a Miss Dupee, a young lady who was his senior by more than nine years. "The most ordinary lady we had ever beheld, . . . under the common stature, of a very sallow complexion, large features, and a disagreeable cast in her eye;" yet possessing "a most enchanting voice, a most fascinating manner," and, what was above all bewitching, she "sang the most divine of Mr. Wesley's hymns in a most divinely impressive manner." A love-letter from young Murray to this fair Dulcinea was kindly sent by her to his father, who treated his son in such a manner respecting it that he says, "I detested the lady, my father, and myself." Soon after, his friend Little died; and within a year his own father also died, leaving to John, as the eldest son, the entire care of the secular and religious interests of his family. Later in life Mr. Murray, while moralizing upon the character of his departed father, makes the

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following characteristic statement: "Being for the last nineteen years of his life a confirmed invalid, he was constantly and fervently looking toward his heavenly home." As John Murray's father, after his firstborn was six years old, attended to his business affairs during the week, rising at four o'clock every morning, besides three religious services every Sabbath; as he traveled with John in England when John was ten years old, and during the same year moved his family to Ireland; and as, two years later, he trained his son in business, and died before that son, the eldest of nine children, was eighteen years old—this statement that his father was "for the last nineteen years of his life a *confirmed invalid*," is a mistake which he undoubtedly would have corrected had he lived long enough to have reviewed his autobiography when prepared for the press. His statement that when he was fourteen years old "John Wesley appointed me leader" of a "class" of boys numbering forty, is probably another unfortunate mistake. As the only time in which John Wesley visited Ireland between 1753 and 1758 was in the spring and summer of 1756, if he appointed John Murray as "class-leader" it was during that time. It is a significant fact that "Wesley's Journal," which is exceedingly diffusive, and includes the most minute particulars, especially respecting Methodism in Ireland, makes no allusion whatever respecting Murray or his father's family—a fact entirely unaccountable if Murray's statement about this appointment, and that "John Wesley was an admirer of my father, and he distinguished him beyond any individual in the society, perseveringly urging him to become the leader of a class, and to meet the society in the absence of their preachers, to all of which my father consented," be true. Mr. Murray also declares, that after he had become thus prominent in the cause of Methodism, at his own solicitation, he was confirmed by an Episcopalian bishop, after which, and before the death of his father, "Mr. John Wesley made us a visit, when he paid me the most distinguished attention; he cherished the idea that I should shortly become a useful laborer in the field which he so sedulously cultivated." This statement also seems to be incorrect, for the first visit which John Wesley made to Ireland after the alleged appointment of Murray as "class-leader" was after the death of Murray's father.

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Within two years after his father's decease he became the adopted son of a wealthy and devoted Christian couple named Little. In his new home the evil effects of his early training were manifest. His self-reliant disposition, which had chafed under the severe discipline of his father, and had been warped by the injudicious indulgences of his mother, led him to gratify his own desires, in direct opposition to the expressed wishes of his kind patrons, by spending "every evening abroad." It is, however, just to say, that these evenings were spent at religious gatherings, or in the society of earnest Christians. His efforts in these religious gatherings led to his preaching in Wesleyan Societies "as opportunity offered," "preaching whenever I journeyed, and even at home;" yet he felt no Divine call to the work, and before a year ended, without any object in view, he left Ireland and went to London. During this journey he represented himself to be, and received aid as, a Wesleyan preacher, although he had never received an "exhorter's" or "preacher's" license, and was not a member of the Wesleyan Society. When he reached London he kept himself aloof from all Methodistic associations, and for more than a year lived in dissipation. "Of music and dancing I was very fond, and I delighted in convivial parties. Vauxhall and the playhouses were charming. I had never known life before. I was in a perpetual round of company. I was intoxicated with pleasure. I was invited into one society and another until there was hardly a society in London of which I was not a member. How long this life of dissipation would have lasted had not my resources failed I know not." Poverty brought him to his senses, and he commenced an honest and frugal life. In his twenty-sixth year he married Miss Eliza Neal, who some time after embraced, with him, Universalism. One child was the fruit of this marriage, which died when about one year old. Mrs. Murray died soon after her little son. Debts, accumulated during the sickness of his wife, led to the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Murray. He was released by the exertions of William Neal, the brother of his deceased wife, and about a year later set sail for America, which he reached in September, 1770, in the twenty-ninth year of his life. Soon after his arrival in this country he was settled as "a professed preacher of

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the Gospel" at "Good Luck," New Jersey, and remained there until the following spring, when he commenced to itinerate, making "Good Luck" his head-quarters, and traveling as far north as Massachusetts. In 1774 he moved his head-quarters to Gloucester, where he became distinguished as an enthusiastic preacher and a benevolent citizen. When the "Revolutionary War" commenced he entered the American army as the chaplain of the Rhode Island brigade, and throughout the entire campaign ardently defended the cause and labored for the success of the struggling colonies. In 1793 he moved from Gloucester to Boston, and became the pastor of the "First Universalist Society" in that city. Their house of worship was situated on the corner of Hanover and North Bennet streets. His connection with this society continued until his death, which occurred in 1815. His death was mourned by a large circle of sincere and ardent friends.

In reviewing the autobiography of Mr. Murray three things appear painfully prominent: his illiteracy, his pride, and the superficiality of his religion.

His early educational advantages were limited. At six years of age he "could read a chapter in the Bible, not, indeed, very correctly." At ten years of age he moved to Ireland, and if put to school again it was only for a short period, for two years later he was learning a trade under his "painstaking father," "dividing my attention between my occupation and my garden. I had but little leisure." Two years later he was actively engaged in Wesleyan meetings, attending, besides his Sunday services, two meetings every week-day—one in the morning, the other in the evening—besides "attending to secular affairs during the day, then returned to my chamber, often not to rest, but to my book, till midnight." What he read he is careful to tell. "I loved reading more than any thing else, but I sighed for variety, and began to sicken at the constant repetition of devotional books." "We were allowed to read no books but the Bible, and volumes based upon this precious depository." When sixteen years old he read, at the house of his friend Little, "Addison, Pope, Parnel, Thomson, and Shakspeare." "We read those writings together;" "but I thought best carefully to conceal this new source of enjoyment from my father." "The library, to which I ob-

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tained free access, was very extensive; besides the books already named it contained much to attract a young mind—novels, essays, and histories, by the frequent perusal of which I was both informed and improved." As this period of study was terminated in a few months by the death of his friend; and as during this time both fell in love with Miss Dupee, which affected Murray so much that he "sat by the hour together upon an eminence whence," he says, "I could behold her habitation, poetizing and sighing as if my heart would break;" and as his "time was divided between the habitation of his father and that of his friend," and in "company where we were apt to forget ourselves," "were too gay," and "too much off our guard," this "frequent perusal" could not have resulted in a great deal of information or improvement. The events connected with the loss of his friend, his own severe sickness, and the death of his father, all of which followed within a year, gave him no opportunity for study had he desired it, while his life during the three following years shows that he had not the disposition. Soon after the death of her husband Murray's mother came into possession of his grandfather's property, and he devoted his time in caring for "a very large and well-improved garden, abounding in every thing useful and beautiful," and in frequently receiving and making friendly visits. "We had many visitors, and consequently we visited often." At the house of Mr. Little his days were filled with "a succession of delightful employments," until he "experienced satiety consequent upon an unvaried routine." During his residence in London, a period of about eight years, he could not have spent much, if any, time in study. For more than a year he lived in dissipation. "I pursued this inconsiderate, destructive course upward of a year." When reclaimed, for about three and a half years, "my life was now more active than it had ever been, and my connections more numerous." "I was much occupied by business," and "my evenings were spent at the tabernacle." Two years of this time he was also paying ardent addresses to Miss Eliza Neal. Two years of married life followed, in which the wants of his family, the death of his son, one year old, and that of his wife, which soon followed, together with his religious labors, occupied all of his time. During his last year in London he was imprisoned for

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debt, released by his brother-in-law, and toiled early and late until he had repaid him, and then, because of mental distress arising from the loss of his wife, he sought for solitude in America. His London life certainly furnished too many claims on his physical and mental powers to give him any time or strength for study. Nor did he think that studious habits were an important qualification for a minister, at least for himself. After his settlement as a minister in America, while in conversation with his friend Potter, who replied to his offer of assistance on his farm, "Why need you? Have you not enough to engage your attention in the business on which you are sent?" Murray said, "Believe me, my friend, my employment in your field will not interrupt my reflections. I can study better in the field than in my chamber. It requires but little study to deliver simple, plain Gospel truth." His "life" itself is devoid of real literary merit. The only study which it suggests is fulsome praise of his own merits.

Mr. Murray was very proud of his own abilities as a child, a youth, a man, and a preacher. He is careful to inform the reader that his father sprang from the Scotch nobility and his mother from the French nobility; that "I found the use of my feet before I had completed my first year;" that when "hardly two years old" he uttered his first word, which was "Amen," and "that the *equality* of my disposition became proverbial." He says that, "indulged by bounteous nature with much serenity of mind, every one was happy with me;" that at a very early age he was a great lover of nature, had a "prodigious memory," was not "what the world calls naturally vicious." "I was neither querulous nor quarrelsome. I cannot trace in my mind a vestige of envy." "During this sweet morning of life my most complete satisfaction resulted from the gratification of others." "In my infant bosom rancor or implacability found no place," etc., *ad infinitum ad nauseam.* "As class-leader," he says, "I obtained much applause." "I was pronounced a good singer, although I never had the patience to learn music by note." "I examined every individual separately respecting the work of God upon his heart, and the questions evinced great simplicity and sincerity." "My society was sought by the gray-headed man and the child. In fact, I had experienced more of what is

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denominated the work of God upon the heart than many, I had almost said than any, of my seniors, my parents excepted." Soon after, under his care, the members of his class became disorderly, "and the class was broken. This was a severe trial," not because his class-members ceased to continue in well doing, but because "I had derived high satisfaction from the connection, and from the fame which it had bestowed upon me." When eighteen or nineteen years old he preached his first sermon "without the least preparation," he says, "to a large concourse of serious and attentive hearers." This was followed by similar attempts. When poverty caused him to repent bitterly his life of dissipation in London, he declares, "my heart throbbed with anguish as I spontaneously exclaimed, Am I that pious youth so much and by so many admired? Am I the preacher who at so early a period preached to others, drawing tears from the eyes of those who heard me?" When reclaimed, he says, "The minister distinguished me." "My presence was now anxiously expected in the congregation and at the house of many individuals." "I now became, as far as I was known, an object of attention in every place where vital religion, as it was phrased, obtained its votaries." "I was characterized as a pattern of piety, and my experiences were greedily sought by individuals of various denominations." Afterward, having united with Mr. Whitefield's society, "So high an opinion," he says, "was entertained of my talents, having myself been a teacher among the Methodists, and such was my standing in Mr. Whitefield's Church, that I was deemed adequate" to reclaim wanderers from the faith. He describes his first visit to New York city as a religious ovation. "I frequently preached, and to crowded houses," and "was gratified by the marked attention of many characters." When he repeated his visit he was exceedingly popular; "my reception surpassed my expectations, and even my wishes." Money sufficient to erect for him a church edifice was raised in a single day. He was invited to make New York city his home; his "friends multiplied very fast." Such is a specimen of the statements of Mr. Murray when, late in years, he wrote his life. If they had been gathered from the writings of his youth, or from the chapters written by the loving hand of his faithful and bereaved wife after his death, they might perhaps be ex-

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cusable; but they come with but little grace as the utterances of a professed and experienced teacher of the inspired "word," which declares, "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips."

Mr. Murray was a predestinarian, yet he was no Calvinist. Calvin taught that "all are not created in an equal condition; but to some eternal life, to others eternal damnation, is foreordained." Calvin, III, xxi, 5. Murray taught that all are foreordained to eternal life. "I had connected this doctrine of election with the doctrine of final reprobation, not considering that, although the first was indubitably a Scripture doctrine, the last was not found in, nor could be supported by, revelation." "The doctrine of election is questionless to be found in the pages of this evangelical writer, but reprobation is not a necessary consequence of election, nor does it appear in the writings of the Apostle to the Gentiles." He claimed to be a predestinarian. "Election and final perseverance were fundamentals in my creed, and were conceived by me as the doctrines of God." He believed that all his ways were decreed by the Almighty. When leaving Ireland for England he said, "I considered my situation as resembling that of the father of mankind when driven from the paradise, to which state of blessedness it was decreed he never was to return. I would have given the world, had it been at my disposal, to have reinstated myself in the situation and circumstances I had so inconsiderately relinquished, but this was impossible; and this conviction, how terrible." When he decided to read "Relly's Union," he said, "In full assurance that the elect were safe, and that although they took up any deadly thing it should not hurt them, I decided to read the 'Union.'" Murray's doctrine of predestination may be summed up in a few words: He believed that part of the human family were the elect of God, and that they were elected to enjoy his special favors on earth and his glory in heaven, and that all the rest of the human family, immediately after their eternal condemnation on the day of General Judgment, were preordained to be redeemed by Christ, and would share with him eternal blessedness.

The religious life of Mr. Murray, at least so far as taught by his autobiography, was superficial. He never experienced "a change of heart." He reasoned that "Christ in you the

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hope of glory" means that the Christian's hope is his confidence and affection for Christ, who is in glory. He never referred to such a thing as the witness of the Spirit, either as his own privilege or that of others. So superficial was his religious experience that although he says, "In fact I had experienced more of what is denominated the work of God upon the heart than many, I had almost said than any, of my seniors, my parents excepted;" that "John Wesley appointed me" class-leader, and afterward I was "a teacher among the Methodists;" yet his Methodist friends never permitted him to become a member of the Methodist Church. About this time, hearing others speak of their new birth, and well aware that he knew nothing similar in his own experience, he became unhappy, but instead of seeking comfort in prayer to God by Christ, and through the agency of the Holy Spirit, he committed the grave mistake referred to by St. Paul in 2 Cor. x, 12: "Measuring themselves by themselves and comparing themselves among themselves are not wise." "As it was next to impossible to ascertain the moment of my new birth I became seriously unhappy; but from this unhappiness I was rescued by reading accounts of holy and good men in similar circumstances. I now, therefore, lived a heaven upon earth, beloved, caressed, and admired." His religious influence over his friend Little was bad. "This dear youth was not, like me, habituated to religion." "We became gradually too fond of pleasures which could not bear examination," and "went into company where we were apt to forget ourselves; we were, for religious characters, too much off our guard." Yet "my close connection with my young friend, although very pleasant to my social propensities, subjected me, nevertheless, to some pain." Why? Because they were deadening their spirituality and bringing reproach upon the cause of Christ? No! but because his friend had the larger amount of money to spend at their convivial gatherings. When this friendship was broken by his friend's death, there was no looking to God for help by Murray in his bitter bereavement; no trying to cast his burdens on the great Burden-bearer; he gave himself to inconsolable grief. "Never before did I witness such sad and heart-affecting sorrow; a gloomy religion is always increased by scenes of melancholy, hence the horrors of my mind were beyond descrip-

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tion." Certainly Mr. Murray had not yet found the sweet peace that there is in believing, and, as he wrote these words late in life, it is a serious question whether he ever found that peace.

The same disease which had taken away his friend now fastened upon him, but he had no trust in God to sustain him. "I was, upon the first appearance of this mortal disease, exceedingly alarmed; but in a few hours it prostrated my reason." His father died soon after his recovery from this sickness, and again he became inconsolable, with no trust in God as the Father of the fatherless and the widow's God. The only rays of comfort which cheered him in that dark hour were, not the fruit of religious faith, the hope of meeting his father hereafter in a better world, and the confidence that God would help him in the discharge of his own increased duties, but that he might go where he pleased without the prying eye of his father to inspect his conduct, and in moralizing respecting the good character of his father. So little did he understand the true spirit of the Christian religion at that time that he tried to flog a younger brother into the acquirement of religion. "I took up the rod of correction, seriously chastising my brother for the purpose of restoring him to the narrow path from which he had wandered." When he was reclaimed from his life of dissipation in London, and commenced anew his religious life, he found comfort, not by the witness of the Spirit that his sins were pardoned, but in the sympathy of a "serious young man" who procured for him employment, by which his immediate temporal wants were supplied, and he was able to earn enough to pay his debts. As want of money had led him to repent of his sins, so the possession of money gave him religious peace. "I had very soon the felicity of knowing that I had no longer a creditor. This complete exoneration was followed by a newly revived and ecstatic hope of being again admitted to my father's house, from which I once feared I was eternally excluded." His former religious zeal and labors were now repeated. There was a Baptist society in London "in which I was most admired, and to which of course I was most attached." Here he met Miss Eliza Neal, who afterward became his wife. Their conversion to Universalism was the great epoch in the life of Mr. Murray, and demands our careful examination.

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Mr. Murray had been connected now with one society about four years. If he desired change, considering his precedents, we are not surprised. A young lady, a member of his own Church, he says, had become a Universalist, and he with a few others called upon her for the purpose of reclaiming her. Mr. Murray, in the conversation which followed, quoted the last sentence of Mark xvi, 16, "He that believeth not shall be damned." She asked the ungrammatical question, "Pray, sir, what is the unbeliever damned for not believing?" He replied, "He is damned for not believing." She asked, "What is that which he did not believe for which he was damned?" Mr. Murray either failed to see the adroit turn which she had given to her question, or as a predestinarian, being obliged to allow it, could only say, "Why, for not believing in Jesus Christ, to be sure." She said, "Do you mean to say that unbelievers are damned for not believing that there was such a person as Jesus Christ?" "No, I do not; a man may believe that there was such a person and yet be damned." "What, then, must he believe in order to avoid damnation?" "Why, he must believe that Jesus Christ is a complete Saviour." If Mr. Murray ever made this answer, it was either the result of his illogical and ill-trained mind, his want of a real change of heart, or because he was a predestinarian. Her next question was, "Well, suppose he were to believe that Jesus Christ was the complete Saviour of others, would this save him?" "No, he must believe that Jesus Christ is his complete Saviour; every individual must believe for himself that Jesus Christ is his complete Saviour." "Why, sir, is Jesus Christ the Saviour of any unbelievers?" "No, madam." "Why, then, should any unbeliever believe that Jesus Christ is his Saviour if he is not his Saviour?" "I say that he is not the Saviour of any one until he believes." "Then, if Jesus be not the Saviour of the unbeliever until he believes, the unbeliever is called upon to believe a lie. It appears to me, sir, that Jesus Christ is a complete Saviour of unbelievers, and that unbelievers are called upon to believe the truth, and that, believing, they are saved in their own apprehension, saved from all those dreadful fears which are consequent upon a state of conscious condemnation." Now had Mr. Murray been even an ordinary logician, without the influence of his superficial religious expe-

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rience and predestinarian theories, he would have answered, showing that the term "unbelievers" theologically refers to those persons who are without saving faith in Christ; that faith is of two kinds, *fides historica* and *fides salvifica*—historical and saving faith—and that her argument, by confounding historical with saving faith, was worthless. "Do you think that Jesus is your Saviour?" she continued. "I hope he is." "Were you always a believer?" "No, madam." "Then you were once an unbeliever; that is, you once believed that Jesus Christ was not your Saviour. Now, as you say he never was, nor ever will be, the Saviour of any unbeliever, he never can be your Saviour." "He never was till I believed." "Did he never die for you until you believed, sir?" "Here I was extremely embarrassed." Again, Mr. Murray and his disputant confounded historical with saving faith; had he ever known this saving faith he would not have made this mistake, and have been thus "embarrassed."

We have dwelt at length upon this conversation, because it represents in the clearest manner the real theology of Mr. Murray. It contains the central or basic point of his faith, written out carefully in words and sentences of his own framing many years after he left England, and when he had become the acknowledged "father of American Universalism."

The conversation itself is perhaps imaginary, and is introduced for the purpose of presenting his peculiar belief in the most striking form. Around it cluster all his arguments for the universal redemption of the human race by Christ. In commencing his autobiography he says, "I retrace as many of the incidents of early life as live in my memory." "Were my recollection perfect, my enjoyments would be reiterated." Concerning the young lady with whom he held the alleged conversation, he says, "She was a simple, weak, but, as we heretofore believed, meritorious female." Yet he puts into her mouth words which indicate not only great care and skill, but the exact line of reasoning which led him to embrace Universalism, and constantly reappears in his teachings and writings. "If Jesus be not the Saviour of the unbeliever until he believes, the unbeliever is called upon to believe a lie," was the strong tower from which, in after life, he sought to annihilate his theological opponents. It was the overwhelming argu-

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ment which led him to embrace Universalism. A copy of "Relly's Union" was obtained and read by Mr. and Mrs. Murray. He says, "We opened the Bible and began to read this book, looking into the Bible for the passages to which the writer referred . . . with tears and prayers." Mr. Relly quoted, in a garbled and twisted manner, 1 John v, 10–12: "This life is in his Son, and he that believeth not this record maketh God a liar;" from whence, inferred Mr. Relly, "it is plain that God hath given this eternal life in the Son to unbelievers as fully as to believers, else the unbeliever could not by his unbelief make God a liar. As neither Mr. nor Mrs. Murray noticed the manner in which Relly had confounded historical with saving faith, and as both were predestinarians, because of which they denied the knowledge of saving faith in human experience, both accepted Relly's conclusions, and embraced Universalism. Mr. Murray's objection to "Mason's Reply to Relly's Union" was based upon this same line of reasoning. It was his position in his discussion with Mr. H. on his first visit to Newport, as published both in Murray's "Life" and in Vol. I, letter fourth, of his "Letters and Sketches of Sermons." The same is true in his discussion with Rev. Mr. Snow, of Providence. His second wife, who wrote the history of his life from January, 1775, to his death, declares "he has frequently said he did not believe in universal salvation, . . . but he was a firm believer in universal redemption." "It is an established truth that every believer was once an unbeliever; every believer, then, was once damned, and it was only when he became a believer that he was saved." "But he was redeemed; the price was paid ere he was called into existence."

Mr. Murray taught that the believer would be rewarded at death, and that the unbeliever would be punished at death; and that on the day of general judgment the unbeliever would be condemned to eternal punishment, and then immediately redeemed by Christ to share eternal glory with him. "The believer is, in death, peculiarly happy; he is then made perfect in holiness, and doth immediately pass into glory." "The unbeliever dies in his sins, and where Christ is, where is fullness of joy, he cannot come; he leaves all of his happiness behind him. Death and the grave, darkness and hell, receive him; and when the trumpet destined to raise

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the dead shall be sounded, he will rise to the resurrection of damnation or condemnation; he will call upon the rocks and mountains to fall upon him, to hide him from the wrath of the Lamb." "For the Lord shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them who know not God, and who obey not the Gospel; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power." "But, blessed be God! another book shall then be opened—the book of life; and the face of the covering shall be taken from all people, and the vail from all nations, and every eye shall see, and every tongue confess, to Him that sitteth on the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever. And there shall be no more sorrow, nor crying, nor pain; all old things shall pass away, and all things shall become new."

Universalism did not give Mr. Murray real religious peace. About a year after he embraced it Mrs. Murray died, and the same want of trust in God which characterized him at the death of his friend Little, and at the death of his own father, was again manifested. "I often traveled George's Field, where many have met death at the point of the foot-pad's dagger, in mournful hope of meeting the same fate." When thrown into prison for debt, "I often prayed to Him with whom are the issues of life and death, that he would graciously vouchsafe to grant me my deliverance from a world where *I could neither serve God, my neighbor, nor myself.*" At that time he determined to commit suicide. When released from prison he determined to flee from the scenes in which his wife had figured. "I would infinitely have preferred entering the narrow house which is appointed for all living, but this I was not permitted to do; and I conceived that to quit England and to retire to America was the next thing to be desired." On the eve of his departure to America he refused even to write to his own mother, saying to her, "Do not, I entreat you, think of me as living. I go to bury myself in the wilds of America. No one shall ever hear from me, or of me." Such was the religious life of the man who, on his first arrival in America after a pleasant voyage, began to preach the doctrines of Universalism, and who is now called the "father of American Universalism."

Upon the success of his labors in this country the scope

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of our article does not permit us to touch. The results of his teachings are far from being enviable. His death-bed scene was what we might have expected. Mr. Murray married his second wife after he came to America. She was a firm believer in his doctrines, and wrote an enthusiastic eulogy of her husband during the last forty years of his life. Her loving heart and kind hand have recorded the closing scene. She says that on the nineteenth day of October, 1809, he was prostrated by paralysis, and for nearly six years was a "complete cripple;" "yet was his patience, so far as we have known, unexampled." During this period he experienced little or "no pain either of body or mind." He passed his days, seated in his "easy chair," surrounded by every comfort that love could suggest or wealth procure, cheered by the visits of "devoted adherents," and reading poetry, dramas, essays, histories, and the Bible. Mrs. Murray quotes many of her husband's words during this period, to prove that "not a single feature of the system he had so long advocated was changed, and that he triumphed in death;" yet she has not recorded a single statement respecting his sense of his own unworthiness as a sinner, or of his desire to see and be like Christ in a world of holiness, and of his faith in the Lord Jesus as *his* Saviour, except in those general terms which he applied to all men. The statements which are quoted are such as might be uttered by any self-complacent man who is tired of earth and desires to receive his *merited* reward in heaven. During the last three days of his life he was deranged, and on Sunday, September 3, 1815, "without a sigh or a struggle, or a single distortion of countenance, he expired."

His funeral, which occurred on the day following, was attended with every possible mark of respect. "The children of the society, distinguished by a badge of mourning, preceded the body; a long, solemn, well-ordered, and respectable procession followed the train of mourners; private carriages were added to those appointed by the society; the body was deposited upon stands in the aisle of the church; the pulpit and galleries were hung with black."

Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, preached the funeral discourse, and prayers were offered by Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Salem, and Rev. Edward Turner, of Gloucester.

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ART. VI. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1874. (Philadelphia.)—1. Scientists and Theologians —How they Disagree, and Why. 2. The Church Distinguished from the Kingdom. 3. Mission Work in London. 4. The Credibility of Christ's Discourses as Reported by John. 5. Abel Morgan, of Middletown. 6. Notes on John xvii. 7. John Stuart Mill and Christianity.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1874. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Presbytery, the Prelacy, and the Evangelist. 2. The Relations of the Patriarchal and Jewish World to the Messiah. 3. Favorites of Prejudice. 4. Bible Revision. 5. Forgiveness of Sin. 6. The Immortality of Plato and of Paul. 7. The Philosophy of Christianity.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of William Whiting, LL.D., with a List of his Publications. 2. Gleanings: The Rev. James Wetmore, or Whitmore; the Kimball Family. 3. Letters of Capt. Cornelius Higgins, of Connecticut, and Pay-Roll of his Men, 1776. 4. History of the U. S. Steamer Merrimack. 5. Voyage of Edward Brawnde in 1616 to Kennebec and Cape Cod; Letter of Capt. John Smith about 1606. 6. Greenland, N. H. Early Ministerial Records. 7. Gov. Spotswood's Letters relating to Virginia. 8. Officers of American Troops stationed near Boston, June, 1775. 9. Early History of Hollis, N. H. 10. Garrison Houses of York, Me. 11. Nantucket in the Revolution. 12. Early Bells of Massachusetts. 13. Commission of Jeremiah Halsey, 1775. 14. Prices of Staple Commodities in Massachusetts in 1745. 15. Transfer of Erin. 16. Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder at the Annual Meeting of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, Jan. 7, 1874. 17. Notes on Early American History. 18. Captain Francis Champernowne. 19. Heraldry. 20. Notes and Queries. 21. Necrology of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society. 22. Historical Societies and the r Proceedings.

SOUTHERN REVIEW. July, 1874. (St. Louis, Mo.)—1. The Race for Empire in Europe. 2. The Relation of the Church in Education. 3. English Home-Life. 4. Foreknowledge and Free Will. 5. Heroines of Old and New Romances Contrasted. 6. The Irish Peasantry. 7. The Southern Review and Infant Baptism. 8. Alexandria in the Fifth Century.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, July, 1874. (Gettysburg.)—1. Did the Apostles Expect the Second Coming of Christ in their own day? 2. Modern Reform. 3. Rev. Dr. Henry Newman Pohlman. 4. The Development and Direction of Lay Work. 5. Miracles, the Primary Evidence of Christianity. 6. The Value of Ecclesiastical History to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. 7. Mercersburg Theology: an Explanation.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1874. (Boston.)—1. What does the Bible Represent in the American Common School? 2. Psychology, Vital and Dynamic. 3. Functions of the Modern Pulpit. 4. The Grounds of Endless Punishment Considered. 5. Universalist Conventions and Creeds. 6. The Secret of Christianity.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1874. (Boston.)—1. The Hanlin Yuan. 2. The Platform of the New Party. 3. Darwinism and Language. 4. Julian Schmidt's History of the French Literature. 5. The Currency Debate of 1873–74.

The article on the New Party by Mr. Brooks Adams is ably written, with a fair mastery of our past political history, and many good suggestions. But it is written with all the airs of a would-be politician, who watches the game from the outside with the

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hope that by some turn of its fortunes he may come to the inside. As a whole, the non-political reader will not be very favorably impressed.

It is well for *the political profession* to know (for politics is a very distinctly marked profession) that there is an immense body of non-political thinkers and voters (and voters they ALL ought to be) who are no fixtures of any party, except as they hope to make that party true to God and their country. To that "Exempt Brigade," (such was the humorous title of our non-combatants in our late civil war,) outside of the fixed party stereotype-plate, who expect no favors from any party or party leader, we belong. In a large degree we are disfranchised. We generally are expected to take no direct share in the nominating of candidates. Our only alternatives are to vote, or bolt, or "scratch." Make what faces we please, we must swallow one of these three pills. Nevertheless, the "exempt brigade" is on the long run a very powerful force. Let it be, as it sometimes is, united in spontaneous sympathy, and parties have to give way. It is growing more and more powerful, as conscientious men (ministers included) feel more and more that IT IS A DUTY ALWAYS TO VOTE. That single feeling universally established is a great safety for the country. Vote, dear brother, if only for example's sake, and even if you vote a blank ticket.

We do not believe in sanctimonious railing at "the politicians," or in holy saws such as "the politicians are dishonest of course." Such indiscriminate language is unjust and demoralizing. *Unjust*, for there are many good and true men, honorable patriots, and liberal statesmen, both in the past history and in our own day; *demoralizing*, because such sweeping utterances discourage all true men, and tend to render our politics the degraded business which this talk assumes it to be. For what is "politics?" It is the business and science of government; one of the most solemn and important businesses in which a patriot or Christian can engage. The unhappy position that "religion has nothing to do with politics" is infidelity. Religion has much, very much, to do with politics as with every relation in life. You cannot take a great public sin, embodied in a statute law, or platformed into a party programme, label it "politics," and then hold the churchman or

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the Church unbound to denounce and abate it. And while politics is thus an honorable and sacred business, there are also men not a few whose character and conduct ought to make the word "politician" honorable.

But how stands our "exempt brigade" in view of the present situation; in view, that is, of the Republican, the Democratic, and the mythical "new party?" Assuming that we have a sort of sympathy with the "brigade," that enables us to tell, we will hereby expound a little.

1. It was the non-political, moral, and intelligent "brigade" that compelled the Republican party into existence. It long bore with the existence and aggression of slavery, with its oligarchy, its chains and whips, its fugitive slave laws and negro hunters, its laws against schools and emancipation, its nullification of marriage and concubinage, its fillibuster upon Cuba and Mexico and its menaces in Kansas, its lynch law and readiness to murder any antislavery man that ventured into its section. How long it would have borne there is no knowing. But it did become at last heartily disgusted and sickened to see the old Democratic and Whig parties emulating each other, and trying to show which could crawl on its belly most servilely under the rod of the Southern "black oligarchy." It then compelled the Republican party to come into existence. Weak at first, and defeated, that party might have been defeated to this day had the Southern leaders shown moderation and firmness without aggression. But after a series of turbulences they fired the gun of Sumter, and their doom was sealed. The Republican party was identified with the national existence and its triumph was certain.

2. Has the Republican party fulfilled our expectations? Its catalogue of noble deeds and difficult achievements are not excelled in the political history of any age or country. To have destroyed slavery, saved the Union, enfranchised all our manhood, repudiated repudiation, reduced our national debt, exacted reparation from England, and placed us on our present proud prominence among the nations of the earth, form a splendor of history on which posterity will look with grateful wonder. But has not the Republican party fulfilled its mission? Why not ask the same question about the Democratic party? That party still claims existence, and we think so long

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as it does exist, the Republican or some other party has a mission to keep it out of power.

3. The "brigade" has, indeed, some serious objections to a number of points in the late history of the Republican party. There is in its heart a deep feeling that the *Civil Service Reform* has been evaded from low political motives. The present mode of placing men in office, not in view of their fitness, but as a compensation of partisan services, lies at the bottom of the main mass of our political corruption. It degrades our whole political system, and constitutes the worst aliment for the existence of a separate political profession. Extended to the government of our great cities, it forms the main inducement for the dregs and drunken depravity of our city slums to be the most energetic political element we have. Nor does the Republican party, as impersonated in Gen. Grant, show as lofty a sense of purity and honor as history attributes to a Washington or a John Quincy Adams. In his dealings with the Southern States, although Gen. Grant is now charged with complicity with Southern leaders to secure a third term, yet we think he has neglected large opportunity of uniting the hearts of North and South possessed by no other man. He is the most itinerant President we ever had, but his itinerations are mostly jaunts of personal health and pleasure. Why during the past two years has he never, as President, visited the South, conversed with her leading men, learned for himself the true interests of the South, and disclosed himself to the hearts of the Southern people as the true beneficent President of the entire nation? It has been perfectly in his power to see Louisiana and South Carolina for himself, to know the right, and to dare do right with these sections, rather than overrule them by unjustifiable political expedients. Over the whole of these two subjects, the want of a heroic purity in political appointments, and of rectitude of dealing with certain sections, the "exempt" looks with serious misgivings.

4. We have no objections to a presidential third term or fourth term, or for continued re-elections during life, if the national judgment so choose. Leading politicians, indeed, insist on this limitation to secure for themselves some opening to the White House; but the people have no such interest in its retention. We do not much respect the notion of exalting a

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mere accident in our history, like the two-term limitation, into Constitution. Both Washington and Jefferson would probably have been elected a third term had they consented. Nor do we see any reason for not re-electing a man in the fact that he has twice shown himself a good President. Most people in most cases would infer that the having once or twice successfully tried is good reason for trying again. A selfish President, once elected for six or seven years, with no second term to hope, and nothing but impeachment to fear, could send us down a returnless path to ruin. Four years, with a possibility of re-election, is the happiest possible arrangement. Nor do we see any common sense for fabricating arbitrary rules to govern us in future cases which demand in each instance the exercise of special judgment. The nation should be left unhampered to its own discretion at each particular election to choose the man of its then choice. Hence, every time that the one-term principle has been proposed it has been dropped, as rejected by the national common sense. Rightly the nation prefers to retain unfettered, at any time, the right to choose the man it pleases. Whether our present President should fill a third term is more than we care to decide.

The writer of a book on the two great Methodisms, himself a bishop of the Church South, affirms that ministers are always the very worst politicians in the world. Worse, that is, than Tweed, than Oakes Ames, than Aaron Burr! Why should a holy bishop thus calumniate his own sacred profession? We have known many ministers who were members of Congress, but cannot now recollect one whose name is disgraced by any great political corruption. Shame on this episcopal slanderer! We have known many a minister whose knowledge of political affairs was great, and whose virtues would have adorned the highest positions in the people's gift, if they had descended to obtain them.

This gabble about ministers being ignorant or bad politicians, is about as goosey as that other gabble about ministers' sons being worse than other folks' sons. The simple fact is, that if one minister's son is found to commit a great crime in half a century, it is blazoned, recorded, and quoted for the next half century. Nobody vociferates that such a young man was sent to the State prison—"and a baker's son, too!"

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"Bakers' sons are the worst in the world!" We have known ministers who have been hung, but never a minister's son. We have known two doctors' sons sent to the State prison from a single small city within the space of a year or two, but do not recollect ever to have heard of a minister's son sent to the State prison. What an outcry would have been raised if the two young men above-mentioned had been, "O horrible! ministers' sons, too!" We believe that a census would show that the great body of ministers' sons do honor to their parentage, just as we believe that the great body of ministers who have been elected to office have not disgraced their cloth either by ignorance or dishonesty.

5. We, the "brigade," have no votes for northern traitors. The northern man who aided treason in our trying crisis we cheerfully and forcibly vote into retirement for life, recommending to him gratitude that he suffers no worse penalty. It is no use for THE NATION to ridicule Senator Morton's "usual bounce about the treason and folly of the Democratic party." Therein Mr. Morton's "bounce" is unquestionably our "bounce." The "brigade" has not so soon forgotten the days of treason, and when such language in THE NATION, or any other northern paper, meets our eye, it touches and quickens our venous circulation. If THE NATION has no better medicine for our ills than voting for traitors it must swallow its own boluses. Bring before us traitors for our votes, and we shall, if possible, "bounce" them into private life; quite willing that it should be the private life of the "statesman" of Blackwell's Island. Nor is it of any use for our unwise NATION to quote the concession we have made to southern men, in Congress and elsewhere, as proof that northern traitors are to be honored with office and endowment. We would a thousand times rather vote for a Jefferson Davis than for a Franklin Pierce. We should immensely prefer to honor Robert S. Toombs than Fernando Wood. Whenever they trot up their "new party," Messrs. NATION and ADAMS should make the northern traitor element just as infinitesimal and as invisible as possible. We shall gag and make a very bad fuss in swallowing the smallest homeopathic pellet thereof. And we suspect that puts an end to their pharmacy.

6. We believe also that the great body of the "brigade"

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heartily says what Gerrit Smith said at the last Presidential election, "I dread the Democratic party." We are indeed dissatisfied with the general aspects of corruption in the Republican party; but when turning to purify ourselves with the Democratic masses—bah! it is cleaning our hands by washing in a cess-pool. That party embraces nine tenths of all the depravity the country contains. The rum-sellers, the whisky-salooners, the Irishers, the papistrie, the mob material, are all embodied in its masses. When Mr. Greeley found himself fairly amalgamated with that mass of faction and putrefaction, which he knew so well and had described so often and so truly, it is creditable to him that it first crazed and then killed him. We fear the same fate for both ourselves and our country by treading in his tracks.

As the case stands, there appears no safety in the immediate future but for the persistent unity and existence of the party that destroyed slavery and restored the Union.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, July, 1874. (Andover, Mass.) 1. Exegesis of Acts xxvi, 28, 29. 2. The Unity of Our Lord's Discourses. 3. The Natural Foundations of Theology. 4. Richard Rothe's Ministry in Rome. 5. The Use of לֹא with Negative Particles. 6. Edmund Burke. 7. A June Day in Jerusalem. 8. Baptism of Infants, and their Church-membership.—Modern Views.

We insert the following extracts from an article of ours in the Bibliotheca Sacra, twelve years ago, on the Doctrines of Methodism, for reasons given on page 663 :—

IMMUTABILITY OF THE LAW.

The law, as given to Adam, requiring pure and perfect holiness, has never been withdrawn from the race, and can never be changed. It is its perfectness and immutability which necessitate the atonement and the redemption. Through our whole human history, its pure ideal stands to reveal to us, by our distance beneath its level, the depth of our fall. Whether our sin be responsible or not, it is by the law that we measure its amount. By it, too, we measure the elevation through which we must pass by the redemption to our final restorement in the glorification. Yet inasmuch as we have, by our own voluntary sinfulness, ratified our original sin, and taken upon ourselves the control and the guilt of our sinful nature, so the law furnishes us the measure of our voluntary ruin. And for the finally impenitent, inasmuch as they had the

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means to the full restorement in the glorification, the law furnishes the just amount of their final condemnation. The law is indeed holy, just, and good; yet for the finally guilty, by the law is the knowledge of sin and the experience of hell. By the deeds of that law can no flesh hope to be justified. In the presence of that law can no human merit stand. Under the Christless infliction of its penalty must all flesh die. For one and for all the only hope of salvation is by the way of faith alone, in the abounding atonement of the dying Son of God.

ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION, OR CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

At our justification we are held by God as absolved from all past sin, and treated as if perfectly pure from the guilt of sin. The law, though not abolished, and though it still remains the standard of our condemnation, apart from Christ, is *not the standard of our acceptance through Christ.* When, then, we are accepted by the law of faith, do we also receive from Christ the power to retain that undiminished acceptance without our complete fulfillment of the pure Adamic law?

Experience shows, at any rate, that few, if any, do, from the moment of their justification, retain the fullness of that first acceptance. Though regenerate, and breathing holy aspirations after holiness empowered within them by the blessed Spirit, such is still the inexperience and ignorance of the ways of Satan, such is the natural bent of former habit, and such the unsteadiness of the will, that most, if not all, do grieve the Holy Spirit, and come under condemnation; not, indeed, the condemnation of the entire unbeliever, but the condemnation of an offending child. Such a condemnation, the result of spiritual weakness, endangers apostasy; and the warning of God then is, "Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain and are ready to die, for I have not found thy works *perfect* before God." Rev. iii, 2. If now, through the Holy Spirit granted under the atonement, the soul of the earnest Christian be so spiritually enlightened and strengthened, that it may return by repentance to the gracious guiltlessness of its first justification, and be enabled to retain the fullness of the divine acceptance, his "works" may be found "*perfect* before

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God"—perfect, not according to the Adamic Law, but *perfect* by the standard of his ever justifying acceptance, the law of faith. Our views may, perhaps, appear then in the following formula:—

Through a maturity of Christian experience and the fullness of the Spirit imparted, the spiritual powers of the faithful Christian may be so strengthened that he may, and often does, maintain, through grace, for a longer or shorter period, a permanent state of the undiminished fullness of his acceptance with God, and under no more actual condemnation than at the moment of his justification.

Every thing which has attained the normal completeness of its own class or kind is rightly called *perfect.* Not after an ideal, but a normal standard: we speak of a *perfect egg*, a *perfect chicken*, a *perfect full-grown fowl.* There may be a perfect child or a perfect man. And every thing which is wanting in none of the normal complement of qualities, in normal degree, is *perfect* in its class. Now the Christian who has attained to the description of our formula, is at the normal standard of a *perfect* man in Christ. We use an abundantly scriptural term in calling this a state of Christian *perfection.* It is a state in which all the normal qualities of the Christian are permanently, or with more or less continuity, possessed in the proper completeness. And as this spiritual strength and power over and against sin, derived from the Holy Spirit, is *sanctification*, so in the completeness which we have described, it is not improperly, perhaps, by us called entire sanctification.

Of this state of sanctification, *the actual Divine acceptance in its uncondemning fullness* is, according to our present statement, the actual standard. With how much short-coming from the perfect law this is in any case possible, the Spirit is itself in every case judge. It may, therefore, not be possible to answer this question by antecedent words, especially to a metaphysician, demanding absolute exactness; and in this fact, perhaps, consists the basis of the complaint often made by theologians, that they cannot understand the thing we attempt to describe.

The evangelic law requires love with all our present feeble powers to God, and to our neighbor as ourselves. As we are

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unable to love God with full Adamic powers, the perfect law even then condemns us. Moral weaknesses contracted by past sinful habits, moral ignorances resulting from our own past fault, prejudices of which we are more or less unconscious, nervous irritabilities and physical idiosyncrasies, may produce condemnation from censorious man, where there is still acceptance from Him who "knoweth our frame." So far as the will is concerned, Mr. Wesley excluded from the sanctified state all "voluntary transgressions;" but it is questionable whether under the term "involuntary" he did not really include countless numbers of minuter *volitions*, inevitably escaping from our moral weakness, in spite of our most vigorous tone of spiritual purpose and spiritual activity. With how much of all these "infirmities" the uninterrupted fullness of the Divine approbation can consist, it is, as we before remarked, impossible in human words exactly to define, even if we could exactly conceive. Thus much, at any rate, is fully certain, that Leighton correctly describes it as an "imperfect perfection." Ample work, doubtless, is found from these short-comings for a permanent exercise of the most *perfect* repentance, as well as the most perfect faith in the blood of Christ. Ample reason will be found for praying, "Forgive us our trespasses." Ample verge there is for all those texts of Scripture which affirm that there is none that "sinneth not;" that is, in the wider sense of the word "sin." Nor is there any difficulty in understanding how the most exalted of our Christian saints in the light of the pure and perfect law, looking at themselves with the eye of a sanctified conscience, can scarce find words sufficient to express their deep humiliation, not only for the depths of the fall of their own nature, but for their own short-comings and for their sins against infinite purity.

But the law is our schoolmaster to drive us to Christ. And yet when in Christ, it is not our duty to keep our shuddering eyes perpetually fixed upon the *schoolmaster*. Greater spiritual power, as well as higher spiritual joy, can be derived from dwelling in Christ, and holding up before ourselves the measure of Christian holiness we can attain through him. A goal is thus set up for our holy ambition; a positive standard for which we may labor. Thence a more cheerful piety arises in him who contemplates what he may gain through Christ, than

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in him who is ever trembling under the lash of the law, and who is ever exclaiming, "I am all sin, and nothing but sin!" Hence, as the doctrine of apostasy constitutes a real warning against backsliding and sin, so the doctrine of Christian perfection is a living incitement to progressive holiness.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1874. (New York.)—1. Assyrian Monuments and the Bible. 2. The Abduction of Avedick. 3. On the Approaches to the English Language. 4. Rhetorical Analysis and Synthesis. 5. The Anointment of Jesus by Mary of Bethany. 6. Swing's Sermons.

The Article on Vertebrated Animals deduces the history of Morphology, or, the Science of Comparative Animal Forms, from the first essay, "Theoria Generationis," by Wolff, in 1759. The science was feeble and wavering, so long as it confined itself to the comparison of adult forms. It was the study of embryology that opened the career of a valid and triumphant progress. It was the Croonian Lecture of Huxley, delivered in 1858, that first unfolded to clear view the scientific vista; and the physicists of the world are now enthusiastically prosecuting the route to a sure knowledge of the great system of animal nature. The article discusses two of the three great divisions of vertebrate animals; the discussion of Mammalia is reserved for another article. So far, the writer appears to favor the doctrine of genetic evolution. How far he applies the doctrine to man will appear in his coming discussion. It looks like a proof of the progress of Darwinism, that such an article appears in the Wesleyan Quarterly.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July 1, 1874. (London.)—1. The Depths of the Sea. 2. David Friedrich Strauss. 3. Lord Ellenborough's Indian Administration. 4. Science, Philosophy, and Religion. 5. The Primæval Archæology of Rome. 6. Far Russia. 7. The Tory Administration and its Whig Admirers. 8. Finger Rings.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1874. (London.)—1. The French Reformed Church. 2. Dante and his Circle. 3. Home Rule for Ireland. 4. Cambrian Literature. 5. Vertebrated Animals. 6. Dr. Dixon. 7. George Grote. 8. Godet on the Person of Christ.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1874. (London.)—1. The Place of Theology in the Work and Growth of the Church. 2. The Synagogue and the Church. No. II. 3. Dr. Charles Hodge and the Princeton School. 4. Recent Roman Catholic Literature in France. 5. The Revival in Scotland. 6. Etruscan Researches. 7. The Reformed Church in the Netherlands. *Reprinted Article.*—Galilee in the Time of Christ.

The Article on Dr. Hodge is written with a fine enthusiasm and ability. It gives the following views of the doctrinal

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reunion of the Old and New School Presbyterian Churches in America:

"Though they [the Princeton divines] have at last acquiesced in reunion, this, they themselves remind us in their preface to the Index volume, was not until they had got a public declaration which warranted them in believing that the (once) *New School Presbyterians are now really and fully at one with the Old School in holding the complete* Calvinism of the Westminster Confession. This conviction must be very grateful to them; for, being of this conviction, they must regard the reunion as *a new triumph*, most honorable to both parties, of that doctrinal system from which the New School at one time had seriously deviated, and for which Princeton and the Old School have all along persistently and powerfully contended."—P. 465.

We are uncertain whether Andover and Yale would confess so complete a surrender to Princeton. Our impression is that the dissent was never wider than now.

The following contrast is piquant: "The two families of the Alexanders and Hodges have, within the last two generations, been the leading agencies, under God, in giving to the great empire of New America a theological back-bone. As an illustration of contrast, we need only refer to the family of the Beechers, male and female. Notwithstanding their great intellectual power, and social and political enthusiasm, and warm religious feeling, it would be severe irony to say of this family that they have materially contributed toward the formation of a theological back-bone for the American States."—P. 459.

The fancy of a Presbyterian predominance in America is once or twice rather strongly expressed: "With all the due affectionate regard to American Baptists, Methodists, and other non-Presbyterian denominations, we cannot conceal our conviction that Presbyterianism, with its admirable combination of flexibility with strength, is the only system of Church government likely to take permanent possession for Christ of what may prove to be the most powerful empire in Christendom." "The two [Alexander and Hodge] between them have been the leading power in eliciting a school of Christian thought which, more and more manifestly, is destined to be the dominant thought of Christian America."

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It may do to *say* that in Scotland. But while Methodism builds three churches to Presbyterianism's one, American arithmetic is hardly able to cipher the period when the latter will become "the dominant thought in America." We have had reason to show, in our notes on Dr. Aikman, that Calvinistic thought is not as dominant as it was fifty years ago. It has waned, is waning, and will wane.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Third Number. 1874. — *Essays:* 1. KLEINERT, (Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin,) The Theory of Sacrifice Historically Developed. 2. HOLLENBERG, (Professor at the Joachimthal Gymnasium of Berlin,) The Deuteronomical Portions of the Book of Joshua. 3. GOEBEL, (Deacon at St. Peter's Church, Posen,) Commentary to the Parables, Luke xv and xvi, (First Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. LINDER, (Pastor at Reigoldswill, in the Canton of Baselland, Switzerland,) Exegetical Remarks on several Passages of the Gospels, John viii, 25; xx, 17; Mark xiv, 72. 2. HEER, (Pastor at Erlenbach, near Zurich,) The Difficulties in the Accounts of the Barren Fig-tree, Mark xi and Matthew xxi. *Reviews:* 1. WEISS, The Gospel of Mark and its Synoptic Parallels, reviewed by Sevin, (Lecturer on Theology at the University of Heidelberg.) 2. GEBHARDT, The Doctrinal System of the Revelation, and its Relation to the Doctrinal System of the Gospel and the Epistles of John, reviewed by WEISS.

The authorship of the book of Joshua has always been a disputed question in the Christian Church. The traditional view of the Jews, that it is the work of Joshua himself, has been embraced by several Christian writers, and, among others in recent times, by König, (Alttestamentliche Studien, first number, Meurs, 1836,) and, as respects the first half of the book, by Havernick, one of the prominent representatives of the orthodox Lutheran school of Germany. The majority of exegetical writers are, however, of opinion that the book in its present shape was written by some later author. Phinehas has been conjectured by Lightfoot, Eleazar by Calvin, Samuel by Van Til, Jeremiah by Henry, one of the elders who survived Joshua by Keil. Von Lengerke thinks it was written by some one in the time of Josiah; Davidson, by some one in the time of Saul, or somewhat later; Masius, Le Clerc, and others, by some one who lived after the Babylonian captivity Since De Wette (in the sixth edition to his Introduction) it has become general among the German critics to infer, from resemblances between the language and forms of expression used by the author of the book of Joshua and those found in Deuteronomy, that

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both biblical books must be ascribed, in part at least, to the same writer. Thus, among others, Ewald, (in his History of the People of Israel, vol. ii,) Bleek, (in his Introduction,) Knöbel, (in his Commentary,) Schrader, (in the new edition of De Wette's Introduction,) and Nöldeke, (Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testamentes,) have extended their peculiar views on the composition of the Pentateuch, and especially of Deuteronomy to the book of Joshua, and it is now common to speak of a Hexateuch instead of Pentateuch. Prof. Hollenberg, the author of the above article in the Studien, believes that the composition of Deuteronomy in its present shape, under Hiskia, may be looked upon as a settled result of modern biblical researches; that the *redacteur* of Deuteronomy regarding the larger portion of this book, namely, Deuteronomy v to xxviii, as the work of Moses, wrote chapters i to iv, and chapters xxix to xxx, in order to establish the proper connection of the Mosaic book with the Pentateuch. This same *redacteur* of Deuteronomy, Hollenberg then attempts to show, revised the original book of Joshua, and made such additions to it as were deemed necessary by him to establish a closer connection with the Pentateuch.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) Third Number. 1874.—1. BADDENSIEG, (Professor at the Gymnasium of Hildesheim,) Biographical Essay on Wiclif. 2. Dr. KOLDE, Chancellor Brück and his Influence on the Development of the Reformation. 3. Letter of an Eye-Witness on the Disputation of Leipsic in 1519. 4. BINDEWALD, Biographical Sketch of Hartmann Braun, Pastor of Grünberg in Hesse.

The most prominent among the English writers of Wiclif, Prof. W. W. Shirley, of Oxford, complains in the biographical introduction to his edition of the "Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wiclif cum Tritico," (in the collective work "Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores," published at the expense of the State by the Master of the Rolls, London, 1858,) that England has been most ungrateful to the memory of one of her greatest sons. Since then a friend of Dr. Shirley, Thomas Arnold, has begun the publication of the English works of Wiclif, (Select English Works of John de Wiclif, 3 vols. London. 1867 to 1871,) and it has been announced that the publication of all other genuine writings of Wiclif, English as well as Latin, may be shortly expected. In the meanwhile a German professor of Leipzig, Dr. Lechler, has begun

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to supply a great want in the literature of England, by the publication of a new comprehensive and exhaustive biography of the great English forerunner of the Reformation, (Johann von Wiclif, vol. i. Leip., 1873,) which is based on a careful perusal, not only of the entire literature concerning Wiclif, but also of the Latin manuscripts of the reformer in the libraries of Vienna and Prague. Previously to the publication of this work, Dr. Baddensieg had carefully searched the London and Oxford libraries for new material concerning Wiclif, and now he begins in the German Journal for Historical Theology a series of articles. He generally agrees with the views of Dr. Lechler, though with regard to some points he holds different views. As regards the correct spelling of the name, the author agrees with Lechler in believing Wiclif (not Wyclif or Wycliffe) to have been the original form. In this first article he treats of Wiclif as boy, student, and fellow, and discusses a number of disputed points, chiefly chronological.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) June, 1874.—1. STAFFER, Religious Science in Germany. 2. LELIEVRE, Bunyan and his Work. 3. BONZON. History of Pestalozzi, of his Thought and his Work. 4. DOUMERGUE, The Baccalaureate in Germany and in France.

July.—1. SABATIER, The Philosophy of Liberty. by Secrétan. 2. BONIFAS, Roman History in the Tragedies of Corneille. 3. STAFFER, Religious Science in Germany. 4. ROLLER, New Studies on the Catacombs.

In the article on Religious Science in Germany, the author presents a brief *résumé* of one of the ablest productions of the recent Protestant literature of France, the work by Professor Lichtenberger entitled, "History of the Religious Ideas in Germany, from the Middle of the Eighteenth Century to our day," ("*Histoire des Idées Religieuses en Allemagne, depuis le milieu du dix-huitieme Siècle jusqu' à nos jours.*" Paris, 1873.) Professor Lichtenberger formerly was a teacher in the Theological Faculty of Strasburg, and after the incorporation of Alsace with Germany removed to Paris, where he now gives theological lectures at the new *Ecole Libre des Sciences Religieuses*, conjointly with E. de Pressensé, Matter, Bersier and Sabatier, and other Protestant divines. Like many Protestant theologians of Alsace, Lichtenberger is thoroughly familiar with the

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theological literature of Germany, and his work, which will undoubtedly be translated into English, is generally looked upon as one of the best on the subject. From the article of Professor Staffer, reviewing this work, we condense a brief account of the principal schools of Protestant theology, existing at present in Germany.

The first of the three great schools which may be distinguished among the Protestant theologians of Germany consists of the orthodox or rigid Lutherans, who endeavor to revive the old doctrines of Luther. They claim to represent Lutheran orthodoxy, but still are very far from professing Lutheranism in all its former purity. It is astonishing to see how even orthodoxy is transformed by its contact with the modern spirit. The strong and absolute convictions of the seventeenth century have partly disappeared; they have every-where been reduced and diminished. The theological pre-dispositions gradually yield to ecclesiastical pre-dispositions. It is a grave symptom that less is thought of ideas than of formulas; the form is regarded as of greater importance than the essence. The German Lutherans lay greater stress on the Church creed, and even on the political creed, than on the religious Creed. If one is an enemy of parliamentary rule and of democracy, and outspoken in the profession of his devotion to the old Lutheran confessions, he is allowed a great deal of liberty on all other points. The important point is to defend the throne and the altar, and the throne to be defended is that of the Emperor of Germany. Hengstenberg was the most prominent chief of these Lutherans. In his religious views he has been outdone by Vilmar, who wished to add to the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, those of Confession, of Confirmation, and of Ordination. He also demands the restoration of the Mass. These are the *enfants terribles* of the party. All the theologians of this party are convinced that baptism confers faith, and that the pastor is a true priest, a mediator between God and man.

Their two principal theological schools are at Erlangen, Bavaria, and at Leipsic. It is remarkable that the best professors of these schools are the most moderate men of the party. Hoffmann, who is professor of theology at Erlangen, belongs to this number. He is the glory of this university, and his teach-

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ing is as brilliant as it is solid. Hoffmann has peculiar ideas on Redemption. He combats the doctrine of the so-called "juridical satisfaction," which, however, was that of Luther. At Leipsic we find another professor who is far from being a strict Lutheran, although he is often counted among them, Dr. Kahnis. In truth, it is difficult to see why he and Hoffmann are counted among the strict Lutherans. He is accused of heresy by his whole party, and would do better to separate openly from it. Tischendorf, who is also a professor of theology at Leipsic, is well known abroad by his editions of the New Testament, and because he has had the good fortune to discover a magnificent manuscript of the Bible. Dr. Delitzsch, the professor of Hebrew, is a distinguished Orientalist, and well known for his biblical commentaries.

The second of the great theological parties is the Liberal Evangelical. It controls the majority of all the chairs of the Protestant faculties, especially at Tübingen, Halle, Berlin, Göttingen, and Bonn. The theologians of this party desire to reconcile science and faith. They claim to remain believers in the Christian revelation, while they reserve for themselves the rights of an independent criticism. The theologians of this school are not popular among the people, and they have but little influence upon the masses. One of the foremost representatives of this school was the late Richard Rothe. Few possessed, like Rothe, the gift of attracting the students and of influencing them. He was possessed of the most humble and childlike piety, but at the same time of a boldness of thought that was alarming. A speculative mind of the first order, he undertook to reform the Christian theology to its foundation, and he created a system entirely original. The great work of his life, his Christian Ethics, is not only a treatise on ethics, but also on Christian doctrines, as the two, in his view, cannot be separated, neither in science nor in life. After the death of Rothe, which occurred in 1867, Beck in Tübingen, and Tholuck in Halle, are, among the theologians of this party, those who exercise the greatest influence upon the students. They have year for year audiences ranging from one hundred to one hundred and fifty students, and it is partly owing to their personal influence that the faculties of Tübingen and Halle, both of which were formerly rationalistic, are now under the

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evangelical party. One of the foremost professors at the Theological faculty is Professor Dorner, the author of the well-known work on the Person of Christ. He is charged, however, by Lichtenberger with holding, with regard to the divinity of Christ and the Trinity, views which are more ingenious than orthodox.

Among the professors of Göttingen we find Dr. Gess, who first advanced concerning the person of Christ a peculiar theory, generally designated as the κενωσις, according to which, Jesus of Nazareth, the eternal Son of God, the Word, laid aside his divinity and became exclusively man in the fullest sense of the word. This theory has become very popular among the theologians of this party, which thus believes to reconcile more satisfactorily than was done by former theories, the faith in the pre-existence of Christ with the assertion of his perfect humanity. Among the professors of Bonn, the one who is best known abroad is Professor J. P. Lange, the author of the well-known commentary.

The third great theological party in Germany is the radical. It was formerly much more numerous than at present, when it only retains control of the Universities of Heidelberg and Jena. The most prominent of the Heidelberg theologians at present is Dr. Schenkel, known by a Life of Christ and by his Bible Lexicon, the most important work of this party, which, however, contains also contributions from a number of scholars who belong rather to the Evangelical Liberals than the radicals. It may in general be remarked that the party lines between the moderate section of the radicals and the advanced section of the Evangelical Liberals is not clearly drawn, as Rothe, for instance, is claimed by both parties. Another professor of Heidelberg, Holtzmann, is esteemed by theologians of all schools as one of the most sober and keenest writers on the primitive history of Christianity. He has recently received and accepted a call to the University of Strasburg. Among the professors of Jena, Hase and Hilgenfeld are best known. The former is the author of a famous manual of Church history, which is especially distinguished for its objective impartiality, and has been translated into several foreign languages.

Among the three theological faculties of German Switzer-

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land, Zurich is almost wholly under the influence of the radical party. Some of its professors, like Volkmar and Biedermann, are among the most radical of German theologians, going even further in their negative views than Dr. Strauss and the old Tübingen school. Less radical, and highly esteemed by other schools for his immense learning, is Dr. Keim, the author of a "Life of Jesus of Nazara," the largest among the recent works on the subject.

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The meeting of the first Synod of the Old Catholic Church, which was held at Bonn on May 27 and the following days, completes the organization of this Church in Germany. It was attended by twenty-eight priests, and about sixty chosen lay representatives of the congregations. With the exception of Professor Döllinger, nearly all the prominent men of the Church were present. Among those who attended for the first time an old Catholic meeting was Baron Von Richthofen, formerly a canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Breslau. The congregations which were represented by chosen lay delegates are found in all the provinces of Prussia, in Bavaria, in Baden, in Hesse, and in Oldenburg. The only one among the larger countries of Germany, in which there are as yet no Old Catholic congregations, is the kingdom of Wurtemberg, where the moderation of Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, has thus far prevailed upon the opponents of the Vatican Council to delay their open secession from the Church. The opening speech of the bishop, Dr. Reinkens, was received with warm applause. Professor Reusch, of Bonn, was appointed by the bishop Vice-President of the Synod, and one priest and two lay delegates were elected Secretaries. Professor Von Schulte, the President of the Old Catholic Congresses, read an extensive report on the present condition of the Old Catholic movement. In the name of the "Synodal Representation," (Standing Committee,) Professor Reusch explained the general principles of Church reform which should be followed, and presented some theses which were discussed at length, and adopted with a few insignificant modifications.

The first important subject relating to the doctrines of the denomination was that of auricular confession. The report of the committee, which proposed that the practice of private confession be retained, but that it be brought back to the correct principles of the ancient Christian Church, and be freed from the manifest Roman corruptions, was substantially agreed to. Similar reforms were resolved upon with regard to the Catholic practices of fasting and abstinence. Important changes

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were also made in the laws concerning marriage; and the prohibition of marriages between Catholics and Protestants, in cases where the Protestant party refuses to consent to the education of all the children in the Catholic religion, was abolished. The reports given by the several delegates fully agreed that the Old Catholic movement continues to spread and consolidate itself in all parts of Germany. One of the friends of Dr. Döllinger, Professor Friedrich, of Munich, was authorized by Döllinger to declare that he was in full harmony with the Synod and with the proposed reforms, and that his failure to attend was only due to his high age and to the pressure of business. The members of the Synodal representation were all re-elected for the next year, with the exception of Professor Reusch, of Bonn, whom the bishop had appointed his Vicar General. Six Synodal Examiners were elected, four of whom are priests, Professors Reusch, Knoodt, and Langen, of the University of Bonn, and Rev. Mr. Tangermann, of Cologne; and two laymen, Professor Schulte, of Bonn, and Dr. Rottels, a member of the Court of Appeal of Cologne. It was also resolved to continue the negotiations with other Churches for the establishing of inter-communion. Committees were appointed for preparing a new ritual, a catechism, and a biblical history. A number of questions were postponed to the next year; among them was that of priestly celibacy. The congregations of Mannheim and Säckingen had asked for its abolition, and the members of the Synod seemed to be unanimous in regarding compulsory celibacy as wrong, and its abolition as desirable, but at the same time preferred to delay action. In the meanwhile it is understood, that if any of the Old Catholic priests should marry he will be neither suspended nor excommunicated, but formal action by the Synod will not be taken until next year.

The report of Prof. Schulte on the progress of the Old Catholic movement contains many interesting facts. Prussia had in April, 1874, thirty-one Old Catholic congregations, with five thousand adult male members, and several hundred widows or wives of Protestant husbands, against twenty-two congregations, with four thousand two hundred adult male members, and a total population of more than fifteen thousand souls, in 1873. In sixteen places parishes have been or soon will be erected. In Bavaria there are Old Catholic Societies in fifty-four places, twenty-one of which had not transmitted the lists of their members, and therefore could not be invited to send delegates to the Synod. The number of adult male members in those congregations which sent in their statistics was three thousand five hundred and sixty-seven; the aggregate number in all Bavaria was believed to exceed five thousand. The Grand Duchy of Baden, has congregations in thirty-one places, nine of which failed to report their statistics; the others had a male adult membership of two thousand seven hundred and thirty; for all Baden, the number was believed to exceed three thousand five hundred. Since the reception of these statistical reports, a number of new congregations has been formed in Baden. In the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the number of adult male members exceeds one hundred and sixty; in the Grand Duchy of Olden-

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burg, ninety-four. The number of Old Catholic priests in September, 1873, was thirty-five; in April, 1874, forty-one. In 1873 there were as yet no students of Old Catholic theology at any of the German universities; in April, 1874, the University of Bonn had twelve, five of whom were Germans, five Swiss, and two Dutch.

The Old Catholics in the German States still claim to be regarded as members of the Catholic Church of Germany as it existed before 1870, and was at that time recognized by all the State governments. They demand, therefore, that where a formal separation between the adherents of the Vatican Council and the Old Catholics takes place, the latter receive a proportionate share of the Church property. The first German legislature which has attempted to regulate this difficult question by way of legislation is that of the Grand Duchy of Baden. As might be expected, the discussions were of an exciting nature. The adherents of the Vatican Council denounced the division of the Church property as a violation of the Constitution of Baden and of international treaties, both of which guarantee to the Catholic Church the possession of its property. The large majority of both Chambers were, however, in favor of recognizing the Old Catholics as a division of the Catholic Church of the Grand Duchy, entitled to equal rights, and passed a law which guarantees to them a share in the Church property of every parish of the Grand Duchy, in proportion to their number, as compared with the adherents of Papal Infallibility. It is expected that Prussia and other German States, will regulate the legal relation of the Old Catholics to the other division of the Catholic Church in the same manner.

In Switzerland the Old Catholic movement likewise continues to increase, but in more than one respect it differs from that of Germany. The governments of most of the liberal cantons not only give to the Old Catholics equal rights, but use their entire influence for securing the ascendency of the reformers. In Bern the government persists in appointing Old Catholic priests for all the parishes, although in most of them thus far only a small minority sides with the government. In the same manner it will be impossible for the ultramontanes of the cantons of Geneva to remain members of that Catholic organization which is recognized by the cantonal legislation. In several other cantons the drift of legislation is in the same direction. A number of parish priests, especially in the canton of Aargau, have recently joined the movement. In June the third Convention of delegates of the Societies of Liberal Catholics was held at Bern, to discuss the draft of a new Church Constitution. About seventy places were represented, and among the delegates were many of the prominent statesmen of Switzerland. The Convention preferred as the official name of the Reformed Church the expression "Christian Catholic" (Christ Catholisch) to "Old Catholic" or "Liberal Catholic." A wide divergence of opinion was found to exist with regard to the Episcopal office. A party of advanced Radicals, chiefly in the French-speaking districts of Switzerland, desired the entire abolition of the office, but it did not prevail. The Christian

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Catholic Church of Switzerland, like the Old Catholic Church of Germany, will have a bishop at its head; the powers of the Swiss bishop will be, however, more limited than that of the German. He will not be elected for life-time, but only for a number of years; and will be entirely subordinate to the National Synod, the supreme authority of the denomination. The election of bishop had not yet taken place in August, 1874; but in some places, especially in the city of Geneva, violent dissensions had taken place between the conservative and radical parties of the reformers, which threatened to injure seriously the entire movement.

In no country outside of Germany and Switzerland has there been any notable progress. Austria has a number of Old Catholic congregations; but although the majority of the Reichsrath sympathizes with them, and even the State Ministry professes liberal tendencies, they are not yet recognized by their law, and their marriages are regarded by the government as concubinages. The majority of the present Reichsrath appear, however, to be determined to demand their recognition.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF GERMANY.

The great wars of 1866 and 1870 have had a marked influence upon the religious complexion of Europe. Before 1866, the German Confederation, under the presidency of Catholic Austria, was a State predominantly Catholic, and the predominance of the Roman Catholic Church became still more marked if all the dominions of Austria and Prussia were regarded as indirectly connected with Germany. The German Confederation alone, at the time of its dissolution in 1866, numbered about 46,400,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 24,000,000 were Roman Catholics. Inclusive of those provinces of Austria and Prussia which in 1866 did not belong to the German Confederation, as well as the Duchy of Schleswig, which at that time belonged to Denmark, the German States comprised a population of 73,400,000, of whom over 42,000,000 were Roman Catholics and only about 26,000,000 Protestants, while the remainder were Greek Catholics, Jews, and members of a number of minor religious denominations.

The chief results of the war of 1866 was the reconstruction of Germany, with the entire exclusion of all the Austrian provinces, under the leadership of Protestant Prussia. Of a total population of about 38,500,000, the Protestants numbered about 24,500,000, and the Roman Catholics only 13,500,000. The erection of the new German Empire in 1871 changed this numerical relation somewhat in favor of the Roman Catholics, as the provinces ceded by France to Germany had an almost entirely Catholic population of 1,600,000. The new census taken in December, 1871, throughout the German Empire showed, in a total population of 41,000,000, 25,700,000 persons connected with Protestant denominations against only 14,800,000 connected with the Roman Catholic Church. Thus 62 per cent. of the population of the German Empire are under the influence of Protestantism, and only 36 under Roman Catholic influ-

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ence. If the several States which are now included in the empire are looked at, the Protestant character of modern Germany becomes still more apparent. Of the twenty-six German States only three, Bavaria, Baden, and Alsace-Lorraine, have a preponderance of the Roman Catholic population, which in Alsace-Lorraine numbers 79, in Bavaria 71, and in Baden 64 per cent. of the population. In all the other twenty-three States Protestantism prevails. In eight States the Protestants constitute more than 99 per cent. of the population, in eleven others from 90 to 98 per cent.; of the four remaining States, Oldenberg has 76 per cent. Protestants in its aggregate population, Hesse and Wirtemberg 69 each, and Prussia 65. Of the three Catholic countries only one, Bavaria, has a Catholic ruler. Baden has a Protestant grand duke, and Alsace-Lorraine is placed under the direct administration of the central government of Germany, which virtually lies in the hands of Prussia. Thus Germany now presents itself as an essentially Protestant State, and the eminence which it has attained in European politics, and the determination with which it has entered into an open conflict with the Roman Catholic Church, has of late given it a front rank among the Protestant countries of the globe.

The Roman Catholic Church of Germany is in some respects stronger than the Roman Catholic Church of any other country. The excellent state institutions of learning, especially the gymnasia and the universities, at which the majority of Catholic youth is educated, no less than the Protestant, have given to Germany a more learned priesthood and a better Catholic literature than are found anywhere else. The immense majority of the standard works of the Catholic literature of the nineteenth century originated in Germany. Among hundreds of works that might be mentioned, we need only refer to the Theological Cyclopedia of Wetzer and Welte, to the "Symbolism" (comparative view of Catholic and Protestant doctrines) by Dr. Möhler, to the History of Councils, by Dr. Hefele, and to the works of Döllinger. Even in Italy, and in the city of Rome itself, translations of Catholic school books of Germany are coming into extensive use. This intellectual superiority has so strengthened the political and social influence of the Catholic Church in Germany that in the recent conflicts with the State Governments it has surprised all other parties, which found in it a much stronger opponent than was anticipated. Another effect of the high intellectual character of German Catholicism has been less favorable to Rome. The decrees of the Vatican Council, and especially the novel doctrine of Papal infallibility, encountered nowhere so formidable opposition as among the Catholics of Germany, as was proved by the organization and progress of the Old Catholic movement.

At the beginning of the present century the Protestant State Churches were in nearly every State governed in accordance with the consistorial system; that is to say, a consistory, appointed by the rulers of the State, administered all the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, as though they were a division of state affairs. A self-government of the

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Church through elective Synods or Conferences, was in most parts of Germany almost entirely unknown. Since then, however, the introduction of synods has made great progress, and at present the synodal system has been for some time in full operation in Bavaria, the kingdom of Saxony, Wurtemburg, Baden, Hesse, Oldenburg, and Brunswick; it has recently been introduced, or will soon be introduced, in all the Saxon Duchies. In all the States named, as well as in Alsace-Lorraine, in Waldeck, and the free cities, the constitution of the Church is chiefly Presbyterian. Prussia has had Protestant Synods in its western provinces for many years, but in the eastern provinces their introduction is of very recent date, the first elections to the provincial synods having taken place during the present year. A General Synod of the Prussian kingdom is now likely to meet ere long. The political and national union of all the German States, which, after so protracted struggles, was successfully established in 1871, has created a wide-spread wish for the closer union of the German Protestant Churches and the establishment of an "Imperial Synod," (Reichssynode.)

The way for such a national union of the Churches and the establishment of an imperial synod has been somewhat prepared by the "Evangelical Church Conference," a periodical meeting of delegates of the several Protestant Church governments of Germany. The object of these meetings is to have a free exchange of opinion on important religious questions, and to promote a closer union between the Churches of the different States. The first impulse to the convocation of these meetings proceeded as early as 1815 from the king of Wurtemburg, but the first actual conference was not held until 1846, when delegates of the supreme Church Boards of all the German States, except Austria, Bavaria, Oldenburg, and the free cities, assembled at Berlin. The meetings have generally been held biennially, and, since 1852, always at Eisenach, the city near which, in the ancient castle of Wartburg, Luther composed his German translation of the Bible. In 1852 a central official organ was established to publish the decrees of all the supreme Boards of the German States. Among the results of the meetings of this Conference are the following: Resolutions in behalf of a better observance of Sunday, and in favor of giving to congregations the right of co-operation in the appointment of ecclesiastical officers; resolutions relating to the revival of Church discipline, and to reforms in the legislation concerning divorces; the introduction of a prayer for the German fatherland, to be used every Sunday in every Protestant Church of Germany; resolutions on liturgical matters, on the examinations of theological students, on the revision of the Lutheran Bible, on the best way of collecting the statistics of the Protestant Churches.

The last meeting of the Church Conference was held in June of the present year. It was not so numerously attended as some of the former meetings, only eleven of the twenty-six German States being represented, besides Austria, which, though politically excluded from Germany, continues to send a delegate of its supreme Protestant Church Boards to the

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meetings of the Conference. As regards the proceedings and the resolutions, the meeting of the present year was the most important of any yet held. One of the resolutions provides for the admission of elective delegates of the synods to future meetings of the Church Conferences in addition to the delegates appointed by the Church Boards, and another resolution recommends the introduction of Church synods into every German State where they do not yet exist, and the completion of the synodal system wherever it is still incomplete. Both resolutions will smooth the way for the convocation of an imperial synod, in which all the Protestant Churches of Germany will be represented.

Art. VIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

THE CHRISTIAN STANDARD AND HOME JOURNAL. *Article, Dr. Crane's Book and the Quarterly Review.*

This new paper (successor to the late "Methodist Home Journal") takes a position explicitly outside our Church, yet has for its editor a Methodist D.D., (Rev. Dr. Lowrey,) and for its specialty the Wesleyan doctrine of Holiness. It seems to possess a sort of official character as organ for a certain affiliation, who have taken that specialty under their peculiar patronage, and the new editor early shows a sense of his high office by impeaching the sound Wesleyanism of our QUARTERLY REVIEW. This is of slight import, as we never had any intention of taking a certificate of soundness from that office. And the article itself is unimportant, except as furnishing a text for a long-needed discussion, and as an indication of the position of this new organ, showing the editor to be an advocate of a doctrine nearer to the type of George Bell than of John Wesley.

OUR DOCTRINE IS WESLEYAN.

The correctness of our views of this doctrine is altogether a past question not in the power of Dr. Lowrey to re-raise. During the whole of our ministerial life we are unaware that such an insinuation was ever made, until this rash article of this rash man. The same views our readers will find in our note on Matt. v, 8, and v, 48, and in the Sermon on the Mount generally. In April, 1862, at the request of Dr. Parks, editor of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," we published an elaborate article on the "Doctrines of Methodism" in that journal, which was read in MS. with perfect

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approval by Gilbert Haven, was republished in full by Dr. (afterward Bishop) Edward Thomson in the "Advocate," and by Dr. E. O. Haven, editor of "Zion's Herald;" and would have been issued by the latter as a pamphlet, but he was threatened with a legal injunction from the publisher of the "Bibliotheca Sacra." The article is commended by Dr. M'Clintock, in his Cyclopædia, as a standard statement of our Arminianism, and part of our section on Christian Perfection is quoted. For twelve years it has stood before the Church unchallenged. As the definition and statement are nearly the same as in our notice of Dr. Crane's book, we republish that section on p. 644. We give it both to show that our views have received the highest indorsement in the Church, and because it may illustrate more fully the condensed statement in our notice. We give it, preceded by the paragraph on the DIVINE LAW, which our readers will soon see has an important bearing on the true Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification.

NATURE OF THE ASSAULT.

The reasons for this unexpected and unprovoked attack upon us appear to us to be these: *First*, in order to show themselves as the sole and necessary champions of the specialty they have selected, it is of the first importance for certain brethren to make people believe that the Book Rooms are unwilling to publish the proper books on the subject, and that the editor of the highest periodical is unorthodox; and, *second*, the editor of the QUARTERLY did refuse to join in a purpose to personally victimize Dr. Crane. By letter and by interview, we had been made to understand that Dr. C. had now destroyed "all his hopes of ecclesiastical preferment," and we were urged to "speak out," so that he should be put down reputationally and officially. On comparing these private communications with certain public expressions, we confess we became indignant at so evident a scheme of proscription, and especially that we should be expected to become its instrument.* Fully of the opinion that Dr. Crane, with his one

* The nature of these private communications is indicated by the following extracts from public expressions. This first is from the "Advocate of Holiness," a paper lately published in Boston, but now merged in Dr. Lowrey's Standard: "It [Dr. Crane's book] comes from a man holding official position in the Church, placed there by the appointing power, and, what is a still greater outrage, it is issued under the sanction of our publishing house, which is set as the guardian of our theological literature. . . . These destructionists will find that there is a conservative element in the Church which will ere long demand that they take their hands off this ark of God, and allow this heaven-given truth to have free course and be glorified. We call upon those who have authority in such cases

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doctrinal error, is altogether their superior in learning, ability, services to the Church, moral position and personal piety, we promptly determined that this purpose should get no aid from us, so far as he was personally concerned. And that is the reason we apprehend why Dr. Lowrey is very dissatisfied at what he calls, very incorrectly, our indorsement of the book.

Now, look at this picture. Our beloved brother, Dr. M'Cabe, offered to us, as editor, a MS. on the subject of Holiness, in which he proposed to furnish some *new views* to elucidate the doctrine. Knowing his learning, piety, and genuine loyalty to Christ and our common Church, we did think that the Church had a right to hear him. His specialty was that *the essence of the soul is changed in sanctification.* The doctor, of course, did not even claim that it was Wesleyan. The editor passed the book to the agents and it was printed. When noticed in the QUARTERLY, it was treated just as we treated Dr. Crane's; that is, the author was mentioned with perfect respect and delicacy, but his specialty disapproved, as neither Wesleyan nor philosophical. Only in Dr. Crane's case we repeatedly declared his view un-Wesleyan, and then made such an elaborate re-statement of the Wesleyan doctrine as to exclude and crowd his theory out of existence. Now where, in the instance of Dr. M'Cabe, were the loud thunders of these our ultra-orthodox brethren? Why did they not spring upon the un-Wesleyan doctor, aim to destroy his influence, and deprive him of office, and then rebuke the Book Concern for publishing false theology? For just this reason: they held Dr. M'Cabe as in affinity with themselves; so that it comes to about this conclusion, that heresy on their side is venial, and heresy not on their side is mortal. Our view, on the contrary, is, *first*, that even such men as these two noble doctors have no right to use our pulpits to raise schism among our people, and may be restrained therefrom by proper authority. But, *second*, when they appeal to the higher mind of the Church through the press, they should be met and kindly neutralized by the press and by the unanimity of the higher mind of the Church. Not till their animus appears obstinate and factious should any thing be done affecting their personality. Neither of these brethren has done any thing of the kind. They are both able, true, and holy men. They have neither said nor

to see that the Church is protected against such outrages; for such want of official integrity should not be allowed to pass unnoticed."

The following is from the "Guide to Holiness:" "I felt so cheated by the book, that after a careful reading *I put it into the stove*, where I was sure it would do no harm."

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done any thing requiring the Church to withdraw from them her most perfect love, or withhold from them her highest honors. We would just as readily have sheltered our Brother M'Cabe from assault as we have Dr. Crane. The free spirit of the Methodist Episcopal Church will hardly accept this effort of these brethren first to take an outside position; outside of all official editorship, and even outside the Church itself, and thence to flourish their proscriptions over us all. Failing to smite down Dr. C. through our means, they heroically aim to smite down the editor of the QUARTERLY. In both cases they deal not purely with the argument; *they strike at the man.*

Dr. Crane, like many others of the purest and holiest men in our Church, has been impressed with what seems to them a vast amount of both false showiness and extravagance under the guise of sanctification, with which much of the present hour is disfigured, and he wished to furnish a conservative remedy. He attempted this, we think, on a mistaken basis, a platform outside the Wesleyan doctrine. He forgot that Wesleyanism furnishes not only the animating but the conservative element united in mutual countercheck. Its doctrines are beautifully symmetrical. As conservative check, Wesley presents before us the absolute penalty of the divine law, damning us for even the slightest so-called "infirmities." He presents the full interval between us and unfallen Adam in its ample breadth. And then, his pages of caution to the followers of George Bell are providentially on record. These conservative forces, if brought out and emphasized, are ample and adequate to the purpose of blowing off all the froth and "fury signifying nothing" with which these errorists are trying to overlay the cause of the higher Christian life.

NO INDORSEMENT.

Dr. Lowrey, in characterizing our Notice of Dr. C.'s book as an indorsement of Dr. Crane's views, as he does at length and repeatedly, very unjustifiably conceals from his readers the fact that our book-notice of near three pages was a strong re-statement of the Wesleyan doctrine; as completely contradicting and crowding out of existence Dr. Crane's Zinzendorfian* positions as

* We have been inadvertently led by Dr. Lowrey's loose language to call Dr. Crane's view Zinzendorfian. But Dr. C. is at world-wide distance from Zinzendorf. The latter held, indeed, that entire sanctification took place at justification. But his *sanctification* was *imputed*. That is, he held that at justification the entire perfect holiness of Christ became ours, so that we were once and forever entirely sanctified, how much soever we might sin. It was, therefore, the perfection of Antinomianism.

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any thing ever written by John Wesley or Richard Watson. There are two ways of combating error. One is to give it direct attack, and the other is to exclude it from existence by a solid establishment of truth. We avoided the former, and thereby Dr. L. is very dissatisfied, as he deserves to be, and we meant he should be. This unreasonable and untruthful dissatisfaction proves that we rightly interpreted the badness of spirit. But he intimates that *we indorse the book*, and for that purpose conceals the fact that nearly the whole body of our Notice is a counter statement against its erroneous positions. Therein we impeach Dr. Lowrey's fairness of dealing.

Every one of the seven paragraphs of our notice opposed Dr. C.'s placing entire sanctification at justification. The first paragraph declares that Dr. C. is in frank issue with that anti-Zinzendorfian sermon of Wesley's, *which is and must remain standard the world over.* The second traces a scale of five degrees, and shows that justification and sanctification are *not the same but different degrees.* The third shows again *the difference between justification and sanctification*, in that the latter implies in its entireness certain power over and against sin, which does not exist at justification. The fourth asserts that there is a "residue" from Adam even in our sanctification, by which apostacy is possible. The fifth shows that it is not in the destruction but by the complete repression of our sensitivities that our sanctification consists. The sixth shows that a regenerate man may sin and yet stay regenerate, which is Wesley's doctrine of "Sin in Believers." The seventh pronounces Dr. Crane is wrong in the matter of justification, and only "*about* right" in the matter of sanctification. With these seven paragraphs all nullifying Zinzendorfianism and crushing it from existence, staring him in the face, Dr. L. claims to believe that they are delivering us over to Zinzendorf! And this man is an elect expositor of the doctrine of entire sanctification!

Our direct references to the doctrinal points of the book are three. In the first, we say that it is a *frank issue with Wesley;* in the second, that *it overrates justification;* in the third, that it is only "*about right*," implying that it is *not entirely right*, even in regard to sanctification. So, that after all Dr. Lowrey's spasmodics, there is not a single indorsement in our Notice.

OUR DEFINITION.

Dr. L. gives our definition of sanctification, and exclaims, "Shade of Wesley! what a definition!" Well, should Wesley's shade or

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Wesley himself come at this invocation, he would doubtless tell his muddled son that the definition is as perfect as any definition in Euclid's geometry. Dr. L. adds, "Compare this definition with that of Wesley." Very well; we will place them side by side under the learned Doctor's eye, and see if his optic ray can discern their oneness of ultimate essence under a variety of form:—

Our Definition.	*Wesley's Definition.*
Such a measure of POWER over sin as holds us with more or less of continuity in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon us when justification first pronounced us through Christ perfectly innocent of sin.	Sanctification in the proper sense is an instantaneous deliverance from all sin, and includes an instantaneous POWER, then given, always to cleave to God.

Both these definitions make the sanctified state consist of two things: *First*, "deliverance from sin" (by perfect justification at first); *second*, "power," namely, to maintain that perfect "deliverance from sin."

Both definitions make the sanctification proper consist in "POWER." Wesley says, "power always to cleave to God;" ours says, "power to avoid sin, so far as to retain the perfect divine approbation." Both express the same "power;" ours completely and fully, Wesley's briefly and rather crudely, for a definition. Even the merely regenerate man has "power to cleave to God." Nay, an unregenerate theist does as against atheism exert "power to cleave to God." Wesley's words are therefore inexplicit and inadequate, not completely expressing his own meaning. Taking, now, the previous point: Wesley says, "deliverance from sin," (that is, the guilt of sin, by justification;)* ours, too, makes the justification from sin the starting and measuring points. Both are, in brief, justification for past sin and power over and against future sin. Both imply that the complete justification at first, maintained by the divinely accepted avoidance in the future, is *holiness*. Is it not so, Dr. Lowrey? If a man is first cleared from all guilt, and then possesses and exerts the power of so far avoiding all sin as to stay as guiltless as at first, would he not be an evangelically holy man? Would he not be both guiltless, and, measured by the Gospel standard, sinless?

Dr. L. says that "this is only a continuity of justification." Very well; but the permanent continuity of *absolute* justification (which is *guiltlessness*, evangelical sinlessness) *would be the highest sanctification*. But, inasmuch as no man can possess a permanent

* But on this point consult our statement on p. 644.

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continuity of absolute justification without gracious aid, so we define Christian sanctification as *the gracious power of maintaining a justification equivalent to that of our first pardon*, which was absolute justification at that moment. The *justification* is one thing, and the POWER is another thing. And the POWER, both in Wesley's definition and ours, being exercised, (and unless exercised it cannot exist,) is the sanctification. The sanctification, by our definition, is absolute *justification* plus the *power* of maintaining its perfect continuity. That is, $S = J + P$.

To our definition, Dr. L. farther replies: "It is not, then, the fullness of the Divine approbation bestowed *when we cleanse ourselves*, etc., *perfecting holiness*," etc. That is, this "approbation" of our definition is only that at justification, and not that higher approbation truly belonging to entire sanctification. But what our definition says is, that sanctification does retain that approbation graciously bestowed at justification; it does not deny that over and above that approbation required by our definition there may be actually bestowed at sanctification also a more abundant approbation than at justification, and a far more abounding assurance and joy; an accompaniment proper to be described in a full expatiation, but not properly to be included in a definition. God may truly approve and bless us at sanctification more abundantly, both because we have gained possession of the "power" and because we exercise it. Our definition mentions the *moment* of justification, not because that *time* is an essential point, but because that moment furnishes the example of a perfect approbation; a good measure of the *entireness* of the sanctification, and so an exact definition of what the entireness is.

To all Dr. L.'s rambling animadversions on our qualifying phrases, "with more or less continuity," "for a season," "vibrating experience" as well as "permanent," we reply, that according to Wesleyan theology there are recognized different degrees of attainment, different degrees of perseverance, possibilities of fall or failure, and also of recovery and reinstatement, to express which all these phrases are suitable and necessary. If Dr. L. does not know this he is ignorant of Wesleyan theology; if he denies it, he is anti-Wesleyan. *His* sanctification may be very unequivocal and square-built, needing no qualification. But, *first*, there may be those whose sanctification is of a more modest and tremulous order than his; and, *second*, there are others still, and we are among the number, who really venture to wonder and query whether even *his* real sanctification is as tall as his profession. The longer and

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more extended our experience, the more we are impressed with the necessity of looking beyond lofty professions to attain true estimates of character. The great reason why this doctrine is so coldly, not to say skeptically, regarded by an immense majority of the Church, is the immense distance between the professional and the visible sanctity. The process is, *first*, a theory empyrean in height; *next*, a profession as empyrean; *next*, an immense visible distance between the empyrean and the professor's real altitude; and last, a consequent reaction in the whole observant Church against the whole matter.

OUR CHANNINGISM.

We regret to note another concealment of Dr. Lowrey's. We compared, in our Notice, the sinward tendencies in us to that elastic upspringing of rail-iron, technically called a "snake's-head," and said that sanctification consisted in the power conferred by the Divine Spirit to lay the "snake's-head" on the level track. Now, Dr. Lowrey deliberately excludes from the sight of his readers all our reference to *Divine aid* in this repression, and declares that our position is that of "self-culture," identical with Dr. Channing's Pelagian Unitarianism. We place our words in parallel columns with his and Channing's words, to let our reader exculpate Dr. L., if he can, from the imputation of maligning us and deceiving his readers:—

Our Words.	*Lowrey's Words.*
"*The Spirit of God, aiding our firm volition, applies a pressure* that shuts them down more or less completely; and according to the completeness of the shut-down is the entireness of the sanctification. That *Divine grace* ever completely takes away the snakes'-heads, or even their elasticity, during probation, is more than we can affirm. St. Paul found it necessary to *keep his body under* — that is, to keep the snake's-head repressed; and it was that repression, not the removal, that constituted his sanctification."	The whole snake's-head illustration smacks too much of Unitarian "self-culture." Channing says: "To raise the moral and intellectual nature, we must put down (repress) the animal." (Channing's works, vol. ii, pp. 374.) Again he says: Spiritual freedom . . . is moral energy, or force of holy purpose, put forth against the senses, against the passions, against the world. Here is "repression."

Our readers at once see that Dr. Lowrey makes our paragraph Pelagian, by *excluding from sight those recognitions of the Spirit's aid which distinguish the Evangelical from the Pelagian theology.* He makes it rationalism, by hiding its evangelicism from sight. He commits untruth by a *suppressio veri*, a suppression of truth.

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But his doctrine is as bad as his *morals*. The exertion of will to suppress sin, regardless of gracious aids, is Pelagianism; the co-operation of our will with the Divine aid in suppressing sin is Wesleyan evangelicism; the absolute operation of the Spirit alone, with no volition of our own, is irresistible grace, or pseudo-evangelical fatalism—Calvinism. It is the second of these views that we, with Wesleyanism, advocate.

DR. LOWREY'S HYPER-WESLEYANISM.

If, however, Dr. Lowrey really means what his language means, to reject this second view, (namely, that God's Spirit and our volition must co-operate in keeping the body down, even in the sanctified man,) and holds this to be Channingism, then he stands upon the third view. His position, then, must be that sanctification takes away our sinward tendencies, carries us along, and no volitional effort by the sanctified man is necessary! He can live from day to day without volitional effort to repress sin, in a state of perfect sinlessness!* Now, as we read Wesleyan theology, while probation and trial last, there is a battle to be fought. Poor Saint Paul had to keep his body under, and maintain a perpetual "repression;" but tall Dr. Lowrey has passed that point; he has no body to be kept under. Now, there is ground here for solemn dread. The policy of this paper seems to be, after the George Bell precedent, to raise a hyperbolical theory of sanctification, requiring a correspondent profession, and thus to raise nervous temperaments into ecstatic illusions of supernaturalism. The result in such cases is a revolt in the sober Christian mind, and a reaction against the Scripture doctrine itself.†

* Dr. Lowrey's glaring antinomianism here is well rebuked by Wesley, thus: "Watch and pray continually against pride. If God has cast it out, *see that it enters no more;* it is full as *dangerous* as desire. And you may slide back into it unawares; especially if you think there is no danger of it. 'Nay, but I ascribe all I have to God.' So you may, and be proud nevertheless."—We think those words of Wesley enjoin a very earnest "repression" of a very "dangerous snake's-head," and without leaving all the work to God.

† The hyper-Wesleyan character of Dr. Lowrey's theology is manifested in his new transformation given to our standard Methodist hymns, which are not lofty enough for his use. Thus the hymn, "Come, thou Fount of every blessing," is thus transcendentalized in the "Standard" of August 22:—

According to Lowrey.	*According to the Original.*
Blessed Saviour, now I feel it	Prone to wander, Lord, I feel it—
Drawing me with cords of love;	Prone to leave the God I love;
Here 's my heart, O take and seal it;	Here 's my heart, O take and seal it;
Seal it for thy courts above.	Seal it for thy courts above.

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ABSURD THEORY OF DESTRUCTION OF OUR HUMAN NATURE.

With similar grandiloquence Dr. L. tells us: "Bless you, Brother QUARTERLY, entire sanctification takes away our sinward tendencies. The old, bent, rusty, rotten rail of depravity, which puts up 'snakes'-heads,' is removed, and the steel rail of purity, which *has no snake-like capabilities*, is substituted for it." But that, again, is anti-Wesleyanism, Calvinism, excluding the possibility of apostasy. For how can this "steel rail, which *has no snake-like capabilities*," admit a lapse into the old depravity? Does God, then, destroy the new steel rail, and create anew for the apostate the old rotten rail of depravity? That would be making God the author of sin, and so would land the unfortunate doctor again in Calvinism. If the old man is utterly annihilated by sanctification and an immutable new man created, where does the old man of the apostate come from? Thus the Wesleyan-Arminian doctrine of the possibility of falling from grace is completely contradicted.

Test this high-flown talk by facts of experience. Years ago a minister professing a high sanctification, as unquestionably genuine as any other case, suddenly fell into awful licentiousness, lost his ministerial status, and died some years after profoundly penitent. Now, how did his nature, physical and mental, in such an *act*, differ from that of an unsanctified man? Were not his blood, brain, nervous system, sensations, etc., just like any other man's? Were not his reasoning intellect, his inflammable passions, his sexual sensitivities, his corporeal appetites, all the same? The whole structure and substance of his physical system was the same; the whole structure and substance of his mental system was the same. He sinned, then, with the same personal system and the same impulses that any unregenerate man would. What, then, is this "old rotten railroad of depravity" of Dr. L's., "which puts up snakes'-heads" and that has been all "removed?" If the railroad be, as we understand, the sensitive nature, and the snakes'-heads the sensitive impulses, they were all there, however closely laid upon the track, capable of up-springing, and had never been "removed," *for it was by and with them that this sanctified man sinned.* And how is it that "Jesus strikes death into the sinful

He has nothing now to do but to correct in the same way a wrong passage in the Lord's Prayer, thus:—

According to Lowrey.	*According to Jesus.*
God, we thank thee that we are not as other men; we have no trespasses to be forgiven.	Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

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life?" Was there not a sad "life" in this sanctified man's "seat of sinful life?" Did not the most heinous sin come from the living "seat of sinful life?" Now, let this learned doctor learn that stirring metaphors like these will serve very well as emotional expressions; they are abundantly used in Scripture; but, like all metaphors, when you come to exact literal analysis they muddle far more than they explain. And in Scripture exegesis it is one of the most important and difficult points to detect metaphor and obtain the bare and literal thought. All this sanctified man's sensitivities, which in themselves had the intrinsic strength and elasticity to spring up as lusts, were, through the aid of the empowering Spirit, held by his will under control, and kept in their proper place and their rightful action, just as the iron elastic is kept in its place on the track from being a snake's-head. The man, then, forgiven of his past sin, is perfectly right, all his nature being brought by the Spirit's power into complete control, and harmonized with the law of Christ. He was, therefore, entirely sanctified. The sensitivities, thus held in their true and natural symmetry, still had their true and natural strength, just as the fastened iron elastic had its natural spring. While thus held in place by gracious power they were not sinful lusts, just as *the iron in its place is not a snake's-head.* The railroad has not been torn up, the metal *elastic*, capable of rising into a snake's-head, has not been destroyed; but, all being held in its proper place and order, the elastic is no snake's-head, and the rail-track, elastic and all, is a first-class, perfect rail-track. But let the man's free-will suspend or reverse its repressive action, and then let the blessed Spirit withdraw the repressive "power," and up springs the elastic into a snake's-head; and, alas, it proves a live one, and bites the man to death! That is, let the watchful will suspend or reverse its repressive action, holding the sensitivities in their proper place; then will the Spirit withdraw the "power," and the hitherto pure sensitivities will *spring up into lusts*, and lusts will bring forth death. This is the plain, literal process, and he who understands this will have the key to the perplexities in which many minds are at this day involved. And nine tenths of all the difficulties arise from undertaking to *explain*, as Dr. Lowrey does, with metaphors and other figures.*

* Let our reader here compare the quotation from Bishop Butler, in Watson's Institutes, vol. ii, p. 34, with our paragraphs at p. 644, and our book-notice of Dr. Crane, and we think he will find this whole subject cleared of many of its perplexities. Read also Dr. Chalmers's admirable sermon on "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection."

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And when Mr. Wesley takes a literal case and uses literal language, he accords precisely with these views. Thus he says: "A woman solicits me. Here is a temptation to lust. But in the instant I shrink back. And I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I can be as sure as that my hand is cold or hot." Here all the natural sexual sensitivities belonging to man are presupposed as still existing. They are neither "torn up," "removed," "cleansed away," nor substituted by an entire new set. They have all the same natural excitability to the external object, the same correlation to the tempting thing. That is, the iron lies upon the track with all its inherent elasticity. But when the tempting object presents itself, the blended power of the divine and human spirit holds these springy sensitivities in repression. That is, the repressive power keeps the elastic iron lying on the track. Otherwise the sensitivity would spring up into lust and sin, as the elastic iron would spring up into a snake's-head. And that is John Wesley's entire sanctification.

ABUSE OF FIGURATIVE TERMS.

From this our readers will see the literal truth of our statement, that sanctification is "less the taking away any thing than the bestowment of a repressive power over our inward tendencies." We do not say that the idea of taking away is excluded; but that the idea of bestowing is the predominant and literal, while the idea of *taking away* is the subordinate, inferential, and often metaphorical. When, for instance, a governor bestows pardon on a criminal, you can say, less properly, he takes away his guilt. And so of the sanctified man, as the Spirit enables him to live thus purely, you can say that "sin is all cast out," "evil tempers are abolished," "lusts are wholly removed," "the roots of sin are plucked out," "our inbred corruption is ejected." These metaphors, like all metaphors, are literal untruth, but they have their legitimate place and use of rousing and inspiriting our feelings and action. Only let them keep their place, and not be used in the process of exact analysis of actual realities. When we read that we are "washed in the blood of the Lamb," do not imagine that we are actually plunged into a sheet-iron blood-vat and soaked and rubbed. Understand simply that we are *pardoned through the atonement.* And when Dr. L. assures us, with such an air of proof, that "an immense amount is taken away when *the blood of Christ cleanses us from all sin;*" we reply, that the simple fact expressed is, that a man is enabled by the Spirit's power, purchased by the atonement, to keep himself in perfect

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evangelical justification before God; and as sin thereby disappears you can figure it, if you please, as a cleansing away with a liquid. And so in the words of Wesley, so pompously quoted by Lowrey: "The moment a sinner is justified his heart is cleansed in a low degree, yet he has not a clean heart," truth is perfectly stated in figurative language. The literal fact is: When a man is justified that measure of the Spirit is given him that he can, in a measure, keep free from sin; but not that measure by which he can avoid all sin. Thus Wesley states it figuratively, and we have stated it, exactly the same thing, literally. And unfortunate Dr. Lowrey thinks we contradict each other.

And so in regard to Wesley's definition of sanctification, given on p. 667; it may be that the first clause means not "the deliverance from all sin" in its guilt by justification, but the deliverance from all actual sin. And then both propositions of his definition say the same thing, the former in a negative, the latter in a positive form. Just so one may say, "The sun disperses the shades of night, and brings the day;" but then the latter clause fully expresses both; for the shades of night are but the absence of day. "The fire gives a deliverance from all cold, and produces a perfect warmth," are but two ways of saying the same thing. Just so Mr. Wesley's definition says the same thing twice. The deliverance from all sin, and the exerted power of avoiding all sin, are the same, one thing. Wesley's definition says it twice, and ours says it only once. And that is the mighty superiority of Wesley's definition, over which Dr. L. makes his parade.*

The Spirit does not, indeed, operate as a dry mechanical power upon the springs of the will. He enables our *love* to fix upon God and his law, and lights our love up to a living, ruling *power*, which the will obeys. And that love divides itself off into various specific forms of goodness, excluding (or, as Lowrey would say, *cleansing away*) their various reverse badnesses. Love distributes itself into charity, long-suffering, benevolence, meekness, modest profession, truth, etc. Then, as love of God's law, it assumes a sterner form and goes into active life. There it becomes conscientiousness, integrity in business, chastity, observance of law, voting for honest rulers, abstinence from proscribing a good brother for doctrinal mistake, and fairness in theological discussion. Where these exist not, no profession of a man should induce you to believe he is entirely sanctified. Yet be not too severe with such a professor. Admit that this entireness is approximative, varying, or

* Compare our remarks on page 667.

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vibratory, with a great many exceptionals unable to stand before God's absolute law, or you may be obliged to feel that he deceives himself. Generally, our observation is, that very modest profession is best for all.

AMISSIBILITY AS INHERITED FROM THE FALL.

We said that the amissibility of our sanctification results somewhat from our inherited debility from Adam. We said this, as the connection shows, to exhibit the breadth of the margin that lowers our humbler sanctification beneath the Adamic, and so soften extravagance of theory and profession. Dr. L. bluffly responds: "Not so. Our amissibility is based in the freedom of the will." That, we reply at once, places us on the high Adamic platform. If freedom of the will is *the* only basis—Adam's basis and ours is just the same. Dr. L. then, seems to see his own extravagance, and concedes our whole statement by admitting that our hereditary debility "increases the danger of miscarriage and loss." Now, of course, we assumed the freedom of the will in our statement. If Dr. L. should say a man falls into drunkenness by the strength of his appetites, it would be very senseless for us to reply: "No, he fell by his free-will." He could, of course, respond that he tacitly assumed free-will, since it was a free agent he was talking about. Dr. L. is betrayed into these aberrations by his pseudo-holy ambition to mount the Adamic level. His mode of statement enables him to proclaim that free-will for us, as for Adam, is the sole "basis" of amissibility; he can afterwards add, in a sub-tone or not, as he pleases, that "infirmities *increase* the danger." It is by extravagance that he expects to gain and stimulate his followers to extravagance. And from that exalted plateau of course he can denounce our low Wesleyan views as sanctimoniously as Bell did Wesley himself.

That it is consistent with our theology to hold that we inherit from the fall a liability to sin and apostasy from even our entire sanctification is clear from: 1. The inferiority of our highest perfection to Adam, which must consist in a lesser power of resistance to temptation. 2. From the fact that whereas Adam could be saved by the Christless law of works, we, however sanctified, from constant transgressions against the holy law need atonement, and these transgressions are unquestionably evidences of both moral debility and liability to fall. 3. How human bodies, impaired by the fall, weaken our persevering power, appears from these words of Wesley:—

"But even these souls dwell in a shattered body, and are *so*

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pressed down thereby, that they *cannot* always, exert themselves *as they would*, by thinking, speaking, and acting precisely right. For want of better bodily organs they must at times think, speak, or act wrong; not, indeed, through a defect of love, but through a defect of knowledge. And while this is the case, notwithstanding that defect and its consequences they fulfill the law of love." . . . "Yet as, even in this case, there is not a full conformity to the perfect law, so the most perfect do, on this very account, need the blood of atonement, and may properly, for themselves as well as for their brethren, say, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'" Vol. vi, p. 515.

This being "pressed down" is plainly a pressure "down" into such sin as needs forgiveness; and so is in the direction of possible apostasy; for every sin is a tendency from conformity to God's law. 4. Wesley maintains that the most sanctified commit "infirmities;" and surely these "infirmities" are "debility," (such as unfallen Adam, who kept the Christless law, had not,) and undoubtedly if a sanctified man fall it is from this "infirmity" or debility, which we inherit not from unfallen but from fallen Adam. 5. The whole of Mr. Wesley's Cautions and Directions to the greatest Professors are admonitions against falling through our "infirmities." They are cautions to "repress" such "snakes'-heads" as "Pride;" as "a dangerous mistake;" "Enthusiasm;" the leaving off "searching the Scriptures;" "Antinomianism;" "Indulgence;" "Schism," etc. Dr. Lowrey and his constituency greatly need these cautions.

Dr. L. says: "We understand Dr. Crane to deny that there is any such thing as sanctification, in the Wesleyan sense. Does the QUARTERLY mean to tell its readers that this is about right." No, sir, we do not say that your "we understand" is about right. We affirmed, and re-affirm, that "in his statement of sanctification he is *about* right." And now we affirm that his "perfect" man is *quite right*, even by Dr. Lowrey's own standard, and that Dr. L. contradicts himself in questioning it. For, *first*, Dr. Crane's "perfect" man is one delivered from inbred sin, (even from the time of his justification;) and, *second*, Dr. Crane (p. 141) describes him, additionally, as "full of spiritual power;" and those two things exactly coincide with Wesley's definition of sanctification, as given above, indorsed by Dr. Lowrey. Dr. Lowrey may reply, "But Dr. Crane puts entire sanctification at justification." Very true, we answer, and that brings it to just what we said: Dr. Crane "overrates justification," but is "about right touching sanctification." He

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"overrates justification," because he puts entire sanctification with it; he is "about right" regarding sanctification, because his perfect Christian coincides, or nearly so, with Wesley's entirely sanctified man. The man who can read the last portion of Dr. Crane's book with so bigoted and unprofited an eye as to deliberately put it into the fire, may be a very good man, but may our Great Head preserve his Church from so scorching a sort of sanctification! And we say to every thoughtful Methodist, Read Dr. Crane's book; and if you read it in a discriminating and devout spirit, it will serve at once to cool your head and warm your heart. We do not expect that the orthodoxy of our people at this time of day is to be preserved by an *Index Expurgatorius*, or an *auto-da-fe* of book or author.*

* As to the continued *sale* of Dr. Crane's book, (at which Dr. Lowrey sneers,) our Book Rooms have ever been free to *sell* anti-Wesleyan books called for by their market. Barnes's Commentary has been so sold for forty years. The (anti-Wesleyan) works of Mosheim, Chalmers, Stier, Lange, Dörner, and others, have long stood on their shelves, entirely without objections until self-interest has now suddenly raised them. They have also *published* such books as Pressensé's volumes of Church History with general approbation, giving notice that they differ from our theology, and are not one of our proper doctrinal standards. Dr. Lowrey's exclusive spirit has never ruled in our Book Rooms.

Since the printing of this notice, we find in Dr. Lowrey's paper the following brotherly language about Dr. Crane's book, (Sept. 5, 1854:)

"Is it not high time, then, ... that this anti-Wesleyan publication was suppressed? If a snake should stealthily glide into our house, would we not make short work with him on discovery? would we not bruise his head, and cast his horrid carcass into the street? But what is the presence of a poisonous reptile in a house to that of a poisonous book on our publishers' list? Unless a speedy end is made of these heretical effusions, the great body of *our people will see at once the necessity and propriety of a publishing house having nothing on its counter but pure Wesleyanism.*"

Here "perfect love" and pure rhetoric furnish the premises for the inimitable business conclusion we have italicised. Dr. C.'s book is "a snake," a "horrid carcass," "a poisonous reptile;" therefore patronize Dr. Lowrey's bookstore. What a den of "snakes" must many a Methodist preacher's library be—perhaps Dr. Lowrey's own! Who does not see that these bitter epithets are applied for a self-interested object?

And since the above paragraph was put in type we have encountered a similar specimen in the "Advocate of Holiness," (published in Boston, and which we were mistakenly informed to have been merged in the "Standard," as said on p. 663.) Let our readers compare the spirit of this extract with that of the above-named page, and estimate whether both are becoming an Advocate of Holiness. The subject is "Dr. Whedon's New Theology," and in reference to him we have the following fierce menace:

"If we wish to inaugurate *one of the most obstinate and determined wars ever*

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EXAMPLE OF GEORGE BELL.

George Bell was for awhile one of Mr. Wesley's most pious and useful ministers. But he ran into high exaggeration on the subject of sanctification. Supposing truly that *nobody can be too holy*, he caught the notion that *no theory and no profession of holiness could be too high.* Soon Wesley was not Wesleyan enough for him, and he denounced the grand common sense of that great man as "an enemy of the Doctrine of Holiness." His "high enthusiasm," as Wesley in his day called it—*fanaticism*, as we in our day call it—led the people into a wild religious delirium. Wesley was deserted, his London society largely broken off, and over the scene of desolation he had to begin to build anew. George Bell and his seceders went to ruin in due time. Mr. Wesley then saw that *his own overstatements of sanctification* had really commenced the mischief; and he proceeded, most wisely, to correct his own error. He published a tract intended for all Methodists inclined to Bellism, entitled, almost sarcastically, "Cautions and Directions given to the greatest Professors in the Methodist Societies." This tract was afterward added to his previous manual, "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," in order to modify the ultraizing influence of that manual as it previously stood. Still farther, he appended to that manual some very significant notes, carefully and wisely lowering his own overstatements. With characteristic magnanimity and wisdom he left both his error and its correction on record for our ensample. It required some Christian humility for a man like him to append to his once jubilant language such notes as these: "This is too strong," "Far too strong," etc. To a penetrating eye it reveals the fact that Mr. Wesley himself, with no modern precedents to guide his course, came very near to swinging over into "enthusiasm." The state of the case as it now stands is *holy life and modest profession with Wesley*, against *tall profession and "enthusiasm" with Bell.* For a goodly body of pious people among us, Wesley, if alive, would emphasize his

known in the Methodist Church on any subject, let us attempt to change her doctrines, and especially the doctrine of Christian perfection. He who attempts this, no matter what may be his intelligence, or how long and well he may have served the Church, will find that he has touched the ark of God *to his hurt.*"

Here we have threatenings of terrible "wars," in which Dr. W. is to be "hurt," if said "Advocate" disapproves his interpretation of Wesley. Both extracts in this foot-note illustrate what we said on a former page, that these partisan writers stop not at principles, *they strike at the man!* In all our experience of religious polemics we have never seen any thing so rabidly proscriptive.

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address to the Bellites in the closing part of his invaluable "Plain Account." *

The ring of the Bell is very clear and distinct in the closing paragraph of Dr. Lowrey's reprehensible article:

"The QUARTERLY must excuse us. All Methodist preachers are agents of our books and periodicals. We remonstrate, therefore, against being sent out as propagandists of heretical doctrines, and the peddlers of an attack on John Wesley."

The plain indication is this: If Wesleyanism according to Lowrey is not maintained by any of the Church periodicals, he will strike at their circulation. Now, if any Church editor publish heresy, provision is made for his accountability to his official superiors. He is liable to removal by the Book Committee, and must meet the General Conference at the close of the Quadrennium. An unofficial paper, as such, is responsible to nobody but its immediate constituency. If an official editor is publishing heresy, the proper way is to arraign him. But Dr. Lowrey, retaining and enjoying all the immunities of a Methodist preacher, perches himself on a little editorial non-Methodist eyrie outside the Church, and assumes to dictate his theology to the editors appointed by the Church—to constitute himself judge of what is Wesleyan; and if that judgment

* As an illustration we may quote entire the following cold, egoistic speech, made at a love-feast, as reported in the "Advocate of Holiness:"

"Dr. Lowrey: 'I wish to say, I am dead; dead to sin. It has been a long time since I felt any of those lusts which war against the soul. I say this after subjecting myself to a severe scrutiny. I am enamored with Jesus; fascinated with the beauty of holiness. I rejoice that I have reached a point where I have no envy to revenge, and no ambitions to quench. I am dead as leaves in autumn. I am the Lord's this morning.'"

As an ample laudation of the human, and slight reference to the divine, this is an admirable parallel to the Pharisee's prayer. In justice to that meeting we note that there was no other speech like it. All the other utterances appear joyous, but humble, evangelical, and delightful to have heard.

These vivacious brethren in the "Advocate of Holiness" prattle vain-gloriously about the theology of "Asbury, Fisk, and Olin," and threaten if Dr. Whedon attempts to change that theology he will get "hurt." With the latter two of these great theologians we were intimately connected—with Fisk for ten blessed years. We heard his spiritual utterances in pulpit, in love-feast, in private study, and on his dying-bed, but never did we hear any performance like the above frigid speech. Will these brethren quote any thing of his on record like it? We believe he would have heard that speech with just our own feelings.

We learned more of our theology from Wilbur Fisk than from the living utterances of any other man. Our views are more nearly the *fac-simile* of his than are the views, so far as they have any thing that can be called *views*, of these brethren. And when they set up for champions of these views, and are agoing to "hurt" us for opposing them, they talk with an exceeding unwisdom.

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is not obeyed, he remonstrates against our ministers obeying the General Conference as agents for the periodical. The editor of the QUARTERLY has been elected several times, sometimes unanimously, and always (after the first election) by large majorities. Dr. Lowrey and his coadjutors are elected by nobody, so far as the voice of the Church is concerned. They are simply a self-nominated, self-elected specialty. They have held, on their own special authority, their own separate camp-meetings; they have gotten up their own special book concern, their own organ, and their own very special theology. And if the General Conference editors do not conform to that theology, then whoever circulates the periodicals of the General Conference are "peddlers of an attack on John Wesley."*

Dr. Crane is not the only true and loyal man who has looked with solemn query at these apparent presages that the parallelism to George Bell may be carried out into secession. The large body of our people who are earnestly seeking a higher plane of holy life have indeed no thought of leaving the Church of Wesley. Such a withdrawal would, in fact, take a large share of the life of both away. They know that the purpose of our Church's existence is the spread of scriptural holiness. They have no aspirations to gratify. They are not, as a whole, identified with this "association," nor led by its leaders, nor represented by the "Standard."

But Dr. Lowrey now stands astride the boundary-line of the Church; one foot inside and one foot outside. He has commenced the duties of that ambiguous position with a vigorous onslaught

* Still later the "Standard" gives the following warning to Dr. Lore: "We have a very kind regard for Dr. Lore, the editor of the "Northern Christian Advocate," and should be sorry to see any disaster fall upon him. He is, however, in imminent danger—likely as an editor to damage himself, and the cause he represents. *If he continues to devote a column and a half a week to the National Publishing interest, he may lose some thousands of subscribers.* The Book Committee is aware that the Northern cannot afford such loss, and had better advise the brother to 'study to be quiet.' The National Publishing Association is a *fixed fact*, and it is a pity for him to oppose manifest destiny. If he meets with heavy losses, we hope the Book Committee will not blame us." From the imperative tone of this warning our readers will see that the good doctor greatly feels his own power as the new head of an organism. The Editors and Book Committee are threatened with pecuniary loss if they interfere with the success of his "Book Concern." Those faithful servants of the General Conference, the Editors, the Book Agents, and the Book Committee, are trying to build up the Church periodicals; and Dr. Lowrey, for his own interests, will pull them down. That is *disloyalty!* The question should now be raised: *Was it for such purposes that his Annual Conference gave him a supernumerary relation?* We trust that at its next session, when he calls for a renewal of his furlough, that question will be considered.

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upon our institutes as a Church. As soon as a due body of followers, (in the number of which he will be disappointed,) from us and from other Churches is secured, there is required then but one more step. His coadjutors have become an *imperium in imperio, a Church in a Church*, competent, when completely armed, to step out. We hear much of some of the utterances of their spokesmen before large camp-meeting audiences: assaults upon our Book Rooms, aspersions upon our bishops, rebukes upon the Church, and intimations of "what they will do, if pushed." We receive from different quarters their reply: "We will not go out until we are *driven out*, just as *Wesley was driven from the English Church*," and, we add, *just as George Bell was driven out by Wesley*. But, *first*, we think that thus far the "driving" has been done by them; and, *second*, it is very easy for a factious body to make themselves intolerable in an organism, and then go out when they please, and claim to be *driven out*. We seek no strife, we utter no menaces, we pronounce no proscription. Most of the leaders of this "movement" are our own dear personal friends; and our readers can testify that the QUARTERLY has never been inclined to interfere with any body's efforts to do good in any honest way of their own. What we do protest against is their proscriptiveness, their exaggerated theory of sanctification to be forced upon the Church, their entertaining so imperious a sense of their organic power, and their basing their own advantage upon a depreciation of, and attacks upon, the regular institutes established by the Church through her representative General Conference. We have no wish for their secession, but we warn them of what they are in danger of doing by their own free will. And we warn our ministerial brethren, particularly of the younger class, and especially those who are deeply interested in the subject of the consecrated life, to beware of these opening probabilities. From our Methodism have these brethren derived their own life and substance; and if they secede they will be like a candle-flame separated from its wick; all blaze and no reality; only to flame out. The "Nazarites" of Central New York thought our bishops, ministry, and people were not up to the Wesleyan chalk; and they went into "Free Methodism," and into nothing. If Dr. Lowrey would avoid their failure let him profit by their example.

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Our Holy Christianity. A Series of Essays and Sermons upon the Nature of Holiness and Christian Manhood, or Perfection. By Methodist Ministers of Central Illinois, Upper Iowa, and Pittsburgh Conferences. With an Introduction by Rev. EMORY MILLER, Upper Iowa. Compiled by Rev. CHARLES W. SWARTZ, A.M., Central Illinois. 24mo., pp. 207. Davenport, Iowa: Day, Egbert, & Fidlar. 1873.

HERE comes, hailing from the West, another candidate for the fire of the *Guide to Holiness*' "stove." It is a homely little book, written in good style and Christian spirit, staunchly advocating what Dr. Lowrey would call Zinzendorfianism from end to end. It is called into existence by the reaction against the ultraism and divisive and schismatic influence attributed by them to "the specialists," namely, of Dr. Lowrey's school. Its theory is that *sanctification* is entire at regeneration; but that *perfection* is progressive, and extends its uninterrupted line into the unlimited future. The result would be the cessation of all special professions of sanctification, Churches would cease to be divided into higher and lower strata antagonistic to each other, while the general fact would be a diffusive aspiration after a higher plane. Such is their theory.

The book we consider as counter-stated, briefly, but decidedly, by our Notice of Dr. Crane's volume; especially by our *second*, *third*, *fifth*, and *sixth* paragraphs. It is farther forestalled by our extract from our Article in the Bibliotheca Sacra, given at page 644, and by our Notice of Dr. Lowrey just preceding this Notice. If the principles we state appear to our readers valid, as we think they will, the present book is an entire mistake. Nevertheless, we may make the present volume a text for a completion of the matter that we have been very unexpectedly obliged reluctantly to take in hand.

The validity of the argument of this book is, we think, impaired by *two false methods.*

The first is the forced absoluteness of its interpretation of the terms expressive of Christian excellence, such as *holiness*, *purity*, *regeneration*, *sanctification*, *cleansing*, *washing*, etc. With these writers there are no degrees, no *more* or *less*, of *holiness*, *purity*, etc. They know no moral or spiritual lights and shades. Whenever these excellences are ascribed to the justified man, they are always interpreted by them in the absolute sense. Such a method is at once unscriptural and unnatural. Of bad men, some are a great deal worse than others; of good men, some are a great deal better than others. Some sins are darker than others, some virtues are brighter than others. And the terms *holiness* and *depravity* often designate partial degrees of those

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qualities. And the New Testament is a very queer book if some regenerate persons do not sin and offend God, as a child offends his parents, without losing his sonship. (See our third paragraph in Notice of Dr. Crane.)

In our second paragraph in that Notice we traced at least *five* degrees of spiritual power over sin, (which we held, with Wesley, to be sanctification,) and thereby demonstrated the difference between our initial sanctification and its full ultimate perfecting.

These *five degrees* of spiritual power against all sin we may illustrate by the *five* following *degrees* of moral power against intemperance, though the number of the degrees may be increased by minuter division. There is, we may say: 1. The man to whom alcohol is so utterly repugnant that his stomach throws it off, and he *cannot* drink it. 2. The man who greatly dislikes it, but can swallow it as a repulsive medicine. 3. The man who neither likes nor dislikes it, and can with equal ease drink it or let it alone. 4. The man who likes it, and can scarce refrain from drinking. 5. The man whose will has lost all resisting power; like the man, once described by the late Sylvester Graham, whose will, when the glass was set before him, could no more stop from taking than a steel-trap could stop from springing; not even if he knew that death and damnation were the immediate sequents. And this last is parallel with the *total depravity* of our spiritual scale. Now, how figurative is the question, whether numbers 2 and 3 have any *intemperance in them;* as these brethren query and debate whether a justified man has any *sin in him!* All you can say is, that such is the state of the man's mind and body that he has just such and such a degree of like or dislike of the object. And so, by parity, you can say that a Christian has more or less power over sin. And here you have got to the bottom of the inquiry. How it is that a man's sensorial surface is impregnated with such a sensitivity that alcohol is exquisitely agreeable, or agreeable in one or another degree, science has never begun to guess; any more than it can tell why scratching the bottom of one's foot will tickle and scratching the face will pain. We know that here is a man whose sensorium is delighted with alcohol; is in a terrible state of pain, which we call *craving*, at its long absence; and whose will pounces upon it when it is at length within his reach. And that is the sum of the matter. Let our candid readers place these five degrees beside the five degrees in our Notice of Dr. Crane's book, produced by the empowering spirit, reversing the order, and we shall be disappointed if

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the whole matter does not become tolerably clear. Only it must be remembered, as against Pelagianism, in sanctification the power is divinely bestowed, and not merely natural.

The second false mode of reasoning, vitiating, we think, this book, is its luxuriant use of metaphors, valid in exhortation, but deceptive *in reasoning.* Because two metaphors applied to a given subject are incongruous, it does not follow that the two literal predicates indicated by the metaphors contradict each other. You may not argue that if Christ is a "rock," he cannot be a "shepherd," asking, how can a "rock" tend "sheep?" Nor can you argue that he cannot also be a "vine," asking, how can a rock run up a tree, and put forth "branches?" Nor can you very conclusively argue, as these beloved brethren do, that God cannot *justify, make righteous,* that is, *pardon* a man without perfectly sanctifying him, for the following reasons: "Does God pronounce righteous the man whose heart is as a cage of unclean birds? as a nest of vipers? the moral soil of whose heart is full of roots of bitterness, broadcast with the seeds of sin? In the heart of the believer, by the side of the plants of grace, are the foul weeds of sin also growing? and for the reason that in regeneration those roots and seeds of evil were not destroyed?"—P. 29.

We quote this, because it is a good collection of the metaphorical stock in trade. But it does not in the least degree touch the question at which it aims, namely, whether Abraham, when justified by God, had not full ability to sin, and even sin to a degree that God should be offended, and rebuke and chasten him short of his fully losing his faith or sonship. The reasoning is just like arguing that number three in our temperance scale above cannot get drunk; for that would prove that he had all the snakes, and toads, and unclean beasts, and weeds, and roots of bitterness etc., etc., etc., of "intemperance in him." When we are asked, peremptorily, *yes* or *no*, whether Abraham, when justified by God, was still a sinner? we answer, *no* and *yes*. *No*, so far as his past guilt and present acceptance are concerned; *yes*, so far as his full capability for future sin is concerned. And there is a probability that he will sin; and yet it is to be hoped not so persistently and heinously sin (though he *can*) as to lose his faith and have his name blotted out of the book of life. And that liability to sinning would be what Mr. Wesley would, as we understand, mean by the figure, "sin in a believer."

This excessive use of metaphor in this discussion has, indeed, Mr. Wesley's sermon on "Sin in Believers" as a remarkable

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precedent. That sermon is figure and symbol from end to end. His opponents, as stated by him, argue against him in figures, and he refutes them in figures; so that the whole discussion was a battle of symbols and emblems. If any acute and well-trained psychologist will take that sermon and translate it into precise literal language, he will find the argument valid, the doctrine sound, and the conclusion perhaps more clear. The very title, *Sin in believers*, is image. It images a believer as a sort of ancient leather-bottle, with a certain bad substance called *sin* in it. Then this *sin* must be "emptied out;" the bottle must be "washed," "cleansed," "purified;" and it is a great question among our figure lovers whether it can be emptied, cleansed, purified, in part without being "emptied," etc., in whole. Now all we have done is to divest the subject of figures, and *present Mr. Wesley's exact doctrine*, translated into the terms of modern psychology.

But these brethren make their powerful stand upon *Regeneration*. And they quote a very vigorous figure from Toplady, thus:—"*Regeneration*, as Toplady says, is not 'the whitewashing of an old rotten house, but the taking it down and building a new one in its place—a temple for the Holy Ghost.'"—P. 108.

Now this figure of "the old rotten house" is, like Dr. Lowrey's figure of the "old rotten railroad," very good Topladyan Calvinism. But, when the man apostatizes, does God build him a new "old rotten house"?

The Jews, when they had converted and baptized a Gentile, called him *regenerate*. The temperance men, by parity with the Jews, may call a man who signs the pledge, with earnest purpose to keep it, regenerate. And when a man, with perfectly earnest purpose, repents and is pardoned, then the first element of the Spirit's empowering aid given him to stay pardoned and in God's favor is *regeneration*. His justification is at that first moment absolute. He is *perfectly free from condemnation*. His justification remains absolute until, *by sins*, he shades the Divine countenance, yet loses not thereby necessarily and completely his regeneration. His justification is, then, qualified; and yet, dying at that moment, he would be saved, though he would be, perhaps, among the lesser in the kingdom of heaven. But let the full sanctifying power of the Spirit come upon him, and he is not only restored to his absolute justification, but enabled, if he will, to maintain that absolute justification entire; not, indeed, according to the Christless law, but according to the grace of God through

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Christ. And at his entire sanctification God may, additionally to the simple act of sanctifying, pour upon him new and richer effusions of love and blessedness than he ever before experienced, signalizing that experience as an *event* in his Christian life. And so the infant, from whose case these brethren argue, is, by the Spirit's power, enabled, if translated to a purer world, to be and act as pure as that world is pure. It will thus be seen that our whole sanctification is *the gift of power;* "power to cleave to God," and cleave away from transgressing his law.

We note that some of these essays are *sermons preached by these brethren to our people.* That seems to us a violation of their agreement with the Church; a misuse of her pulpits to disseminate doctrines she repudiates. The Church has a fair right, through her proper authorities, to insist that the pulpits she has built shall not be used against her. Wesley's sermon on "Sin in Believers," as before remarked, is held standard by Universal Methodism, and, in our opinion, states the truth of Scripture.

The Revelation of John. Expounded by JOHN PETER LANGE, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. Translated from the German by EVELINA MOORE. Enlarged and Edited by E. R. CRAVEN, D.D., Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J. Together with a double Alphabetical Index to all the ten volumes of the New Testament, by JOHN H. WOODS, A.M. 8vo., pp. 446. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

This volume brings to a close the New Testament part of this great Biblical Commentary. The first volume, that of Matthew, was published near ten years ago. Dr. Schaff, in his preface, reviews with evident feeling the great work which has been so far accomplished by his enterprising publishers, and his learned contributors, in conjunction with himself. Five more volumes on the Old Testament are to come, and they will be furnished with all possible dispatch. When finished, where is the Biblical Commentary in all the past that will compare with this in its massy structure? Who shall say that this is not a day of giant labors on the Word of God? Who shall say that this word itself is already beginning to perish like the grass of the field?

Lange's work is full of erudition, and much clearer and less erratic than we expected on a book so tempting to peculiar minds. His Introduction contains many excellent points. His discussion of the time of the writing of the book is sound, his decision we think truly indisputable, but his treatment far too brief for so great a Thesaurus.

The additions made by the learned annotator, Dr. Craven, constitute a large share of the value of the book. His thirteen Excur-

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ses, though we differ with him on many points, are products of rich scholarship and eminent ability. He is, however, a millenarian of a very marked type. He holds the old chiliastic theory, that the kingdom of Christ commences at the advent, followed by a thousand millennial years, when the universal judgment takes place. He thus destroys the "kingdom of grace," retaining alone the "kingdom of glory." This is contradicted by many a text, among which Matt. x, 23 is, we think, decisive. The kingdom was to come in briefer time than it would take the apostles to preach the Gospel over all Judea. That this coming of the kingdom in its completeness took place at Christ's resurrection we have shown, conclusively we think, in our notes on Matt. x, 23, xvi, 28, xxviii, 18, and Acts i, 1. This key-text controls an entire class of texts, and overthrows, to our view, the millenarian doctrine of "the kingdom."

It has strangely escaped the eye of all commentators, from St. John until now, so far as we know, that the Apocalypse is not one but three distinct Apocalypses. By three inaugurations is the apostle solemnly commissioned to prophesy.

The FIRST APOCALYPSE is introduced by that most gorgeous Christophany in i, 10–20, in which the glorious Christ stands before the apostle and bids him *write*. And this is his *first commission*. If the reader will picture to himself that visional Dictator standing, and the humble amanuensis writing from his lips, through the entire seven epistles to the seven Churches of Asia, he will read those epistles with new life and spirit. This first Apocalypse, of three chapters, is the VOCAL APOCALYPSE. It is admonitory of the then future of the seven Churches.

The SECOND APOCALYPSE is introduced (chaps. iv and v) with a theophany and a Christophany united. The glorious throne of God appears, and the Lamb who opens the sealed Book. John's *second commission* is given. From that Book, held by the Lamb, as the unsealings take place, there starts forth a succession of images, leaping as it were out from the pages of the book, which are beheld and recorded by the prophet. This is the UNSEALING APOCALYPSE, iv–ix. It is a series of picturings of the various phases of the then coming history of the world and Church. The same ground is repeatedly gone over, with a different aspect. It is not strictly historical or chronological, but an unfolding of the *character* of the world in its advancing stages.

The THIRD APOCALYPSE commences with the sublime Christophany of chap. x. Christ, the world-angel, stands upon sea and

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earth, and announces that the seventh trumpet, about to sound, shall reach to the Judgment Day. To St. John is given the little book of the future, and *he eats it.* His *third commission* is announced. Henceforth, as the prophecy, being swallowed, is within him, he is no amanuensis; the sealed book is emptied, and he writes the evolutions he beholds under the trumpets' sound. This is the SEVENTH TRUMPET APOCALYPSE, X–XX.

This third Apocalypse is the most historical and the most wonderful of the three. It advances mostly by regular stages, measured by a mystical chronology. It may be entitled, *A Symbolical History of the Contest between Christ and Antichrist,* the latter being literal Satan himself, under successive guises.

It begins, properly, with Satan under his *Dragon* guise ruling the pagan Roman world, in opposition to the man-child, Christ, and his mystical mother, the Church. Then, the dragon conquered, Satan becomes incarnated in the *Beast,* or papal Rome, which is the second guise of Antichrist. He is finally overwhelmed by Christ, symbolized (chap. xix, 11–16) as a warrior descending from heaven, and is cast into the bottomless pit. Satan, the Antichrist, thus stripped of his beast guise, re-appears as his naked personal self, and is cast into prison for the mystical world-period of a thousand years. Then, over the nations, still living in their generations, is enthroned paradise itself. That is, Christ and the victorious disembodied souls of saints and martyrs are seen by the apostle, in the blessed spirit-world, as triumphant over this earthly scene, living and reigning. They live, not in body but in soul, the blessed paradise-life of the glorified spirit, which is the first resurrection. This life and reign of these souls is symbol of the final triumph of Christ's Gospel on the earth, as the lying of those same souls beneath the altar was symbol of its temporary overthrow. The rest of the dead *live* not, though they *exist* in death; they live not in spirit or body until the thousand years are closed; and then they will live in body that they may die the second death. The second resurrection is of the body, the first, of the soul. In the life and reign of the first resurrection, the unrighteous have no share. They are entirely dead until the second resurrection brings them to their only life and their double death. Then, at the close of this great millennial world-period, does Antichrist re-appear, to deceive as before the nations. But he is destroyed, as Paul prophesied he would be, (2 Thess. ii, 1–12,) by the fiery brightness of the coming of the great white throne, and of him that thereon sat.

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Infant Baptism and Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System. A Review of Dr. Hodge's Systematic Theory, by C. P. KRAUTH, D.D. 8vo., pp. 84. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store. 1874.

Some fifty years ago, Dr. Beecher asserted in a Calvinistic periodical, "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," that no Calvinistic author had ever maintained the doctrine of Infant Damnation. To this statement a reply was made in the "Christian Examiner," Unitarian, so overwhelming in fact and argument as to leave no room for tolerable answer, and to furnish a caution for all Calvinian writers not to make adventurous assertions on that point. Yet, strange to say, no less a theologian and scholar than Dr. Hodge, as quoted by Dr. Krauth, uses the following words: "We are sorry to see that Dr. Krauth labors to prove that the Westminster Confession teaches that only a certain part, or some of those, who die in infancy, are saved; this he does by putting his own construction on the language of that Confession. We can only say, that we never saw a Calvinistic theologian who held that doctrine. We are not learned enough to venture the assertion that no Calvinist ever held it; but if all Calvinists are responsible for what every Calvinist has ever said, and all Lutherans are responsible for every thing Luther or Lutherans have ever said, then Dr. Krauth, as well as ourselves, will have a heavy burden to carry." To this amazing statement the present book of Dr. K., reprinted mainly from the "Mercersburg Review," is a reply. It is even more copious in its learning and thorough in its conclusiveness than its Unitarian predecessor; and will, one would think, lay that question forever. But so long as the question remains a question, Dr. Krauth's work will be an unanswerable standard on the subject.

By copious extracts from the leading Calvinistic theologians of the seventeenth century, in long and dismal array, with Calvin at their head, it is placed beyond question that the entire grim, inhumane set took an interest in stating this doctrine in its most repulsive form, used it as a proof of other less certain doctrines, and made it a heinous charge against theologians, that they shrunk from maintaining it. Dr. Hodge plumes himself on being the champion of the "Theology of the Reformation;" but more to the credit of his humanity than of his consistency, he repudiates that theology on this central point. And, what is still more delightfully unique, *he repudiates the unquestionably true historic meaning of one of the articles of the present Presbyterian Confession of Faith.* In this repudiation, so far forth, we rejoice. But we think a more frank and salutary method of dealing with its words would be to expunge them from the record.

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The "Christian Intelligencer," the able organ of the (Dutch) Reformed Church, thus squarely puts the case: "The fact is, that any one who holds that infants are saved in Christ must hold, with Calvin, that they are lost in Adam. Salvation implies a previous perdition to be saved from. If infants are saved, it must be from damnation; and if they are saved from damnation, they must, in the sight of God the Saviour, deserve damnation. God never saves any creature from something which he does not merit." The "Intelligencer," thus in its own estimation, forces upon us the alternative, no salvation in Christ or real damnation of infants in Adam. On this we remark: —

1. It is a very brave shouldering of the *onus*. All infants do deserve to go to hell. All infants are damned, if not in hell, yet in the womb or in the cradle. Stick a pin there. *Infant damnation is just and righteous.* We submit, then, for any one to say upon mere sentimental feeling that this righteous thing never finally takes effect, is an effeminate dodge, entitled to no place in a manly theology.

2. This assumption that every infant, that is, every human being, comes into a *damned existence*, is the very center, heart, back-bone, and base of Calvinistic election. Inasmuch as all are anteriorly damned alike, so the infinite blind Polyphemus may dab his hand into the whole crowd and snatch one here and one there, for no reason or motive in the chance object, but from his own "mere good pleasure." And that is Calvinistic "election." And this is "glorious grace!" It is of no use for the "Intelligencer" to say that we misrepresent this matter. We state it truly; and we state it in the terms in which it ought to be stated; and we hold it up to execration. If these doctors cannot give us a better theology than that, they had better step out.

3. It is no doubt true that the infant is born a fallen moral being, incapable, without a renovation, of the blessedness of a holy heaven; but it is not true that he is guilty or liable to actual damnation for being so born. Before his birth, provision has been made for his case. Fletcher of Madeley beautifully states it. As the sin of the infant in Adam is only seminal and conceptual, so his condemnation is only seminal and conceptual, and his justification in Christ is seminal and conceptual. He sinned only in Adam's loins; he was damned only in Adam's loins; and he is justified in Adam's loins, and in that justification he is born. And not only does he inherit justification from Christ, but he also inherits the regenerative baptism of the Spirit, entitling him not

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only to baptism and a place in the Church below, but also, dying in infancy, to a place in the Church above. Not until his complete forfeiture of the grace of the atonement by actual sin, does he incur actual damnation. We, therefore, promptly reject the "Intelligencer's" dogma, taken in its literal sense, that actual salvation of infants by Christ presupposes their previous actual damnation and actual desert of literal damnation in Adam. And we pray that its editor's heart may be softened, and his mind enlightened, and his pen be delivered from its inhumane theology.

Mercersburg Theology Inconsistent with Protestant and Reformed Doctrine. By B. S. SCHNECK, D.D. 16mo., pp. 188. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

Our American German Reformed Church, though a learned and pious, is not a sufficiently numerous body to create a wide impression by its internal movements. The particular movement of which Dr. Schneck is the exponent and opponent in the present volume, is an attempt made by certain learned and able doctors to transfer the Church from the evangelical to the sacramentarian theology, and is, therefore, a striking parallel to the Tractarian movement in the English Church. Of this movement the Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is the source, the "Mercersburg Review" the main organ, and Dr. Nevins the (we hope it would be no offense to either gentleman) Dr. Pusey.

Their theology seems to present the following main points. 1. Salvation, regeneration, is accomplished rather by identification with Christ than by atonement by him. The Church is his body in a mystical yet almost literal sense. The death of Christ is subordinate to his incarnation, being only one of the constituents of the Christ with whom the Church is identified. 2. The individual becomes thus identified with Christ not so much by subjective faith in his blood as by the sacraments, and other ministrations of the Church—the body of Christ. The regeneration is by the Holy Ghost, through the medium of baptism. The minister is a true priest, standing to the penitent in the place of God, giving him his only safe surety of forgiveness by absolution.

Dr. Schneck, in opposition to these High Churchianites, appeals to the venerable standard of his Church, the Heidelberg Catechism, to the most eminent doctors, especially Dörner, and to the mind of Evangelical Protestantism generally. Of course there can be but one response. So clear an attempt to transform a venerable Evangelical communion into a Sacramentarian High Church is hardly to be found in ecclesiastical history.

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This scheme was concocted within the shades of a theological school by a set of learned and speculative professors during a series of years, and was little understood by the body of the communion until it became too powerful for control. This fact is suggestive. There is no institute that furnishes so admirable a means of fabricating such mischief occultly as the professors' cloister. It is a question we are unable to answer—Are our young and promising seminaries properly guarded? We have no taste for heresy hunting. We believe that the mind of the Church should be open to the advancing thought of the age. But the danger is in the capricious or ambitious crotchets of the professor who is eager for the coinage of novelties, or even, perhaps, covets the notoriety of being a heresiarch.

Class-Meetings in Relation to the Design and Success of Methodism. By S. W. CHRISTOPHER. London: Wesleyan Conference Office.

This book is the production of a Wesleyan minister, who is an enthusiastic lover of an institution which, next to the itinerancy, is the right arm of our Church. He gives interesting statements and facts concerning the origin, working, and uses of the class-meeting. Many good things are said about it in a somewhat discursive way; popular objections to it are answered; and its maintenance, as an indispensable agency of Methodism, is earnestly insisted on. The nature and design of Methodism are freely discussed, and the necessity of the class-meeting to the harmony and efficiency of the system is shown. The volume illustrates much that is pleasant and beautiful in Methodism, and is an earnest defense of an institution which is peculiar to it, and, in a good degree, vital to it.

There is little in the book about the methods of making the class-meeting more effective, and increasing its attractions to the membership. While leaders might find much profitable reading in its pages, it does not sufficiently abound in practical suggestiveness, hints, and illustrations, to make it a guide book for the class-room.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Philosophical Classics. A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. By GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D., formerly Bishop of Cloyne. With Prolegomena, and with Annotations, Select, Translated, and Original. By CHAS. P. KRAUTH, D.D., Norton Professor of Systematic Theology and Church Polity in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, etc. 8vo., pp. 424. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

This elegant volume announces itself as a specimen of Philosophical Classics, and is, we trust, the first of a numerous and

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brilliant series. It is mainly that "Treatise" of Berkeley's which furnishes the completest exposition of the system of philosophy which has rendered his name pre-eminent in the history of speculation. But it is prefaced and appendiced with annotations by Dr. Krauth, which are to him a labor of love, and a delightful introduction of reader to author. First, there are sixteen chapters of Prolegomena, embraced in one hundred and forty-seven pages, containing a view of the life, precursors, summaries of the system, and various estimates, of Berkeley by the most eminent masters of philosophy; followed by an historic view of the Developments of Idealism, from the time of Berkeley to the present, by Hume, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi, Hegel, and Schopenhauer.

Then comes the Treatise itself, with Annotations (pp. 151–281) appendiced 285–409, with various Notices. Dr. Krauth says:— "This work is, the editor believes, the first of its kind from an American hand. Though we have had, and now have, scholars who would have enriched the thinking world by labors of this sort, none of them, he believes, have attempted an extended illustration of a philosophical classic. Nor is the editor aware that there is in our language, nor even in the German, incomparably rich as it is in literature of this class, any body of Annotations, of the same relative extent as this, on a modern philosophical classic. But publishers are rarer than authors. The editor feels that the distinguished publishing house which so promptly accepted this work is richly entitled to the gratitude of the public, if gratitude shall be the feeling with which the work is received."

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life and Times of George Peck, D.D. Written by Himself. 12mo., pp. 409. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

In the calm and beautiful evening of life, George Peck has sat down to furnish to the Church a review of the scenes and events through which it has past. His book commences, like the New Testament, with a genealogy, which is long enough to be aristocratic, but humble enough to be democratic. He details his simple, early life with quiet yet genial simplicity, neither ashamed of its rustic circumstance, nor even boasting of being "a self-made man." He was born near the close of the last century, when central New York was the "Great West." There a hardy, aspiring

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people extemporized their "log-cabins," which were not like the tents of the Orientals, a permanent institution, but a transition, a wait-awhile, until enterprise and industry should rear the mansion, spread the village, or concentrate the city.

The earlier phases of Dr. Peck's biography picture to us the young itinerant starting from his rural home on horseback with saddle-bag, leaving his mother with blessing on her lips, and an absent father doubting for years whether the boy has not mistaken his calling. Then come those scenes which modern romance has found fertile subject for its pen and pencil. The mounted knight-spiritual goes forth, with his brethren in chivalry, to adventure and contest, and vicissitude and victory. Then come those unparalleled events and scenes—the rousing revival, the violent conversion, the catalepsy, the wonderful camp-meeting, the doctrinal debate, the son of thunder, the national Conference, the pulpit orator, the illustrious bishop, all pass before us in succession and in climax.

Our own personal history commenced a few years later than Dr. Peck's in central New York, his in Otsego, ours in Onondaga. The first out-door object presented to our young eyes and recorded in our memory was the Onondaga Lake. We remember when Syracuse had no name, and was called by us of Salina, "t'other settlement." The names of Dr. Peck's ministerial mates, Charles Getes, George Harmon, George W. Densmore, Father Dewey, and James Kelsey, were familiar to the ears of our boyhood and young manhood. John Dempster has not long since departed, and Zechariah Paddock still stays among us. Precious are all these names in the memory of living thousands, to whom these pages will recall pleasant pictures and holy recollections.

The later phase of Dr. Peck's life identifies him with the organic history of the Church, as member of the General Conference, and as editor of the "Christian Advocate" and QUARTERLY REVIEW. In all the great questions of the day, the Church called him into council. In the great measures of her enterprise he had his share. His brief review of the General Conferences are perhaps too brief. His sketches of character, especially of Southern great men, are rather too few than too numerous. His testimony as to the so-called "Great Secession" is valuable. Throughout the whole narrative, the calmness, dignity, candor, and modesty of the venerated author are marked traits.

Dr. Peck narrates his part in the antislavery controversy with candor and historic truth of facts. But in the selection and group-

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ing of his facts, as well as their general coloring, we should widely differ from him. He sympathized with that class of great and conscientious men, like Fisk, Bangs, and Hedding, who having met the Southern ministry in General Conference, and there formed their mutual understandings, expected to come home and secure the concurrence of the Church in their arrangements. Conservatism, this course at first undoubtedly was. But these venerable men failed to recognize the hour when this conservatism ceased to be safety, and became full of danger and destruction. They would have held us quiet and passive during those fatal years when the slave-power was laying and prosecuting her plans of permanent supremacy. During those hours of risk and peril, when time was all important, and resistance must be promptly made or all be lost forever, these mistaken men were aiding the enemy by decrying "agitation," and requiring us to lie down and allow the triumphal car of the Southern oligarchy to ride over us. The Church and nation found themselves reluctantly obliged to abandon their counsels; counsels which, if obeyed, would have made the slave-oligarchy at this hour despot over the nation. Happy for us was it that the crisis called forth another class of men, who, in spite of obloquy and persecution, maintained the cause of right, and determined to win, even through the path of strife and battle, the attainment of true peace, and victory for right and freedom. Yet the Church will none the less recognize the purity, ability, and services of the men whose counsels she could not follow, and name them among her venerated "Fathers."

One of the most interesting passages in the biography is the narrative of the author's ascent into a higher grade of religious life. It is given in great modesty and simplicity of style. It is divested of all technical terms, trite phrases, and metaphysical precisions. It is not a "profession," but a *statement* of experience. The author does not confess nor profess, but in Wesley's own simple phrase he will "speak of it." He obtained it by direct effort in consequence of a deep conviction of his need of it. During his subsequent years he has "never lost it." Meanwhile, he has never felt it necessary or obligatory to concentrate all his effort upon this one point, to the marring of the proportions of religious truth. His love of holiness has not led him to hobbyize it, with a morbid dwelling on "one idea." Nor has he found it requisite to enroll himself in a peculiar brotherhood, apart from the entire body of the great Church of John Wesley. He belongs to a broad communion, whose great mission is to spread scriptural

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holiness throughout the earth, and his heart, soul, and body have, without any separation or self-selection, harmonized with her every variety of Christian doctrine and holy enterprise. Such a model is at this time a lesson. And the lesson we draw is not that all are to conform to this model, but that in the variety of minds in the Church such a class has a right to exist, and need not take a license from any special bureau.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Dogmatik von Dr. R. Rothe, aus dessen handschriftlichem Nachlasse herausgegeben von Dr. D. Schenkel. (Dogmatics, edited from Rothe's Manuscripts by Dr. SCHENKEL. Heidelberg: Mohr.

The Dogmatics of Rothe, though some time before the public, deserves here more than a passing notice. In its present form it consists of three volumes of about three hundred and fifty pages each, printed in clear type and on fine paper, but marred by more than the usual number of typographical oversights. It consists of two parts. Part first (vol. i) treats of the Consciousness of Sin. Part second (vols. i and ii) treats of the Consciousness of Grace, under the subdivisions, the Doctrine of Redemption, and the Doctrine of the Church. Part first embraces eighty-nine paragraphs, and discusses, successively, the existence of God, the trinity of God, the attributes of God, creation, providence, angels, anthropology, and hamartiology, or the doctrine of sin. The first division of part second treats, in seventy-nine paragraphs, of the divine purpose of redemption, the historical preparation of redemption, the actual accomplishment of redemption through Jesus of Nazareth, the person of the redeemer, the work of the redeemer, the prophetic office of the redeemer, his high-priestly office, his regal office, the establishment of the kingdom of God, the sacraments in general, baptism and the eucharist. The second division of part second discusses, in one hundred and thirty-two paragraphs, the theory of the Church, the completion of the kingdom of God, the completion of the kingdom of Christ on earth, the changed condition of mankind therefrom resulting, the bliss of heaven, the pains of hell, the theory of salvation, the causality of salvation, the order of salvation, the process of salvation, and the consummation of salvation. This comprehensive outline, it is needless to observe, is filled out with unusually rich and suggestive contents. Unfortunately, it did not receive the author's final corrections. Dr. Schenkel has had no little pains in deciphering, ordering, and paragraphing a

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batch of manuscripts that had been lectured from for many years, and that consisted in places of detached scraps, and was manifoldly erased and interlined, and re-erased and re-interlined, until it was next to impossible in many cases to tell just what was the final form in which the author had intended to leave his thought. And he has not received undivided thanks for his labor, but has been sharply blamed in some quarters for the few liberties which he thought it necessary to take in order to shape some of the paragraphs into a less imperfect form.

As to method the work is peculiar, and somewhat unsatisfactory. Each general subject is presented in historical order, as the Church viewed it in the successive stages of the past. Then, toward the close of the discussion, Rothe subjects the traditional view to a sharp criticism, and finally presents his own view, or at least suggests the direction in which future thought will reach a correct result. The views of Rothe himself are marked with daring independence, and are frequently far from traditionally orthodox. We will give a specimen or so. On the subject of God's foreknowledge he says: "If God infallibly foreknows all the actions of men, then these actions must be antecedently certain; and they can be antecedently certain only in virtue of a divine predetermination which would preclude human freedom, and render God the author of man's sins. Whatever is objectively certain for God cannot be subject to the free decision of man. An *absolute* foreknowledge on the part of God is necessarily also a predetermination. It is futile to attempt to escape this consequence by saying that God foreknows the free *as* free, as this is to assert a direct self-contradiction. For the free, in so far as *discretionally* free, cannot, by its very definition, be certainly foreknown. It is no more a limitation of God's omniscience to hold that he does not absolutely foreknow the future acts of imperfect moral beings, than it is a limitation of his omnipotence to hold that he cannot inclose a space with two straight lines."

As to the atonement, Rothe holds: "Christ accomplished that which was essential to our salvation, but which we were personally unable to do. But not in such a sense as that he did any thing which had no end nor significance *for himself* also. That his religiously moral life-*work* was also a *suffering*, had its ground, not in *him*, but in the sinfulness of the world. *His* suffering of evil is directly an overcoming of sin, and hence a doing away with its consequence, that is, with evil itself. The suffering of the Redeemer was vicarious from the fact that, by virtue of his *sympa-*

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thy with the sinful world, he *experienced* the evil which came upon him, as that which it really *is* in the consciousness of those to whom it actually belongs, that is, as the punishment of sin. Thus the Redeemer actually suffered in our stead the punishment of our sins, but *not as his own* punishment. His absolute sympathy with us did not becloud the absolute clearness of his own self-consciousness; but this would have been the case had he felt our guilt and punishment as *his own*, or had he experienced the wrath of God as *sin as resting upon himself*. But is not even creatural sympathy with a creature of a vicarious character? Is not a friend's sympathy with a suffering friend a relative lightening of his suffering? Yes; but here is the essential difference between Christ's sympathetic suffering and that of any other creature: A creature alleviates suffering really only by a morally-correct sympathy with it; but this he can do only in so far as he is in organic union with Christ, and even then only *relatively*. But the Redeemer suffered the foreign evil that came upon him in an absolutely innocent manner, so that his sympathy with us in it was *absolute;* and he so suffered it that his suffering of it was at the same time an absolute nihilizing of it. Moreover, the suffering of creature for creature is always of a *mutual* character; but with Christ it was all on one side, he suffering *utterly* for us, and we suffering not *at all* for him."

On the subject of the person of Christ, Rothe opposes both the traditional view of a twofold consciousness in Christ, and the modern view, dating from Gess, of a *kenosis*, or self-emptying of the Logos. This self-emptying he holds to be unthinkable, and therefore absurd.

With all their defects these three volumes well deserve the attention of students of theology.

Jean de Salisbury. Par l'Abbé M. Demimind. Paris, 1873.

In recent years the literary life and churchly conduct of John of Salisbury, the celebrated English schoolman, (noted, however, particularly for his association with Thomas à Becket in that fearful struggle for the supremacy of the Church over King Henry II.,) (1162-1170,) has been the subject of repeated inquiry on the European continent, where indeed it has always been held in higher esteem than in England, where the biography of John is yet to be written. His countrymen have thus far contented themselves with a collection of his *works*, which was done as far back as 1848 by J. A. Giles, (Oxford, 5 vols., 8vo.,) and this fact would

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indicate that English scholars have not become familiar enough with the *Policraticus*, the *Metalogicus*, or the *Entheticus*, to care for a detailed account of their author. On the continent, however, there have been frequent contributions to his personal history, especially among the Germans, some of whom deserve particular mention: Schmidt, (1838,) Reuter, (1842,) and Schaarschmidt, who, besides several valuable articles in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philosophie* in 1858, had produced the best biography of John of Salisbury until the appearance of the work now before us. Possibly even this statement needs modifying, for it must be confessed that the two latest biographies of John differ widely in their aim. Schaarschmidt devotes only about one fifth part of his volume to the personal history, and then enters into a careful examination of the works and the studies of John of Salisbury. Demimind, on the other hand, makes a particular study of the personal history, and gives but little space to an examination of the three *chefs-d'œuvre* of our subject.

While it is apparent, therefore, that both works supplement each other in more than one respect, it is to be conceded that Demimind has rendered to the student of English ecclesiastical history far greater service than Schaarschmidt. Much light has recently been shed on the famous controversy between Archbishop Becket and King Henry II. by the distinguished Edward A. Freeman, ("St. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers," in *Historical Essays*, London and New York, 1871; Macmillan & Co.,) but yet to Demimind belongs the honor of having gathered the most trustworthy and valuable materials for the history of the struggle in which John of Salisbury "bore," as has been aptly said, "a conspicuous, if subordinate part." According to Demimind the influence exerted by John on his patron the archbishop has never been fully appreciated hitherto. He makes it clear that the wonderful change of policy in Thomas à Becket after he had succeeded Archbishop Theobald, in 1162, is due altogether to the influence of the secretary, whose zeal for the interests of the Church appears to have been greater than that of Becket himself. All this, however, simply corroborates what was said long ago by Pierre du Blois in styling John of Salisbury "manus archiepiscopi et oculus ejus." Those of our readers who desire a *brief* estimate of John's philosophical works will do well to read Ueberwig's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, pp. 388-389 and pp. 400 *sq.*

J. H. W.

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Miscellaneous.

Hydrophobia: Means of Avoiding its Perils and Preventing its Spread, as Discussed at one of the Scientific Soirees of the Sorbonne. By H. Bouly, Member of the Institute of France, General Inspector of the Veterinary Schools of France, etc., etc. Translated by A. Liautard, M.D., V.S., Principal Surgeon and Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Surgery in the New York College of Veterinary Surgeons. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1874.

A very valuable statement on this interesting subject, deserving a wide circulation and perusal.

The Era of the Protestant Revolution. By Frederic Seebohm. With numerous Maps. 12mo., pp. 242. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. 1874.

A standard German work, from which we made extended quotation in our last number's Synopsis.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded. By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. 12mo., pp. 421. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1874.

Of this work we hope to present a full Review Article in a coming number.

A History of the Towns of Bristol and Bremen, in the State of Maine, including the Pequod Settlement. By John Johnston, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 524. Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell. 1873.

A labor of love, a filial tribute, by our venerated Middletown Professor to his native town.

Our First Hundred Years. Part Third. September, 1874. To be completed in One Year in Twelve Monthly Parts. 8vo., pp. 81. New York: United States Publishing Company.

We hope to find space in a coming number for a full notice of this originally planned work. We may here note that it does not maintain that warriors and statesmen alone belong to history. In this Third Part there are beautiful tributes to such men as Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley.

The Crusaders. By George W. Cox, M.A. With a Map. 12mo., pp. 226. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co. 1874.

The Mode of Man's Immortality; or, The When, Where, and How, of the Future Life. By Rev. T. A. Goodwin, A.M. 12mo., pp. 238. New York: J. B. Ford and Co. 1874.

The Brooklyn Council of 1874. Letter-Missive, Statement, and Documents, together with an official Phonographic Report of the Proceedings, and the Result of the Council. 12mo., pp. 250. New York: Woolworth and Graham. 1874.

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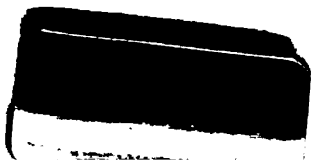

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